# NDCA R2 Neg vs HWL JH

# 1NC

### 1

#### CP: The appropriation of outer space by private entities for asteroid material collection for scientific study is just. The appropriation of outer space by private entities for other space acticity is unjust.

#### Space samples are appropriated for scientific study—it’s uncontroversial as customary law but the plan bans it

**Pershing 19** (Abigail D., J.D. from Yale Law School. Robina Fellow at the Europcean Court of Human Rights. “Interpreting the Outer Space Treaty's Non-Appropriation Principle: Customary International Law from 1967 to Today,” 44 *Yale Journal of International Law* 149 2019)DR 22

The earliest hint of a change in customary international law relating to the interpretation of the non-appropriation clause came in 1969, when the United States first sent astronauts to the moon. As part of his historic journey, astronaut Neil **Armstrong** collected moonrocks that he brought back with him to Earth and promptly handed off to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) as U.S. property.5 4 Later, the USSR similarly claimed lunar material as government property, some of which was eventually sold to private citizens.55

**These** first instances of space resource appropriation did not draw much attention, but they presented a distinct shift marking the beginning of a new period in State practice. Having previously been limited by their technological capabilities, States could now establish new practices with respect to celestial bodies. This was the beginning of a pattern of appropriation that slowly unfolded over the next few decades and has since solidified into the general and consistent State practice necessary to establish the existence of customary international law.

Currently, the U.S. government owns 842 pounds of lunar material.56 There is little question that NASA and the U.S. government consider this material, as well as other space materials collected by American astronauts, to be government property.5 7 In fact, NASA explicitly endorses U.S. property rights over these moon rocks, stating that "[1]unar material retrieved from the Moon during the Apollo Program is U.S. government property."

#### Private extraction key to study of space samples—costs

**OSI ND** (Outer Space Institute, network of world-leading space experts united by their commitment to highly innovative, transdisciplinary research that addresses grand challenges facing the continued use and exploration of space. http://outerspaceinstitute.ca/resources.html. No date but is referencing asteroid probes from 2021.)DR 22

Public-private partnerships are fostering the development of ISRU technology. NASA contracted [four private companies](https://www.nasa.gov/press-release/nasa-selects-companies-to-collect-lunar-resources-for-artemis-demonstrations/) to collect samples of regolith from the Moon’s south pole. Once collected, ownership of the samples will be [transferred to NASA in-situ](https://www.nasa.gov/press-release/nasa-selects-companies-to-collect-lunar-resources-for-artemis-demonstrations) as a move to kick-start space commerce and incentivize further investment in the development of ISRU technology. Additionally, [NASA awarded SpaceX](https://www.nasa.gov/press-release/as-artemis-moves-forward-nasa-picks-spacex-to-land-next-americans-on-moon) a $2.9 billion contract to build a human landing system that will carry astronauts to the lunar surface.

China has also made significant progress on the technological front with the success of their [Chang’e 5 spacecraft,](https://spaceflightnow.com/2021/01/01/chinese-mission-returned-nearly-4-pounds-of-lunar-samples/) which extracted a four-pound sample of lunar regolith and returned it to Earth.

The sample-return missions underway by [NASA](https://www.nasa.gov/osiris-rex) and [JAXA](https://www.hayabusa2.jaxa.jp/en/) serve as technological demonstrations of the possibilities, challenges, and dangers when interacting with asteroids. Other teams planning to do the same in the near future, some of which are commercial actors, will learn greatly from these missions

Mining asteroids could also become a very real prospect decades from now. New sample and return technology, namely the probes deployed by [JAXA](https://www.hayabusa2.jaxa.jp/en/) and [NASA,](https://www.nasa.gov/mission_pages/osiris-rex/about) have extracted material from the asteroids Ryugu and Bennu, respectively, and are returning it to Earth. Meanwhile, commercial launch companies, such as SpaceX, are drastically lowering the cost of launching equipment into space, making it accessible to a wider range of actors.

Despite[the declining investment into asteroid mining start-ups,](https://www.technologyreview.com/2019/06/26/134510/asteroid-mining-bubble-burst-history/) some ambitious companies remain waiting for a future date when it becomes economically feasible. In the meantime, they undertake other space activities, such as operating Earth imaging satellites, to maintain revenue streams.

Mining space resources, such as the Moon and asteroids, could greatly expand humanity’s knowledge about the origins of the solar system, the Earth, the abundance of water, and the origin of life. Ice and water-bearing minerals could be used to produce rocket fuel; fuel that, being sourced in space, will not need to be lifted – at great expense – out of Earth’s heavy gravity. Studying material from asteroids may also prove to be vital in humanity's defence against potential major impactors.

#### Specifically, SpaceX’s Starship enables sample collection at an unprecedented rate.

Heldmann et al 21 “Accelerating Martian and Lunar Science through SpaceX Starship Missions” May 2021 Jennifer L. Heldmann [NASA Ames Research Center, Division of Space Sciences & Astrobiology, Planetary Systems Branch], other authors listed in the article <https://surveygizmoresponseuploads.s3.amazonaws.com/fileuploads/623127/5489366/111-381503be1c5764e533d2e1e923e21477_HeldmannJenniferL.pdf> SM

Given the Starship’s anticipated low cost, high payload capacity, and potential for high flight cadence, the opportunities presented for planetary science missions have the potential to dramatically increase our progress towards NASA Planetary Science & Astrobiology goals and objectives. Building upon the NASA CLPS paradigm (Bussey et al. 2019), use of SpaceX Starships will allow for increased flights for science experiments, technology demonstrations, and capability development to enable human spaceflight missions through NASA partnership and purchase of flight payload accommodation. High priority science objectives as outlined in the Decadal Survey and NASA Strategic Plan for the Moon and Mars can uniquely be achieved through flights to lunar/Martian orbit and/or to the surface of these planetary bodies. In addition, Starship has the ability to deploy orbiters on approach. This capability would provide the opportunity to deliver either relatively large orbital assets with sophisticated remote sensing instrumentation and/or many smaller satellites that could serve a variety of purposes, including development of communications or meteorology networks.

Starship is designed to lift off from its planetary destination and return to Earth, thereby allowing not only the return of crew members but also the return of unprecedented quantities of lunar and Martian samples to Earth for scientific analysis. Because Starship can return tens of tons of payload from the surface of the Moon, the return sample mass of lunar samples from a single mission would dwarf the combined total returned mass of all lunar samples from all sample return missions to date. Many samples with greater sample variety will allow for more scientifically robust analytical studies in laboratories on Earth. Removing the need to severely high-grade and down-select samples on the Moon and Mars will also enable opportunistic science from returned samples to degrees previously not achievable. Never before has the science or exploration community had the potential to send such payload capacity to these destinations and return as much sample material as can be accommodated by Starship. The scientific progress achieved would be unprecedented.

#### Asteroid samples key to planetary defense

**Grove and Powell 20** (Phil Groves, producer of the award-winning documentary *Asteroid Hunters*. Corey Powell, reporter for discover magazine “We're Coming for the Asteroids. Are the Asteroids Coming for Us?” [https://www.discovermagazine.com/the-sciences/were-coming-for-the-asteroids-are-the-asteroids-also-coming-for-us November 30](https://www.discovermagazine.com/the-sciences/were-coming-for-the-asteroids-are-the-asteroids-also-coming-for-us%20November%2030), 2020)DR 22

Groves: The way I internalize that sort of thinking is an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. You have a house. You buy a fire extinguisher, and the expense of that fire extinguisher relative to the overall cost of the house is pretty small. The amount of money that you would have to spend to send up a space telescope to look for asteroids so that we can find it before they find us, is pretty small compared to the overall economy of the world. When you go to sleep at night, you lock your front door. The chances of someone invading your house in the middle of the night is pretty minuscule as well, but you do it. This is the same thing, just on a grander scale.

And it doesn't even cost that much! NASA's budget for finding asteroids is probably less than what it costs to make **one** Hollywood asteroid-disaster movie.

Groves: That might be generous, by the way. NASA's budget for planetary defense in this past year is about 150 million bucks. Just about every Marvel movie made out there cost more than that. And this is the only natural disaster you can actually prevent from happening. You can't cork a volcano. You can't throw a net over a hurricane. You can't glue shut a fault line to stop earthquakes. But this we can stop.

What do you find most scientifically exciting about asteroids?

Groves: The coolest fact that I learned along the way [making Asteroid Hunters] is that the asteroid belt is a planet that never came to be because of this big gravitational bully called Jupiter. It jealously prevented a planet from ever taking shape because of its gravitational influences on planetesimals, which is what asteroids are. They're the leftover materials of construction of the planets of the solar system. The big gap between Mars and Jupiter is because of Jupiter's huge influence. It was the first planet to form, and it's the biggest. It kept things stirred up, gravitationally speaking, in that area, so the asteroids were never given a chance to come together and form a planet.

Then over the four-and-a-half billion years, most of the asteroids have either been sent packing outside of the solar system or sent inward, where they become impactors of the Moon and the Earth, not to mention Venus, Mercury, and Mars. Some also fall into the Sun. The asteroid belt today is maybe 1 percent of what it used to be. All of this stuff, it's a big ammo belt, just being flung outward and inward over the course of the eons.

It's an exciting time in **asteroid exploration**, with Hayabusa2 and OSIRIS-REx bringing asteroid samples back to Earth. Any thoughts **on these missions?**

Groves: They'll help us get an understanding of **the construction** of our solar system and maybe even the formation of life itself. A lot of these asteroids carry with them organic compounds. You want to know: Did they bring water to Earth and Mars and perhaps other planets?

What's also interesting about OSIRIS-REx is the asteroid it's investigating, Bennu, is one of these potentially hazardous asteroids I was referencing earlier. It's going to pass close to Earth in 2035. It's not going to hit then, but Earth's gravity could have some influence on its orbit around the Sun. After that, Bennu may become a real risk to our planet, and it's a pretty big asteroid. It’s about 500 meters across, more than 1,500 feet.

The images of Bennu are amazing. It's a diamond-shaped hunk of gravel.

Groves: It's a rubble pile, and **knowing that is an** important aspect of planetary defense. How you would mitigate the threat could depend on your understanding of the asteroid structure. Is it mostly metallic, like a big cannon ball? Or is it a rubble pile, where if you whack it too hard, it'll break apart? Then you'd have a pile of buckshot, which could be just as bad.

#### Core to deflection—poorly planned deflection makes collision more likely

**Andrews 21** (Robin George Andrews is a volcanologist and science writer based in London. His upcoming book Super Volcanoes: What They Reveal about Earth and the Worlds Beyond will be released in November 2021.“NASA’s DART Mission Could Help Cancel an Asteroid Apocalypse” <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/nasas-dart-mission-could-help-cancel-an-asteroid-apocalypse/> November 18, 2021)DR 22

Mission planners are reasonably confident that DART’s hushed demise will successfully convey a billiardlike kick to Dimorphos, which seems hefty enough to be sufficiently squeezed by gravity’s clutches. But in the case of a slightly less substantial object, a kinetic impactor could just shoot right through, like a bullet through a cake, blowing it into small but still dangerous chunks. A successful deflection for such threats could require multiple, more gentle impacts rather than a one-and-done wallop.

Another huge unknown is Dimorphos’s appearance. It could be shaped like a potato, a dog bone, a rubber duck, [two bowling balls stuck together](https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/new-horizons-may-have-solved-planet-formation-cold-case/), or something else entirely. A colleague recently gifted Adams a donut-shaped fridge magnet, a wink to how often asteroids surprise scientists once unveiled up close by some deep-space robotic emissary. A near-spherical or even potatolike shape would be optimal for a clean hit, whereas the uneven distribution of mass from more **complex morphologies** would raise the chance of a glancing blow, one that could just “spin up the moonlet and not actually change its orbit,” says Olivier de Weck, a systems engineering researcher at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In the specific and benign case of Dimorphos, all these uncertainties are mostly academic. But in the event of a deflection attempt for a true city-killer, they could prove critical. We could, for instance, **successfully deflect** a potentially hazardous asteroid only to inadvertently put it on a new orbit that makes it more likely to hit Earth in the long run. There are points in space around our planet known as gravitational keyholes, wherein Earth’s pull on the asteroid sets the errant space rock on an assuredly destructive journey. “Once you go through a keyhole, the probability of hitting the Earth is virtually 100 percent,” says de Weck. This, to put it mildly, constitutes a major hurdle for any preemptive strikes against nascent impact threats.

FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED

The emerging calculus is formidable indeed: Protecting ourselves from the most numerous and tricky (and thus most dangerous) space rocks requires more than making shots in the dark, especially when each “shot” is a multimillion-dollar deflection attempt. Ensuring **success** requires first scouting out the threat to learn any given space rock’s exact mass and ability to absorb a weighty impact.

Some of that work [can be done from Earth](https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/are-we-doing-enough-to-protect-earth-from-asteroids/), but as Dimorphos is deviously demonstrating, **tiny objects** are hard targets for remote studies. It is far better—albeit more difficult—to get up close and personal with any adversarial asteroid before trying to hit it at all. This was, in fact, ESA’s original plan, before schedule slips ensured that its reconnaissance spacecraft would arrive only after DART’s dramatic impact. In the future, miniaturized kinetic impactors could even be sent alongside scientific scouting missions, meant to merely nudge target asteroids to estimate how they would respond to more powerful deflective blows. “We have to go and characterize them better **before** we rest humanity’s fate in that one golden shot,” de Weck says.

#### Asteroid collisions cause extinction and nuclear miscalc

Baum 19 (Executive director of the Global Catastrophic Risk Institute, “Risk-Risk Tradeoff Analysis of Nuclear Explosives for Asteroid Deflection,” *Risk Analysis*, vol. 39, no. 11 (November 2019), p.2427-2442)DR 22

The most severe asteroid collisions and nuclear wars can cause global environmental effects. The core mechanism is the transport of particulate matter into the stratosphere, where it can spread worldwide and remain aloft for years or decades. Large asteroid collisions create large quantities of dust and large fireballs; the fire heats the dust so that some portion of it rises into the stratosphere. The largest collisions, such as the 10km Chicxulub impactor, can also eject debris from the collision site into space; upon reentry into the atmosphere, the debris heats up enough to spark global fires (Toon, Zahnle, Morrison, Turco, & Covey, 1997). The fires are a major impact in their own right and can send additional smoke into the stratosphere. For nuclear explosions, there is also a fireball and smoke, in this case from the burning of cities or other military targets.

While in the stratosphere, the particulate matter blocks sunlight and destroys ozone (Toon et al., 2007). The ozone loss increases the amount of ultraviolet radiation reaching the surface, causing skin cancer and other harms (Mills, Toon, Turco, Kinnison, & Garcia, 2008). The blocked sunlight causes abrupt cooling of Earth’s surface and in turn reduced precipitation due to a weakened hydrological cycle. The cool, dry, and dark conditions reduce plant growth. Recent studies use modern climate and crop models to examine the effects for a hypothetical India Pakistan nuclear war scenario with 100 weapons (50 per side) each of 15KT yield. The studies find **ag**riculture declines in the range of approximately 2% to 50% depending on the crop and location.11 Another study compares the crop data to existing poverty and malnourishment and estimates that the crop declines could threaten starvation for two billion people (Helfand, 2013). However, the aforementioned studies do not account for new nuclear explosion fire simulations that find approximately five times less particulate matter reaching the stratosphere, and correspondingly weaker global environmental effects (Reisner et al., 2018). Note also that the 100 weapon scenario used in these studies is not the largest potential scenario. Larger nuclear wars and large asteroid collisions could cause greater harm. The largest asteroid collisions could even **reduce sunlight below the minimum needed for vision** (Toon et al., 1997). Asteroid risk analyses have proposed that the global environmental disruption from large collisions could cause one billion deaths (NRC, 2010) or the death of 25% of all humans (Chapman, 2004; Chapman & Morrison, 1994; Morrison, 1992), though these figures have not been rigorously justified (Baum, 2018a).

The harms from asteroid collisions and nuclear wars can also include important secondary effects. The **food shortages** from severe global environmental disruption could lead to infectious disease outbreaks as public health conditions deteriorate (Helfand, 2013). Law and order could be lost in at least some locations as people struggle for survival (Maher & Baum, 2013). Today’s complex global political-economic system already shows fragility to shocks such as the 2007- 2008 financial crisis (Centeno, Nag, Patterson, Shaver, & Windawi, 2015); an asteroid collision or nuclear war could be an extremely large shock. The systemic consequences of a nuclear war would be further worsened by the likely loss of major world cities that serve as important hubs in the global economy. Even a single detonation in nuclear terrorism would have ripple effects across the global political-economic system (similar to, but likely larger than, the response prompted by the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001).

It is possible for asteroid collisions to cause nuclear war. An asteroid explosion could be misinterpreted as a **nuclear attack**, prompting nuclear attack that is believed to be retaliation. For example, the 2013 Chelyabinsk event occurred near an important Russian military installation, prompting concerns about the event’s interpretation (Harris et al., 2015)

### 2

#### Starlink is key to Precision Ag – key to food sustainability and increasing food supply to account for exponential population growth.

Greensight 21 3-15-2021 "Can Starlink Save the World by Connecting Farms?" <https://www.greensightag.com/logbook/can-starlink-save-the-world-by-connecting-farms/> (Data Management Consulting Firm)//Elmer

GreenSight innovates in a number of different areas, but one of the areas we are most passionate about is in agriculture. We’ve deployed our drone intelligence systems all over the world at all sorts of different facilities. One of the most challenging has been deployments at farms, and one of the biggest challenges has been connectivity. Connected farms are a requirement to feed the world, and Starlink will make that happen. Most urban and suburban households in the United States have had easy and reasonably inexpensive access to high speed internet access for 20 years. It is easy to forget that the situation is not the same for rural areas of the country. Many areas have no access to high speed, “broadband”, internet access, with some having only dialup internet access in their homes. According to the 2015 FCC broadband report, only 53% of rural households have access to high speed internet, even using low standards for “high” speed. On average farms have even less access, and that doesn’t even include high speed connectivity out in their fields. Cellular service is spotty especially on large farms in primarily agricultural areas, and legacy satellite systems provide slow upload speeds at expensive prices. Utilizing modern internet connected technologies and cloud based systems that require constant, high speed access can be a challenge at best and potentially impossible. A 2016 research study by Goldman and Sachs projected that by 2050, the world’s food production efficiency needs to increase by 50% to support our growing population. This paper backs up this conclusion with a lot of research, but the fundamental conclusion is that farming land area is unlikely to increase nor will the number of farmers. Increased global food production increases must come from productivity boosts

. Researchers feel that productivity improvements from chemistry and genomics are unlikely to yield significant increases as they have in the past. They predict that the most likely area for these improvements are with precision farming techniques, notably precision planting and precision application of chemicals and water. The term “Precision Agriculture” was coined in the late 1960s and 1970s in seminal research that projected that in the future farming would be driven by data with inputs and practices varied and optimized based on weather, measurements from the field, and accurate year over year yield measurements. Since then, many tools and technologies have been developed that have made true precision agriculture more and more practical. Precision RTK GPS can guide equipment with precision better than an inch. Drones and satellite mapping of fields using remote sensing can map out health and detect problems with the crops. In field IoT sensors will stream live data (such as our partners Soil Scout). Soil genomics and analysis can analyze macro and micro nutrient content of the soil and track the genetics of the soil microbiome (like our friends at Trace Genomics). Robotic and automated farming equipment (like our partners at Monarch Tractor and Husqvarna are building) can vary applications and planting according to precomputed variable rate application maps. Despite all these breakthroughs, precision farming techniques still have a low penetration. There are many reasons for this (more than could be discussed in this article!) but one of them is inadequate connectivity. Most of these modern technologies rely on access to the internet and in many cases it just isn’t possible. For decades subsidies and programs have been rolled out to improve rural connectivity but the reality is that connecting up far flung areas is expensive, often labor intensive, and consequently from a pure business standpoint does not make sense for the connectivity providers. Even as infrastructure expands to more remote areas, there will always remain large swaths of rural america where conventional connectivity infrastructure is highly impractical. Most of GreenSight’s data processing is done in the cloud. Several gigabytes of imagery data are uploaded from our aircraft after every flight to be processed and delivered to our customers. Our custom artificial intelligence analyses the data and informs farmers to problem areas. From many remote farm fields, uploading can be a slow process. We’ve invested heavily in the portability of our systems and our upcoming next generation aircraft will be capable of onboard processing, but despite this connectivity will still be needed to make data available for farmers and other automated agriculture systems. Advanced sensing systems like ours have to be able to integrate with connected robotic sprayers, harvesters and tractors, unlocking the productivity potential of precision agriculture. Humanity needs precision agriculture, and connected data-driven systems will be a big part of that revolution. Beyond the global necessity, the economics for farmers work too! A 2018 USDA studies indicate that connecting US farmland will unlock $50B in industry revenue. We are extremely excited about Starlink and its potential to bring cost effective internet connectivity to farms and rural areas. Starlink levels the playing field for rural areas, enabling high speed connectivity everywhere. No longer will farmers have to wait for high speed wired connectivity to come to their area or install a complex mesh network on their property. IoT data can be streamed from fields as easily as it now streams from urban homes. Starlink will be a catalyzing force for chance, advancing access to precision agriculture globally and contributing to solving global food challenges.

#### Food Insecurity coming now and goes nuclear – escalates multiple hotspots.

Cribb 19 Julian Cribb 8-23-2019 “Food or War” <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/food-or-war/hotspots-for-food-conflict-in-the-twentyfirst-century/1CD674412E09B8E6F325C9C0A0A6778A> (principal of Julian Cribb & Associates who provide specialist consultancy in the communication of science, agriculture, food, mining, energy and the environment. , His published work includes over 8000 articles, 3000 media releases and eight books. He has received 32 awards for journalism.)//Elmer

Future Food Wars The mounting threat to world peace posed by a food, climate and ecosystem increasingly compromised and unstable was emphasised by the US Director of National Intelligence, Dan Coats, in a briefing to the US Senate in early 2019. 'Global environmental and ecological degradation, as well as climate change, are likely to fuel competition for resources, economic distress, and social discontent through 2019 and beyond', he said. 'Climate hazards such as extreme weather, higher temperatures, droughts, floods, wildfires, storms, sea level rise, soil degradation, and acidifying oceans are intensifying, threatening infrastructure, health, and water and food security. Irreversible damage to ecosystems and habitats will undermine the economic benefits they provide, worsened by air, soil, water, and marine pollution.' Boldly, Coats delivered his warning at a time when the US President, Trump, was attempting to expunge all reference to climate from government documents. 23 Based upon these recent cases of food conflicts, and upon the lessons gleaned from the longer history of the interaction between food and war, several regions of the planet face a greatly heightened risk of conflict towards the mid twentyfirst century. Food wars often start out small, as mere quarrels over grazing rights, access to wells or as one faction trying to control food supplies and markets. However, if not resolved quickly these disputes can quickly escalate into violence, then into civil conflagrations which, if not quelled, can in turn explode into crises that reverberate around the planet in the form of soaring prices, floods of refugees and the involvement of major powers — which in turn carries the risk of transnational war. The danger is magnified by swollen populations, the effects of climate change, depletion of key resources such as water, topsoil and nutrients, the collapse of ecosystem services that support agriculture and fisheries, universal pollution, a widening gap between rich and poor, and the rise of vast megacities unable to feed themselves (Figure 5.3). Each of the world's food 'powderkeg regions' is described below, in ascending order of risk. United States In one sense, food wars have already broken out in the United States, the most overfed country on Earth. Here the issue is chiefly the growing depletion of the nation's mighty ground- water resources, especially in states using it for food production, and the contest over what remains between competing users — farmers, ranchers and Native Americans on the one hand and the oil, gas and mining industry on the other. Concern about the future of US water supplies was aggravated by a series of savage droughts in the early twentyfirst century in the west, south and midwest linked to global climate change and declining snow- pack in the Rocky Mountains, both of which affect not only agriculture but also the rate at which the nation's groundwater reserves recharge. 'Groundwater depletion has been a concern in the Southwest and High Plains for many years, but increased demands on our groundwater resources have overstressed aquifers in many areas of the Nation, not just in arid regions', notes the US Geological Survey.24 Nine US states depend on groundwater for between 50 per cent and 80 per cent of their total freshwater supplies, and five states account for nearly half of the nation's groundwater use. Major US water resources, such as the High Plains aquifers and the Pacific Northwest aquifers have sunk by 30—50 metres (100—150 feet) since exploitation began, imperilling the agricultural industries that rely on them. In the arid south- west, aquifer declines of 100—150 metres have been recorded (Figure 5.4). To take but one case, the famed Ogallala Aquifer in the High Plains region supports cropping industries worth more than US $20 billion a year and was in such a depleted state it would take more than 6000 years to replace by natural infiltration the water drawn from it by farmers in the past 150 years. As it dwindles, some farmers have tried to kick their dependence on ground- water other users, including the growing cities and towns of the region, proceeded to mine it as if there was no tomorrow.25 A study by Kansas State University concluded that so far, 30 per cent of the local groundwater had been extracted and another 39 per cent would be depleted by the mid century on existing trends in withdrawal and recharge.26 Over half the US population relies on groundwater for drinking; both rural and urban America are at risk. Cities such as New Orleans, Houston and Miami face not only rising sea levels — but also sinking land, due to the extraction of underlying ground- water. In Memphis, Tennessee, the aquifer that supplies the city's drinking water has dropped by 20 metres. Growing awareness of the risk of a nation, even one as large and technologically adept as the USA, having insufficient water to grow its food, generate its exports and supply its urban homes has fuelled tensions leading to the eruption of nationwide protests over 'fracking' for oil and gas — a process that can deplete or poison groundwater — and the building -of oil pipe- lines, which have a habit of rupturing and also polluting water resources. The boom in fracking and piping is part of a deliberate US policy to become more self-reliant in fossil fuels.27 Thus, in its anxiety to be independent of overseas energy suppliers, the USA in effect decided to barter away its future food security for current oil security — and the price of this has been a lot of angry farmers, Native Americans and concerned citizens. The depletion of US groundwater coincides with accelerating climate risk, which may raise US temperatures by as much as 4—5 oc by 2100, leading to major losses in soil moisture throughout the US grain belt, and the spread of deserts in the south and west. Food production will also be affected by fiercer storms, bigger floods, more heatwaves, an increase in drought frequency and greater impacts from crop and livestock diseases. In such a context, it is no time to be wasting stored water. The case of the USA is included in the list of world 'hot spots' for future food conflict, not because there is danger of a serious shooting war erupting over water in America in the foreseeable future, but to illustrate that even in technologically advanced countries unforeseen social tensions and crises are on the rise over basic resources like food, land and water and their depletion. This doesn't just happen in Africa or the Middle East. It's a global phenomenon. Furthermore, the USA is the world's largest food exporter and any retreat on its part will have a disproportionate effect on world food price and supply. There is still plenty of time to replan America's food systems and water usage — but, as in the case of fossil fuels and climate, rear-guard action mounted by corporate vested interests and their hired politicians may well paralyse the national will to do it. That is when the US food system could find itself at serious risk, losing access to water in a time of growing climatic disruption, caused by exactly the same forces as those depleting the groundwater: the fossil fuels sector and its political stooges. The probable effect of this will, in the first instance, be a decline in US meat and dairy production accompanied by rising prices and a fall in its feedgrain exports, with domino effects on livestock industries worldwide. The flip-side to this issue is that America's old rival, Russia, is likely to gain in both farmland and water availability as the planet warms through the twentyfirst century — and likewise Canada. Both these countries stand to prosper from a US withdrawal from world food markets, and together they may negate the effects of any US food export shortfalls. Central and South America South America is one of the world's most bountiful continents in terms of food production — but, after decades of improvement, malnutrition is once more on the rise, reaching a new peak of 42.5 million people affected in 2016. 28 'Latin America and the Caribbean used to be a worldwide example in the fight against hunger. We are now following the worrisome global trend', said regional FAO representative Julio Berdegué. 29 Paradoxically, obesity is increasing among Latin American adults, while malnutrition is rising among children. 'Although Latin America and the Caribbean produce enough food to meet the needs of their population, this does not ensure healthy and nutritious diets', the FAO explains. Worsening income inequality, poor access to food and persistent poverty are contributing to the rise in hunger and bad diets, it adds.30 'The impact of climate change in Latin America and the Caribbean will be considerable because of its economic dependence on agriculture, the low adaptive capacity of its population and the geographical location of some of its countries', an FAO report warned.31 Emerging food insecurity in Central and Latin America is being driven by a toxic mixture of failing water supplies, drying farmlands, poverty, maladministration, incompetence and corruption. These issues are exacerbated by climate change, which is making the water supply issue worse for farmers and city people alike in several countries and delivering more weather disasters to agriculture. Mexico has for centuries faced periodic food scarcity, with a tenth of its people today suffering under-nutrition. In 2008 this rose to 18 per cent, leading to outbreaks of political violence. 2 In 2013, 52 million Mexicans were suffering poverty and seven million more faced extreme hunger, despite the attempts of successive governments to remedy the situation. By 2100 northern Mexico is expected to warm by 4—5 oc and southern Mexico by 1.5—2.5 oc. Large parts of the country, including Mexico City, face critical water scarcity. Mexico's cropped area could fall by 40—70 per cent by the 2030s and disappear completely by the end of the century, making it one of the world's countries most at risk from catastrophic climate change and a major potential source of climate refugees.33 The vanishing lakes and glaciers of the high Andes confront montane nations — Bolivia, Peru and Chile especially — with the spectre of growing water scarcity and declining food security. The volume of many glaciers, which provide meltwater to the region's rivers, which in turn irrigate farmland, has halved since 1975.34 Bolivia's second largest water body, the 2000 square kilometres Lake Poopo, dried out completely.35 The loss of water is attributed partly to El Niho droughts, partly to global warming and partly to over-extraction by the mining industries of the region. Chile, with 24,000 glaciers (80 per cent of all those in Latin America) is feeling the effects of their retreat and shrinkage especially, both in large cities such as the capital Santiago, and in irrigation agriculture and energy supply. Chile is rated by the World Resources Institute among the countries most likely to experience extreme water stress by 2040.36 Climate change is producing growing water and food insecurity in the 'dry corridor' of Central America, in countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Here a combination of drought, major floods and soil erosion is undermining efforts to raise food production and stabilise nutrition. Food production in Venezuela began falling in the 1990s, and by the late 2010s two thirds of the population were malnourished; there was a growing flood of refugees into Colombia and other neighbouring countries. The food crisis has been variously blamed on the Venezuelan government's 'Great Leap Forward' (modelled on that of China — which also caused widespread starvation), a halving in Venezuela's oil export earnings, economic sanctions by the USA, and corruption. However, local scientists such as Nobel Laureate Professor Juan Carlos Sanchez warn that climate impacts are already striking the densely populated coastal regions with increased torrential rains, flooding and mudslides, droughts and hurricanes, while inland areas are drying out and desertifying, leading to crop failures, water scarcity and a tide of climate refugees.37 These factors will tend to deepen food insecurity towards the mid century. Venezuela's climate refugees are already making life more difficult for neighbouring countries such as Colombia. Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon has, in recent decades, removed around 20 per cent of its total tree cover, replacing it with dry savannah and farmland. At 40 per cent clearance and with continued global warming, scientists anticipate profound changes in the local climate, towards a drying trend, which will hammer the agriculture that has replaced the forest.38 Brazil has already wiped out the once- vast Mata Atlantica forest along its eastern coastline, and this region is now drying, with resultant water stress for both farming and major cities like Säo Paulo. Brazil's outlook for 2100 is for further drying — tied to forest loss as well as global climate change — increased frequency of drought and heatwaves, major fires and acute water scarcity in some regions. Moreover, as the Amazon basin dries out, if will release vast quantities of C02 from its peat swamps and rainforest soils. These are thought to contain in excess of three billion tonnes of carbon and could cause a significant acceleration in global warming, affecting everyone on Earth. 39 Latin America is the world capital of private armies, with as many as 50 major guerrilla groups, paramilitaries, terrorist, indigenous and criminal insurgencies over the past half century exemplified in familiar names like the Sandanistas (Nicaragua), FARC (Colombia) and Shining Path (Peru). 40 Many of these drew their initial inspiration from the international communist movement of the mid twentieth century, while others are right-wing groups set up in opposition to them or else represent land rights movements of disadvantaged groups. However, all these movements rely for oxygen on simmering public discontent with ineffectual or corrupt governments and lack of fair access to food, land and water generally. In other words, the tendency of South and Central America towards internal armed conflict is supercharged significantly by failings in the food system which generate public anger

, leading to sympathy and support for anyone seen to be challenging the incumbent regimes. This is not to suggest that feeding every person well would end all insurgencies — but it would certainly take the wind of popular support out of a lot of their sails. In that sense the revolutionary tendency of South America echoes the preconditions for revolution in France and Russia in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Central Asia The risk of wars breaking out over water, energy and food insecurity in Central Asia is high.41 Here, the five main players — Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan — face swelling populations, crumbling Soviet-era infrastructure, flagging resource cooperation, a degrading land- scape, deteriorating food availability and a changing climate. At the heart of the issue and the region's increasingly volatile politics is water: 'Without water in the region's two great rivers — the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya — vital crops in the down- stream agricultural powerhouses would die. Without power, life in the upstream countries would be unbearable in the freezing winters' , wrote Rustam Qobil. Central Asia's water crisis first exploded onto the global consciousness with the drying of the Aral Sea — the world's fourth largest lake — from the mid 1960s43, following the damming and draining of major rivers such as the Amu Darya, Syr Darya and Naryn. It was hastened by a major drought in 200844 exacerbated by climate change, which is melting the 'water tower' of glacial ice stored in the Tien Shan, Pamir and Hindu Kush mountain ranges that feed the region's rivers. The Tien Shan alone holds 10,000 glaciers, all of them in retreat, losing an estimated 223 million cubic metres a year. At such a rate of loss the region's rivers will run dry within a generation.45 Lack of water has already delivered a body blow to Central Asia's efforts to modernise its agriculture, adding further tension to regional disputes over food, land and water. 'Water has always been a major cause of wars and border conflicts in the Central Asian region', policy analyst Fuad Shahbazov warned. This potential for conflict over water has been exacerbated by disputes over the Fergana valley, the region's greatest foodbowl, which underwent a 32 per cent surge in population in barely ten years — while more and more of it turned to desert.46 The Central Asian region is ranked by the World Resources Institute as one of the world's most perilously water-stressed regions to 2040 (Figure 5.6). With their economies hitting rock bottom, corrupt and autocratic governments that prefer to blame others for their problems and growing quarrels over food, land, energy and water, the 'Stans' face 'a perfect storm', Nate Shenkkan wrote in the journal Foreign Policy 47 Increased meddling by Russia and China is augmenting the explosive mix: China regards Central Asia as a key component of its 'Belt and Road' initiative intended to expand its global influence, whereas Russia hopes to lure the region back into its own economic sphere. Their rival investments may help limit some of the problems faced by Central Asia — or they may unlock a fresh cycle of political feuding, turmoil and regime change.48 A 2017 FAO report found 14.3 million people — one in every five — in Central Asia did not have enough to eat and a million faced actual starvation, children especially. It noted that after years of steady improvement, the situation was deteriorating. This combination of intractable and deteriorating factors makes Central Asia a serious internal war risk towards the mid twentyfirst century, with involvement by superpowers raising the danger of international conflict and mass refugee flight. The Middle East The Middle East is the most water-stressed region on Earth (see Figure 5.5 above). It is 'particularly vulnerable to climate change. It is one of the world's most water-scarce and dry regions, with a high dependency on climate-sensitive agriculture and a large share of its population and economic activity in flood-prone urban coastal zones', according to the World Bank. 49 The Middle East — consisting of the 22 countries of the Arab League, Turkey and Iran — has very low levels of natural rainfall to begin with. Most of it has 600 millimetres or less per year and is classed as arid. 'The Middle East and North Africa [MENA] is a global hotspot of unsustainable water use, especially of ground- water. In some countries, more than half of current water withdrawals exceed what is naturally available', the Bank said in a separate report on water scarcity. 50 'The climate is predicted to become even hotter and drier in most of the MENA region. Higher temperatures and reduced precipitation will increase the occurrence of droughts. It is further estimated that an additional 80—100 million people will be exposed by 2025 to water stress', the Bank added. The region's population of 300 million in the late 2010s is forecast to double to 600 million by 2050. Average temperatures are expected to rise by 3—5 oc and rainfall will decrease by around 20 per cent. The result will be vastly increased water stress, accelerated desertification, growing food insecurity and a rise in sea levels displacing tens of millions from densely popu- lated, low-lying areas like the Nile delta.51 The region is deemed highly vulnerable to climate impacts, warns a report by the UN Development Programme. 'Current climate change projections show that by the year 2025, the water supply in the Arab region will be only 15 per cent of levels in 1960. With population growth around 3 per cent annually and deforestation spiking to 4 per cent annually... the region now includes 14 of the world s 20 most water-stressed countries.'52 The Middle Fast/North Africa (MENA) region has 6 per cent of the world's population with only 1.5 per cent of the world's fresh water reserves to share among them. This means that the average citizen already has about a third less water than the minimum necessary for a reasonable existence — many have less than half, and populations are growing rapidly. Coupled with political chaos and ill governance in many countries, growing religious and ethnic tensions between different groups — often based on centuries-old disputes — a widening gap between rich and poor and foreign meddling by the USA, Russia and China, shortages of food, land and water make the Middle East an evident cauldron for conflict in the twentyfirst century. Growing awareness of their food risk has impelled some oil-rich Arab states into an international farm buying spree, purchasing farming, fishing and food processing companies in countries as assorted as South Sudan, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Ukraine, the USA, Poland, Argentina, Australia, Brazil and Morocco. In some food-stressed countries these acquisitions have already led to riots and killings.53 The risk is high that, by exporting its own food—land—water problems worldwide, especially to regions already facing scarcity, the Middle East could propagate conflicts and government collapses around the globe. This is despite the fact that high-tech solar desalination, green energy, hydroponics, aquaponics and other intensive urban food production technologies make it possible for the region to produce far more of its own food locally, if not to be entirely self-sufficient. Dimensions of the growing crisis in the Middle East include the following. Wars have already broken out in Syria and Yemen in which scarcity of food, land and water were prominent among the tensions that led to conflict between competing groups. Food, land and water issues feed into and exacerbate already volatile sentiment over religion, politics, corruption, mismanagement and foreign interference by the USA, China and Russia. The introduction of cheap solar-powered and diesel pumps has accelerated the unsustainable extraction of groundwater throughout the region, notably in countries like Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Morocco. 54 Turkish building of new dams to monopolise waters flowing across its borders is igniting scarcity and potential for conflict with downstream nations, including Iraq, Iran and Syria. 55 Egypt's lifeline, the Nile, is threatened by Ethiopian plans to dam the Blue Nile, with tensions that some observers consider could lead to a shooting war. 56 There are very low levels of water recycling throughout the region, while water use productivity is about half that of the world as a whole. There is a lack of a sense of citizen responsibility for water and food scarcity throughout the region. Land grabs around the world by oil-rich states are threatening to destabilise food, land and water in other countries and regions, causing conflict. A decline in oil prices and the displacement of oil by the global renewables revolution may leave the region with fewer economic options for solving its problems. There is a risk that acquisition of a nuclear weapon by Iran may set off a nuclear arms race in the region with countries such as Saudi Arabia, Syria and possibly Turkey following suit and Israel rearming to stay in the lead. This would translate potential food, land and water conflicts into the atomic realm. Together these issues, and failure to address their root causes, make the Middle East a fizzing powder keg in the twentyfirst century. The question is when and where, not whether, it explodes — and whether the resulting conflict will involve the use of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, thus affecting the entire world. China China is the world's biggest producer, importer and consumer of food. Much of the landmass of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is too mountainous or too arid for farming, but the rich soils of its eastern and southern regions are highly productive provided sufficient water is available and climate impacts are mild. Those, however, are very big 'ifs'. In 1995, American environmentalist Lester R. Brown both Eked and aroused the PRC Communist Party bosses with a small, hard-hitting book entitled Who Will Feed China? Wake-Up Call for a Small Planet.57 In it he posited that Chinese population growth was so far out of control that the then-agricultural system could not keep up, and China would be forced to import vast amounts of grain, to the detriment of food prices and availability worldwide. His fears, so far, have not been realised — not because they were unsoundly based, but because China managed — just — to stay abreast of rising food demand by stabilising and subsidising grain prices, restoring degraded lands, boosting agricultural science and technology, piping water from south to north, developing high-intensity urban farms, buying up foreign farmland worldwide and encouraging young Chinese to leave the country. What Brown didn't anticipate was the economic miracle that made China rich enough to afford all this. However, his essential thesis remains valid: China's food supply will remain on a knife-edge for the entire twentyfirst century, vulnerable especially to water scarcity and climate impacts. If the nation outruns its domestic resources yet still has to eat, it may well be at the expense of others globally. Some western commentators were puzzled when China scrapped its 35-year 'One Child Policy' in 2015, but in fact the policy had done its job, shaving around 300 million people off the projected peak of Chinese population. It was also causing serious imbalances, such as China's huge unmarried male sur- plus. Furthermore, rising urbanisation and household incomes meant Chinese parents no longer wanted large families, as in the past. Policy or no policy, China's birthrate has continued to fall and by 2018 was 1.6 babies per woman — well below replacement, lower than the USA and nearly as low as Germany. Its population was 1.4 billion, but this was growing at barely 0.4 per cent a year, with the growth due at least in part to lengthening life expectancy. 58 For China, female fertility is no longer the key issue. The critical issue is water. And the critical region is the north, where 41 per cent of the population reside. Here surface and ground- waters — which support not only the vast grain and vegetable farming industries of the North China Plain but also burgeoning megacities like Beijing, Tianjin and Shenyang — have been vanishing at an alarming rate. 'In the past 25 years, 28,000 rivers have disappeared. Groundwater has fallen by up to 1—3 metres a year. One consequence: parts of Beijing are subsiding by 11 cm a year. The flow of the Yellow River, water supply to millions, is a tenth of what it was in the 1940s; it often fails to reach the sea. Pollution further curtails supply: in 2017 8.8 per cent of water was unfit even for agricultural or industrial use', the Financial Times reported.59 On the North China Plain, annual consump- tion of water for all uses, including food production, is about 27 billion cubic metres a year — compared with an annual water availability of 22 billion cubic metres, a deficit that is made up by the short-term expedient of mining the region's groundwater. 60 To stave off disaster, the PRC has built a prodigious network of canals and pipelines from the Yangtse River in the water-rich south, to Beijing in the water-starved north. Hailed as a 'lifeline', the South—North Water Transfer Project had two drawbacks: first, the fossil energy required to pump millions of tonnes of water over a thousand kilometres and, second, the fact that while the volume was sufficient to satisfy the burgeoning cities for a time, it could not supply and distribute enough clean water to meet the needs of irrigated farming over so vast a region in the long run, nor meet those of its planned industrial growth.61 Oft-mouthed 'solutions' like desalination or the piping of water from Tibet or Russia face similar drawbacks: demand is too great for the potential supply and the costs, both financial and environmental, prohibitive. China is already among the world's most water-stressed nations. The typical Chinese citizen has a 'water footprint' of 1071 cubic metres a year — three quarters of the world average (1385 cubic metres), and scarcely a third that of the average American (2842 cubic metres).62 Of this water, 62 per cent is used to grow food to feed the Chinese population — and 90 per cent is so polluted it is unfit to drink or use in food processing. Despite massive investment in water infrastructure and new technology, many experts doubt that China can keep pace with the growth in its demand for food, at least within its own borders, chiefly because of water scarcity.63 Adding to the pressure is that China's national five-year plans for industrialisation demand massive amounts more water — demands that may confront China with a stark choice between food and economic growth. 'The Chinese government is moving too slowly towards the Camel Economy. It has plans, incentives for officials; it invests in recycling, irrigation, pollution, drought resistant crops; it leads the world in high voltage transmission (to get hydro, wind and solar energy from the west of China). None of this is sufficient or likely to be in time', the Financial Times opined. As the world's leading carbon emitter, China is more responsible for climate change than any other country. It is also, potentially, more at risk. The main reason, quite simply, is the impact of a warming world on China's water supply — in the form of disappearing rivers, lakes, groundwater and mountain glaciers along with rising sea levels. To this is coupled the threat to agriculture from increasing weather disasters and the loss of ecosystem services from a damaged landscape. 65 China is thus impaled on the horns of a classic dilemma. Without more water it cannot grow its economy sufficiently to pay for the water-conserving and food-producing technologies and infrastructure it needs to feed its people. Having inadvertently unleashed a population explosion with its highly successful conversion to modern farming systems, the challenge for China now is to somehow sustain its food supply through the population peak of the mid twentyfirst century, followed by a managed decline to maybe half of today's numbers by the early twentysecond century. It is far from clear whether the present approach — improving market efficiency, continuing to modernise agricultural production systems, pumping water, trying to control soil and water losses and importing more food from overseas will work. 66 China has pinned its main hopes on technology to boost farm yields and improve water distribution and management. Unfortunately, it has selected the unsustainable American industrial farming model to do this — which involves the massive use of water, toxic chemicals, fertilisers, fossil fuels and machines. This in turn is having dreadful consequences for China's soils, waters, landscapes, food supply, air, climate and consumer health. Serious questions are now being asked whether such an approach is not digging the hole China is in, even deeper. Furthermore, some western analysts are sceptical whether the heavy hand of state control is up to the task of generating the levels of innovation required to feed China sustainably.67 Plan B, which is to purchase food from other countries, or import it from Chinese-owned farming and food ventures around the world, faces similar difficulties. Many of the countries where China is investing in food production themselves face a slow-burning crisis of land degradation, water scarcity, surging populations and swelling local food demand. By exporting its own problems, China is adding to their difficulties. While there may be some truth to the claim that China is helping to modernise food systems in Africa, for example, it is equally clear that the export of food at a time of local shortages could have dire consequences for Africans, leading to wars in Africa and elsewhere. How countries will react to Chinese pressure to export food in the face of their own domestic shortages is, as yet, unclear. If they permit exports, it could prove cata- strophic for their own people and governments — but if they cut them off, it could be equally catastrophic for China. Such a situation cannot be regarded as anything other than a menace to world peace. Around 1640, a series of intense droughts caused widespread crop failures in China, leading to unrest and uprisings which, in 1644, brought down the Ming Dynasty. A serious domestic Chinese food and water crisis today — driven by drought, degradation of land and water and climate change in northern China coupled with failure in food imports — could cause a re-run of history: 'The forthcoming water crisis may impact China's social, economic, and political stability to a great extent', a US Intelligence Assessment found. The adverse impacts of climate change will add extra pressure to existing social and resource stresses.' 68 Such events have the potential to precipitate tens, even hundreds, of millions of emigrants and refugees into countries all over the world, with domino consequences for those countries that receive them. Strategic analysts have speculated that tens of millions of desperate Chinese flooding into eastern Russia, or even India, could lead to war, including the risk of international nuclear exchange. 69 Against such a scenario are the plain facts that China is a technologically advanced society, with the foresight, wealth and capacity to plan and implement nationwide changes and the will, if necessary, to enforce them. Its leaders are clearly alert to the food and water challenge — and its resolution may well depend on the extent of water recycling they are able to achieve. As to whether the PRC can afford the cost of transitioning from an unsustainable to a sustainable food system, all countries have a choice between unproductive military spending and feeding their populace. A choice between food or war. It remains to be seen which investment China favours. However, it is vital to understand that the problem of whether China can feed itself through the twentyfirst century is not purely a Chinese problem. It's a problem, both economic and physical, for the entire planet — and it is thus in everyone's best interest to help solve it. For this reason, China is rated number 3 on this list of potential food war hotspots. Africa Food wars — that is, wars in which food, land and water play a significant contributing role — have been a constant in the story of Africa since the mid twentieth century, indeed, far longer. In a sense, the continent is already a microcosm of the world of the twentyfirst century as climate change and resource scarcity com- bine with rapid population growth to ratchet up the tensions that lead competing groups to fight, whether the superficial distinc- Mons between them are ethnic, religious, social or political. We have examined the particular cases of Rwanda, South Sudan and the Horn of Africa — but there are numerous other African conflicts, insurgencies and ongoing disturbances in which food, land and water are primary or secondary triggers and where famine is often the outcome: Nigeria, Congo, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Mali, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Maghreb region of the Sahara, Mozambique, Cote d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe have all experienced conflicts in which issues of access to food, land and water were important drivers and consequences. The trajectory of Africa's population in the first two decades of the twentyfirst century implies that the number of its people could quadruple from 1.2 billion in 2017 to 4.5 billion by 2100 (Figure 5.6). If fulfilled, this would make Africans 41 per cent of the world population by the end of the century. The UN Popula- tion Division's nearer projections are for Africans to outnumber Chinese or Indians at 1.7 billion by 2030, and reach 2.5 billion in 2050, which represents a doubling in the continent's inhabitants in barely 30 years. 70 While African fertility rates (babies per woman) remain high by world standards — 4.5 compared with a global average of 2.4 — they have also fallen steeply, from a peak of 8.5 babies in the 1970s. Furthermore, the picture is uneven with birthrates in most Sub-Saharan countries remaining high (around five to six babies/woman), while those of eight, mainly southern, countries have dropped to replace- ment or below (i.e. under 2.1). As has been the case around the world, birth rates tend to drop rapidly with the spread of urban isation, education and economic growth — whereas countries which slide back into poverty tend to experience rising birth- rates. Food access is a vital ingredient in this dynamic: it has been widely observed that better-fed countries tend to have much lower rates of birth and population growth, possibly because people who are food secure lose fewer infants and children in early life and thus are more open to family planning. So, in a real sense, food sufficiency holds one of the keys to limiting the human population to a level sustainable both for Africa and the planet in general. Forecasting the future of Africa is not easy, given the complexity of the interwoven climatic, social, technological and political issues — and many do not attempt it. However, the relentless optimism of the UN and its food agency, the FAO, is probably not justified by the facts as they are known to science — and may have more to do with not wishing to give offence to African governments or discourage donors than with attempting to accurately analyse what may occur. Even the FAO acknowledges however that food insecurity is rising across Sub-Saharan Africa as well as other parts. In 2017, conflict and insecurity were the major drivers of acute food insecurity in 18 countries and territories where almost 74 million food-insecure people were in need of urgent assistance. Eleven of these countries were in Africa and accounted for 37 million acutely food insecure people; the largest numbers were in northern Nigeria, Demo- cratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and South Sudan the agency said in its Global Report on Food Crises 2018.71 The FAO also noted that almost one in four Africans was undernourished in 2016 — a total of nearly a quarter of a billion people. The rise in undernourishment and food insecurity was linked to the effects of climate change, natural disasters and conflict according to Bukar Tijani, the FAO's assistant director general for Africa. 72 Even the comparatively prosperous nation of South Africa sits on a conflict knife-edge, according to a scientific study: 'Results indicate that the country exceeds its environmental boundaries for biodiversity loss, marine harvesting, freshwater use, and climate change, and that social deprivation was most severe in the areas of safety, income, and employment, which are significant factors in conflict risk', Megan Cole and colleagues found. 73 In the Congo, home to the world's second largest tropical forest, 20 years of civil war had not only slain five million civilians but also decimated the forests and their ecological services on which the nation depended. Researchers found evidence that reducing conflict can also help to reduce environ- mental destruction: 'Peace-building can potentially be a win for nature as well, and.. conservation organizations and govern- ments should be ready to seize conservation opportunities'. 74 As the African population doubles toward the mid century, as its water, soils, forests and economic wealth per capita dwindle, as foreign corporations plunder its riches, as a turbulent climate hammers its herders and farmers — both industrial and traditional — the prospect of Africa resolving existing conflicts and avoiding new ones is receding. The mistake most of the world is making is to imagine this only affects the Africans. The consequences will impact everyone on the planet.

### Case

#### “we don’t defend implementation” is the most nonsensical arg in debate – if the appropriation of outer space by private entities is unjust , then private entities shouldn’t appropriate outer space – if they should appropriate outer space, then appropriation can’t be unjust – that process of hypothetical imagination requires fiat and implementation

#### No offense for public space projects good – AC Roberts is a progressive wishlist of government space projects – even if theyre not compatible with private appropriation, they haven’t read UQ ev they would be created without it

#### Imagining futures does not mean solvency is irrelevant – we’ll concede they can break down cap BUT we can derive offense from how that breakdown happens

#### Reject viewing AC Savage as an epistemology indict – “blue origin is evil and has futurist PR” =/= all evidence that disagrees w the aff is bought off

#### Tech innovation undergirded by profit motives are driving the Second Machine Age, which dematerializes capitalism and makes growth a sustainable necessity – AC fernandes looks retrospectively on the success of capitalism – our argument is that future transformations of the capitalist system make it ethical

This ev is v v v long but it’s amazing – answers basically every aff arg

McAfee, 19—cofounder and codirector of the MIT Initiative on the Digital Economy at the MIT Sloan School of Management, former professor at Harvard Business School and fellow at Harvard’s Berkman Center for Internet and Society (Andrew, “Looking Ahead: The World Cleanses Itself This Way,” *More from Less: The Surprising Story of How We Learned to Prosper Using Fewer Resources—and What Happens Next*, Chapter 14, pg 278-292, Kindle, dml)

The decreases in resource use, pollution, and other exploitations of the earth cataloged in the preceding chapters are great news. But are they going to last? It could be that we're just living in a pleasant interlude between the Industrial Era and another rapacious period during which we massively increase our footprint on our planet and eventually cause a giant Malthusian crash.

It could be, but I don't think so. Instead, I think we're going to take better care of our planet from now on. I'm confident that the Second Machine Age will mark the time in our history when we started to progressively and permanently tread more lightly on the earth, taking less from it and generally caring for it better, even as we humans continue to become more numerous and prosperous. The work of Paul Romer, who shared the 2018 Nobel Prize in economics, is one of the sources of this confidence.

Growth Mindset

Romer's largest contribution to economics was to show that it's best not to think of new technologies as something that companies buy and bring in from the outside, but instead as something they create themselves (the title of his most famous paper, published in 1990, is "Endogenous Technological Change"). These technologies are like designs or recipes; as Romer put it, they’re "the instructions that we follow for combining raw materials." This is close to the definitions of technology presented in chapter 7.

Why do companies invent and improve technologies? Simply, to generate profits. They come up with instructions, recipes, and blueprints that will let them grow revenues or shrink costs. As we saw repeatedly in chapter 7, capitalism provides ample incentive for this kind of tech progress.

So far, all this seems like a pretty standard argument for how the first two horsemen work together. Romer's brilliance was to highlight the importance of two key attributes of the technological ideas companies come up with as they pursue profits. The first is that they're nonrival, meaning that they can be used by more than one person or company at a time, and that they don't get used up. This is obviously not the case for most resources made out of atoms—I can't also use the pound of steel that you've just incorporated into the engine of a car—but it is the case for ideas and instructions. The Pythagorean theorem, a design for a steam engine, and a recipe for delicious chocolate chip cookies aren't ever going to get "used up" no matter how much they're used.

The second important aspect of corporate technologies is that they're partially excludable. This means that companies can kind of prevent others from using them. They do this by keeping the technologies secret (such as the exact recipe for Coca-Cola), filing for patents and other intellectual-property protection, and so on. However, none of these measures is perfect (hence the words partially and kind of). Trade secrets leak. Patents expire, and even before they expire, they must describe the invention they're claiming and so let others study it.

Partial excludability is a beautiful thing. It provides strong incentives for companies to create useful, profit-enhancing new technologies that they alone can benefit from for a time, yet it also ensures that the new techs will eventually "spill over"—that with time they’ll diffuse and get adopted by more and more companies, even if that's not what their originators want.

Romer equated tech progress to the production by companies of nonrivalrous, partially excludable ideas and showed that these ideas cause an economy to grow. What's more, he also demonstrated that this idea-fueled growth doesn't have to slow down with time. It's not constrained by the size of the labor force, the amount of natural resources, or other such factors. Instead, economic growth is limited only by the idea-generating capacity of the people within a market. Romer called this capacity "human capital" and said at the end of his 1990 paper, "The most interesting positive implication of the model is that an economy with a larger total stock of human capital will experience faster growth."

This notion, which has come to be called "increasing returns to scale," is as powerful as it is counterintuitive. Most formal models of economic growth, as well as the informal mental ones most of us walk around with, feature decreasing returns—growth slows down as the overall economy gets bigger. This makes intuitive sense; it just feels like it would be easier to experience 5 percent growth in a $1 billion economy than a $1 trillion one. But Romer showed that as long as that economy continued to add to its human capital—the overall ability of its people to come up with new technologies and put them to use—it could actually grow faster even as it grew bigger. This is because the stock of useful, nonrivalrous, nonexcludable ideas would keep growing. As Romer convincingly showed, economies run and grow on ideas.

The Machinery of Prosperity

Romer's ideas should leave us optimistic about the planetary benefits of digital tools—hardware, software, and networks—for three main reasons. First, countless examples show us how good these tools are at fulfilling the central role of technology, which is to provide "instructions that we follow for combining raw materials." Since raw materials cost money, profit-maximizing companies are particularly keen to find ways to use fewer of them. So they use digital tools to come up with beer cans that use less aluminum, car engines that use less steel and less gas, mapping software that removes the need for paper atlases, and so on and so on. None of this is done solely for the good of the earth—it's done for the pursuit of profit that's at the heart of capitalism—yet it benefits the planet by, as we've seen, causing us to take less from it.

Digital tools are technologies for creating technologies, the most prolific and versatile ones we've ever come up with. They're machines for coming up with ideas. Lots of them. The same piece of computer-aided design software can be used to create a thinner aluminum can or a lighter and more fuel-efficient engine. A drone can be used to scan farmland to see if more irrigation is needed, or to substitute for a helicopter when filming a movie. A smartphone can be used to read the news, listen to music, and pay for things, all without consuming a single extra molecule.

In the Second Machine Age, the global stock of digital tools is increasing much more quickly than ever before. It's being used in countless ways by profit-hungry companies to combine raw materials in ways that use fewer of them. In advanced economies such as America's, the cumulative impact of this combination of capitalism and tech progress is clear: absolute dematerialization of the economy and society, and thus a smaller footprint on our planet.

The second way Romer's ideas about technology and growth are showing up at present is via decreased excludability. Pervasive digital tools are making it much easier for good designs and recipes to spread around the world. While this is often not what a company wants—it wants to exclude others from its great cost-saving idea— excludability is not as easy as it used to be.

This isn't because of weaker patent protection, but instead because of stronger digital tools. Once one company shows what's possible, others use hardware, software, and networks to catch up to the leader. Even if they can't copy exactly because of intellectual-property restrictions, they can use digital tools to explore other means to the same end. So, many farmers learn to get higher yields while using less water and fertilizer, even though they combine these raw materials in different ways. Steve Jobs would certainly have preferred for Apple to be the only provider of smartphones after it developed the iPhone, but he couldn't maintain the monopoly no matter how many patents and lawsuits he filed. Other companies found ways to combine processors, memory, sensors, a touch screen, and software into phones that satisfied billions of customers around the world.

The operating system that powers most non-Apple smartphones is Android, which is both free to use and freely modifiable. Google's parent company, Alphabet, developed and released Android without even trying to make it excludable; the explicit goal was to make it as widely imitable as possible. This is an example of the broad trend across digital industries of giving away valuable technologies for free.

The Linux operating system, of which Android is a descendant, is probably the best-known example of free and open-source software, but there are many others. The online software repository GitHub maintains that it's "the largest open source community in the world" and hosts millions of projects. The Arduino community does something similar for electronic hardware, and the Instructables website contains detailed instructions for making equipment ranging from air-particle counters to machine tools, all with no intellectual-property protection. Contributors to efforts such as these have a range of motivations (Alphabet's goals with Android were far from purely altruistic—among other things, the parent of Google wanted to achieve a quantum leap in mobile phone users around the world, who would avail themselves of Google Search and services such as YouTube), but they're all part of the trend of technology without excludability, which is great news for growth.

As we saw in chapter 10, smartphone use and access to the Internet are increasing quickly across the planet. This means that people no longer need to be near a decent library or school to gain knowledge and improve their abilities. Globally, people are taking advantage of the skill-building opportunities of new technologies. This is the third reason that the spread of digital tools should make us optimistic about future growth: these tools are helping human capital grow quickly.

The free Duolingo app, for example, is now the world's most popular way to learn a second language. Of the nearly 15 billion Wikipedia page views during July of 2018, half were in languages other than English. Google's chief economist, Hal Varian, points out that hundreds of millions of how-to videos are viewed every day on YouTube, saying, "We never had a technology before that could educate such a broad group of people anytime on an as-needed basis for free."

Romer's work leaves me hopeful because it shows that it's our ability to build human capital, rather than chop down forests, dig mines, or burn fossil fuels that drives growth and prosperity. His model of how economies grow also reinforces how well capitalism and tech progress work together, which is a central point of this book. The surest way to boost profits is to cut costs, and modern technologies, especially digital ones, offer unlimited ways to combine and recombine materials—to swap, slim, optimize, and evaporate—in cost-reducing ways. There's no reason to expect that the two horsemen of capitalism and tech progress will stop riding together anytime soon. Quite the contrary. Romer's insights reveal that they're likely to gallop faster and farther as economies grow.

Our Brighter, Lighter Future

The world still has billions of desperately poor people, but they won't remain that way. All available evidence strongly suggests that most will become much wealthier in the years and decades ahead. As they earn more and consume more, what will be the impact on the planet?

The history and economics of the Industrial Era lead to pessimism on this important question. Resource use increased in lockstep with economic growth throughout the two centuries between James Watt's demonstration of his steam engine and the first Earth Day. Malthus and Jevons seemed to be right, and it was just a question of when, not if, we'd run up against the hard planetary limits to growth.

But in America and other rich countries something strange, unexpected, and wonderful happened: we started getting more from less. We decoupled population and economic growth from resource consumption, pollution, and other environmental harms. Malthus's and Jevons's ideas gave way to Romer's, and the world will never be the same.

This means that instead of worrying about the world's poor becoming richer, we should instead be helping them upgrade economically as much and as quickly as possible. Not only is it the morally correct thing to do, it's also the smart move for our planet. As today’s poor countries get richer, their institutions will improve and most will eventually go through what Ricardo Hausmann calls "the capitalist makeover of production." This makeover doesn't enslave people, nor does it befoul the earth.

As today’s poor get richer, they'll consume more, but they'll also consume much differently from earlier generations. They won't read physical newspapers and magazines. They'll get a great deal of their power from renewables and (one hopes) nuclear because these energy sources will be the cheapest. They’ll live in cities, as we saw in chapter 12; in fact, they already are. They'll be less likely to own cars because a variety of transportation options will be only a few taps away. Most important, they'll come up with ideas that keep the growth going, and that benefit both humanity and the planet we live on.

Predicting exactly how technological progress will unfold is much like predicting the weather: feasible in the short term, but impossible over a longer time. Great uncertainty and complexity prevent precise forecasts about, for example, the computing devices we’ll be using thirty years from now or the dominant types of artificial intelligence in 2050 and beyond.

But even though we can't predict the weather long term, we can accurately forecast the climate. We know how much warmer and sunnier it will be on average in August than in January, for example, and we know that global average temperatures will rise as we keep adding greenhouse gases to the atmosphere. Similarly, we can predict the "climate" of future technological progress by starting from the knowledge that it will be heavily applied in the areas where it can affect capitalism the most. As we've seen over and over, tech progress supplies opportunities to trim costs (and improve performance) via dematerialization, and capitalism provides the motive to do so.

As a result, the Second Enlightenment will continue as we move deeper into the twenty-first century. I'm confident that it will accelerate as digital technologies continue to improve and multiply and global competition continues to increase. We’ll see some of the most striking examples of slim, swap, evaporate, and optimize in exactly the places where the opportunities are biggest. Here are a few broad predictions, spanning humanity's biggest industries.

Manufacturing. Complex parts will be made not by the techniques developed during the Industrial Era, but instead by three- dimensional printing. This is already the case for some rocket engines and other extremely expensive items. As 3-D printing improves and becomes cheaper, it will spread to automobile engine blocks, manifolds and other complicated arrangements of pipes, airplane struts and wings, and countless other parts. Because 3-D printing generates virtually no waste and doesn't require massive molds, it accelerates dematerialization.

We'll also be building things out of very different materials from what we're using today. We're rapidly improving our ability to use machine learning and massive amounts of computing power to screen the huge number of molecules available in the world. Well use this ability to determine which substances would be best for making flexible solar panels, more efficient batteries, and other important equipment. Our search for the right materials to use has so far been slow and laborious. That's about to change.

So is our ability to understand nature's proteins, and to generate new ones. All living things are made out of the large biomolecules known as proteins, as are wondrous materials such as spiders' silk. The cells in our bodies are assembly lines for proteins, but we currently understand little about how these assembly lines work—how they fold a two-dimensional string of amino acids into a complicated 3-D protein. But thanks to digital tools, we're learning quickly. In 2018, as part of a contest, the AlphaFold software developed by Google DeepMind correctly guessed the structure of twenty-five out of forty-three proteins it was shown; the second-place finisher guessed correctly three times. DeepMind cofounder Demis Hassabis says, "We [haven't] solved the protein-folding problem, this is just a first step... but we have a good system and we have a ton of ideas we haven't implemented yet." As these good ideas accumulate, they might well let us make spider-strength materials.

Energy. One of humanity's most urgent tasks in the twenty-first century is to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Two ways to do this are to become more efficient in using energy and, when generating it, to shift away from carbon-emitting fossil fuels. Digital tools will help greatly with both.

Several groups have recently shown that they can combine machine learning and other techniques to increase the energy efficiency of data centers by as much as 30 percent. This large improvement matters for two reasons. First, data centers are heavy users of energy, accounting for about 1 percent of global electricity demand. So efficiencies in these facilities help. Second, and more important, these gains indicate how much the energy use of all our other complicated infrastructures— everything from electricity grids to chemical plants to steel mills—can be trimmed. All are a great deal less energy efficient than they could be. We have both ample opportunity and ample incentive now to improve them.

Both wind and solar power are becoming much cheaper, so much so that in many parts of the world they're now the most cost-effective options, even without government subsidies, for new electrical generators. These energy sources use virtually no resources once they're up and running and generate no greenhouse gases; they're among the world champions of dematerialization.

In the decades to come they might well be joined by nuclear fusion, the astonishingly powerful process that takes place inside the sun and other stars. Harnessing fusion has been tantalizingly out of reach for more than half a century—the old joke is that it's twenty years away and always will be. A big part of the problem is that it's hard to control the fusion reaction inside any human- made vessel, but massive improvements in sensors and computing power are boosting hope that fusion power might truly be only a generation away.

Transportation. Our current transportation systems are chronically inefficient. Most vehicles aren't used much of the time, and even when they’re in use, they're not nearly full. Now that we have technologies that let us know where every driver, passenger, piece of cargo, and vehicle is at all times, we can greatly increase the utilization and efficiency of every element of transportation.

Renting instead of owning transportation is a likely consequence of this shift. Instead of owning cars, which typically sit idle more than 90 percent of the time, more people will choose to access transportation as needed. We're already seeing this with car-hailing companies such as Uber and Lyft. These services are quickly spreading around the world, and expanding to cover more modes of transportation, from motorbikes to bicycles to electric scooters. They're also moving into commercial applications such as long- and short-haul trucking. As this shift continues, we’ll need fewer tons of steel, aluminum, plastic, gasoline, and other resources to move the world's people and goods around.

We might also experience less congestion and gridlock as we try to get around. Bikes and scooters take up little space compared to cars, so streets can accommodate many more of them. Technology also gives us the ability to implement many forms of "congestion pricing," which has been shown to reduce gridlock by making car access to busy streets expensive enough that people use other options. The most intriguing future transportation platform of all might be the sky. The same technologies that power today's small drones can be scaled up to build "air taxis" with as many as eight propellers and no pilot. Such contraptions sound like science fiction today, but they might be carrying us around by midcentury.

Agriculture. As we saw in chapter 5, leading farms have demonstrated an ability to increase their tonnage of output year after year while decreasing their use of inputs such as land, water, and fertilizer. This trend toward optimization will continue thanks to a set of innovations under the label precision agriculture. The precision comes from many sources, including better sensors of plant and animal health, soil quality and moisture, and so on; the ability to deliver fertilizer, pesticides, and water just where they're needed; and machinery that adapts itself to each plant or animal. All these varieties of precision will combine to allow traditional farms to generate more from less.

So will changes to the genomes of plants and animals. DNA modifications will increase disease and drought tolerance, expand where crops can be grown, and allow us to get more of what we want from each crop or herd. As we saw in chapter 9, they'll also allow us to take better care of vulnerable populations such as infants in poor countries by creating golden rice and other nutrition enhancers. We'll also be able to make much more precise and targeted genetic modifications thanks to a new crop of gene-editing tools that are large improvements over their more scattershot predecessors. Opposition to genetically modified organisms is fierce in some quarters, but isn't based on reason or science. This opposition will, one hopes, fade.

Throughout human history, just about all farming has been done in fields. For some crops, this is now changing. Agriculture has moved indoors, where parameters such as light, humidity, fertilizer, and even the composition of the atmosphere can be precisely monitored and controlled. In everything from urban buildings to shipping containers, crops are now being grown with progressively less labor and fewer material inputs. These completely contained farms will spread and help reduce the planetary footprint of our agriculture.

These examples aren't intended to be comprehensive, and I don't have precise estimates of how likely each innovation is, or when it's most likely to occur. I offer them only to indicate how broad and exciting are the possibilities offered by the two horsemen of capitalism and technological progress, and how they’ll continue to dematerialize our consumption and let us increase our prosperity while treading more lightly on our planet.

#### No limits to growth---their models ignore key feedback effects.

Lynch 16—President of Strategic Energy and Economic Consulting, Director of Asian Energy and Security at the Center for International Studies at MIT, and a Lecturer at Tufts and Vienna University [Michael, *The “peak oil” scare and the coming oil flood*, p. 63-74]

More recently, there has been a clamor about "peak everything" based on the idea that, well, everything is finite and we 're using it up, so it is "running out." Or at least, production must peak. Or, as one physicist [END OF PAGE 63] points out, eventually human energy production will generate as much heat as the sun does-eventually being 1400 years.

Flat Earth

Colin Campbell, in the famed (well, famous in the IEA's offices) debate at the IEA in 1997, compared resource optimists to the conservative Spanish court that opposed the visionary, Columbus, and has since referred to those, like Adelman and me, who disagreed with him as "flat-earth economists." Albert Bartlett later explained that the term actually meant that economists thought the earth had two dimensions and thus was infinite, containing equivalently infinite resources.

But this description ignores two important variables: capital and knowledge. Additional investment can often increase the production of renewables like agricultural products and nonrenewables like minerals and oil in the same amount of space, as can better technology. Neo-Malthusians tend to ignore this factor and argue that the rate of technological advance (and greater scientific knowledge) has diminished or disappeared, as described in Chapter 7.

The argument is somewhat specious and relies in part the question of the finiteness of resources, discussed earlier-or a static measure of resources and dynamic view of consumption, as in The Limits to Growth.

HOW LONG?

Perhaps the most important factor that raises skepticism is the fact that at least some exponential alarmists fear the distant future. Any number of pundits have looked at long-term forecasts of economic and/or technological development and characterized them as foolish. We have no flying cars, nuclear power is not too cheap to meter, and no one is eating Soylent Green. On the other hand, most of these were not serious forecasting efforts, but rather off-the-cuff remarks (or the equivalent), and those making them were not particularly serious about achieving them within a specific time frame. And we do eat Soylent Green already; only we call it tofu and vegemite. (Read the book, it wasn't people.)

NEWTON'S FIRST LAW

The biggest mistakes have come from an apparent source: extrapolation of a trend endlessly, as if there were no feedback or other variables [END PAGE 64] involved. Jay Forrester, the inventor of Systems Dynamics, which was used in The Limits to Growth model (and which I have used), reportedly once said that feedback effects tend to overwhelm the initial stimuli, which is probably true in many cases. Yet, many neo-Malthusians and especially peak oil advocates tend to extrapolate a given trend endlessly, assuming no feedback effect whatsoever.

Indeed, the first wave of peak oil advocates explicitly argued that no feedback effect would occur: prices didn't affect production or consumption levels. Technological advances were either unimportant or had ceased and so could not increase the resource base.

An important element of the fear of exponential growth is the analysts' choice of particularly high growth rates. As Figure 4.1 showed, Ehrlich chose the highest observed growth in the 20th century for his calculations, even though it represented the post-World War II baby boom and should have been considered an exception, not the norm. Similarly, Bartlett, writing in 1998, talks about the growth in oil demand from the 1950s and 1960s at 7 [percent] a year, which causes a doubling of use every decade, 25 which sounds alarming, given the arguments about the difficulty of making a speedy energy transition, until you realize that consumption growth dropped to 3% per year in the 1970s (a doubling time of 24 years), and under 1 [percent] per year in the 1980s (a doubling period of 75 years), before recovering to 1.5% in the seven years before his talk (48 years).

This emphasizes the lack of feedback mechanism used in these simplistic models and how important they are in the real world.

REAL SCARCITY

Indeed, the subtext of the fear of resource scarcity is that renewable resources have repeatedly been the source of problems. In Tainter's The Collapse of Complex Societies, he talks about resources as causing the fall of a number of (mostly) ancient civilizations; nearly all suffered from problems like lengthy droughts and salt buildup in irrigated farmland. 26

And similar problems continue today, especially if you consider endangered species, from rhinos to tuna. In all cases, these are renewable resources, the very ones that are NOT finite, that are sustainable, that we can rely on for all eternity-in theory. No lasting shortage of nonrenewable resources minerals and energy-has occurred since the advent of the global economy.

#### Economic decline causes nuclear war.

Tønnesson 15—Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo; Leader of East Asia Peace program, Uppsala University [Stein, “Deterrence, interdependence and Sino–US peace,” International Area Studies Review, 2015, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 297-311]

Several recent works on China and Sino–US relations have made substantial contributions to the current understanding of how and under what circumstances a combination of nuclear deterrence and economic interdependence may reduce the risk of war between major powers. At least four conclusions can be drawn from the review above: first, those who say that interdependence may both inhibit and drive conflict are right. Interdependence raises the cost of conflict for all sides but asymmetrical or unbalanced dependencies and negative trade expectations may generate tensions leading to trade wars among interdependent states that in turn increase the risk of military conflict (Copeland, 2015: 1, 14, 437; Roach, 2014). The risk may increase if one of the interdependent countries is governed by an inward-looking socio-economic coalition (Solingen, 2015); second, the risk of war between China and the US should not just be analysed bilaterally but include their allies and partners. Third party countries could drag China or the US into confrontation; third, in this context it is of some comfort that the three main economic powers in Northeast Asia (China, Japan and South Korea) are all deeply integrated economically through production networks within a global system of trade and finance (Ravenhill, 2014; Yoshimatsu, 2014: 576); and fourth, decisions for war and peace are taken by very few people, who act on the basis of their future expectations. International relations theory must be supplemented by foreign policy analysis in order to assess the value attributed by national decision-makers to economic development and their assessments of risks and opportunities. If leaders on either side of the Atlantic begin to seriously fear or anticipate their own nation’s decline then they may blame this on external dependence, appeal to anti-foreign sentiments, contemplate the use of force to gain respect or credibility, adopt protectionist policies, and ultimately refuse to be deterred by either nuclear arms or prospects of socioeconomic calamities. Such a dangerous shift could happen abruptly, i.e. under the instigation of actions by a third party – or against a third party.

Yet as long as there is both nuclear deterrence and interdependence, the tensions in East Asia are unlikely to escalate to war. As Chan (2013) says, all states in the region are aware that they cannot count on support from either China or the US if they make provocative moves. The greatest risk is not that a territorial dispute leads to war under present circumstances but that changes in the world economy alter those circumstances in ways that render inter-state peace more precarious. If China and the US fail to rebalance their financial and trading relations (Roach, 2014) then a trade war could result, interrupting transnational production networks, provoking social distress, and exacerbating nationalist emotions. This could have unforeseen consequences in the field of security, with nuclear deterrence remaining the only factor to protect the world from Armageddon, and unreliably so. Deterrence could lose its credibility: one of the two great powers might gamble that the other yield in a cyber-war or conventional limited war, or third party countries might engage in conflict with each other, with a view to obliging Washington or Beijing to intervene.

#### Neoliberal globalization reduce the frequency and severity of wars by a factor of ten.

Mooney 14 – Loren, Stanford Graduate School of Business, summarizing Matthew O. Jackson, the William D. Eberle Professor of Economics at Stanford, and earned his PhD in economics from Stanford GSB in 1988. (“Matthew O. Jackson: Can Trade Prevent War?” May 28, 2014https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/insights/matthew-o-jackson-can-trade-prevent-war)

While there is considerable existing research on the effects of trade and war, much of it has looked at bilateral relationships. This model focuses on multilateral interactions and considers various incentives for countries to attack, form alliances with, and trade with one another. In an attempt to understand what's necessary to achieve a stable network with no incentive for war, Jackson and Nei first explored an alliance scenario based solely on military defense considerations, excluding trade. "The fundamental difficulty we find is that alliances are costly to maintain if there's no economic incentive," says Jackson. So networks remain relatively sparse, a condition in which even a few shifting allegiances leaves some countries vulnerable to attack. "Stability is not just a little bit elusive; it's very elusive."

Economic trade, however, makes a significant difference. "Once you bring in trade, you see network structures densify," he says. Nations form a web of trading alliances, which creates financial incentive not only to keep peace with trading partners, but also to protect them from being attacked so as not to disrupt trade. "In the context of the alliances we have analyzed, trade motives are essential to avoiding wars and sustaining stable networks," the authors wrote in their paper, Networks of Military Alliances, Wars, and International Trade.

Their findings coincide with two major global trends since World War II: From 1950 to 2000, the incidence of interstate war has decreased nearly tenfold compared with the period from 1850 to 1949. At the same time, since 1950 international trade networks have increased nearly fourfold, becoming significantly more dense. "In the period before World War II, it was hard to find a stable set of alliances," says Jackson. The probability of a lasting alliance was about 60%. "You have almost a coin-flip chance that the alliance won't still be there in five years," he says. In Europe in the 1870s, for example, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck sought peace with "balance of power" diplomacy, which crumbled leading up to World War I. "Then in the past 50 years or so, there's been a surprising global stability." The impact of economic interdependence is especially apparent in Europe, Jackson says, where the Eurozone has promoted not only peace and increased trade among nations, but also labor mobility.

Very costly wars still occur, of course, but Jackson notes that the most war-torn places in recent history have tended to be those with fewer global trade alliances. For example, the Second Congo War from 1998 to 2003 and beyond, which killed more than four million people and is the deadliest war since World War II, involved eight African nations with relatively few trade ties. "Then look at the Kuwait situation," says Jackson, referring to U.S. intervention in the first Gulf War to protect oil supplies. "Economic interest drives a lot of what goes on in terms of where nations are willing to exercise military strength."

There are other real-world factors that have no doubt influenced war and trade trends since World War II, among them the proliferation of nuclear weapons — "Changing military technology can help maintain stable arrangements," says Jackson — the Cold War, an increase in worldwide wealth levels, and the introduction of container shipping in the 1960s, which has helped facilitate low-cost, long-range trade.

Still, Jackson and Nei's theoretical model suggests that trade alliances play a critical role. And in fact economic allies may be the most worth striving for in developing areas. "Maybe wars like the Second Congo War won't be occurring in the future if there's more trade with African nations," says Jackson. "Economic interests can really help us have a more peaceful world than we already have."

#### Concede private space enterprise lower net access to income and resources - spending power is the main drivers of demand for wood products

Brack 18 [Duncan Brack is an independent environmental policy analyst and an associate of Forest Trends.

From 2010 to 2012 he was special adviser at the UK Department of Energy and Climate Change; before that he worked for Chatham House, and from 1998 to 2003 was head of its Sustainable Development Programme. “Sustainable consumption and production of forest products.” April 2018. https://www.un.org/esa/forests/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/UNFF13\_BkgdStudy\_ForestsSCP.pdf]

Changes in population age structures indirectly affect demand for wood products. Increases in working age populations – currently being experienced in many developing countries – are often associated with a high demand for housing, and therefore for wood products used in construction and furnishing. This 12 UN DESA, World Population Prospects 2017, at https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/. Consumption and production of forest products | April 2018 Page | 19 may be offset by contractions in demand in countries with ageing populations, though this also depends on cultural factors, such as family structure and degree of fragmentation. The competitiveness of economies in labour-intensive sectors may decline in the context of ageing populations, and also as wages and working practices improve, encouraging the relocation of labour-intensive industries (such as furniture manufacturing) to countries with more abundant labour. The rate and extent of urbanisation also affects demand for wood products, most obviously through demand for timber for housing, including wood used in construction, such as plywood for forms and scaffolding, as well as wood incorporated in the building, window and door frames, doors and furniture. As discussed in Section 1.1, the global financial crisis and recession of 2008–09 had a major impact on housing starts, particularly in the US, with an immediate effect on demand for sawnwood, plywood and other products. Urbanisation can also, however, reduce demand for wood fuel, as access to electricity and alternative forms of heating is generally easier in urban than in rural areas. Demand for wood products is significantly affected by changes in income, in complex and interconnected ways. All else being equal, increasing income – often characterised as the ‘growth of the global middle class’ – tends to be associated with rising demand for wood products (apart from wood fuel, where generally demand falls), particularly those used in construction and housing. The highest rate of growth as income rises is generally seen in the consumption of paper and paper products, including packaging. Consumption of paper products now appears to be falling in the US, however, and is growing only very slowly in Europe, suggesting that peak consumption may have been reached, probably connected with the increasing use of IT and social media and declining newspaper readership.

#### Wage increases cause demand for wood products to increase

Cannon 17 [John Cannon is an American journalist currently based in Gaza City. Before that, he lived in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic. He has written for New Scientist, Slate.com, Yale Environment 360 and Bicycle Times, as well as other publications. “Deforestation rises with incomes in developing economies”. January 2017. https://news.mongabay.com/2017/01/deforestation-rises-with-incomes-in-developing-economies/]

Economists have for the first time shown a definitive link between rising incomes and a corresponding uptick in deforestation using satellite mapping data. For a long time, economists have assumed that this more-or-less predictable pattern exists in developing economies, but it’s been difficult to prove. “Until now, nobody had found a way of testing it empirically in a convincing way,” said Jesús Crespo Cuaresma, an economist at the International Institute for Systems Analysis (IIASA) and the Vienna University of Economics and Business. He is also the lead author of the study reporting the findings, published on Jan. 16 in the journal Scientific Reports. Data from the University of Maryland visualized on Global Forest Watch indicate the Brazilian portion of the area shown in the bottom inset lost around 24 percent of its tree cover in the 14 years between 2001 and 2014; in total, less than 10 percent of its forest cover remains today. Part of the reason is that information about forest cover, especially in the poorest economies where this effect is most pronounced, hasn’t been reliable, Crespo Cuaresma told Mongabay. Much of the economic research on this type of trend used estimates and simulations of forest cover, such as those from the Food and Agriculture Organization. Those gaps in the data led to conflicting conclusions at times on the parts of researchers investigating this relationship. “Satellite-sensed data provides exactly what would be required to overcome all those data problems that were present until now in the literature,” Crespo Cuaresma said. For this study, he and his colleagues pulled together the numbers for the economies of 130 countries and then looked specifically at the trends in forest cover along borders using satellite data from 2005. Examining the areas around human-drawn lines on maps is a technique that social scientists sometimes use to understand why conditions – often the result of disparities in politics or institutions – differ between two neighboring countries, the authors write. Important variables at national borders, such as rainfall and temperature should be fairly similar. Satellite imagery from Google Earth Engine’s Timelapse platform shows deforestation progressing on the Brazilian side of Brazil/Bolivia border from 1984 to 2016. In effect, they tested their hypothesis with this “natural experiment” in which the differences in forest cover could be ascribed to the economic disparity between the countries found on either side of the border. They found that in the poorest countries, this effect was clear. In particular, as per capita incomes rose, so did the level of deforestation. For example, agricultural expansion in western Brazil has led to significant deforestation in the region, while forest on the other side of its border in Bolivia – one of South America’s poorest countries – has remained relatively unscathed. They also expected a reversal of this trend in comparing middle-income or emerging economies with wealthier countries, but it wasn’t clear whether that part of their hypothesis held. Cross-Border Deforestation Index for all borders for which data were available. Orange and red borders show the greatest disparity in forest cover. Map generated with ArcGIS (v.9.3.1) www.esri.com. Image © Crespo Cuaresma et al., 2017 “Eventually, as countries get rich enough and there is enough demand for environmental quality, you would expect reforestation to take place,” Crespo Cuaresma said. “That is the part where we have not found strong evidence.” What is clear, he said, was the importance that sub-Saharan Africa will likely have in the future as we search for ways to stem climate change. “The future of sub-Saharan Africa seems to be particularly central to what’s going to happen with climate change challenges in the future,” he added. Home to some of the poorest countries in the world, those economies are still expected to grow. As Crespo Cuaresma and his colleagues have shown, that will likely mean a decline in forest cover. “This is particularly worrying because Africa is home to some of the world’s largest tracts of remaining undisturbed forests,” said Ian McCallum in a statement. McCallum is a remote sensing scientist at IIASA and coauthor of the study. “Factors that keep deforestation in check in other tropical regions of the world, like good governance, monitoring systems, and peace, are lacking in much of tropical Africa,” he said.

#### Increased US timber demand spurs global deforestation

Cannon 18 [John Cannon is an American journalist currently based in Gaza City. Before that, he lived in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic. He has written for New Scientist, Slate.com, Yale Environment 360 and Bicycle Times, as well as other publications. “How Furniture Demand in America Thins Forests Across Central Africa.” August 10, 2018. https://psmag.com/environment/african-deforestation-is-affected-by-american-furniture-demand]

Logging to feed furniture factories in China, spurred by demand from the United States, is thinning the forests of Central Africa, recent research has found. Lead author Trevon Fuller, an ecologist at the University of California–Los Angeles, said he previously learned about research demonstrating that, as the demand for ivory in China rose, so did [the incidence of elephant poaching](http://www.nature.com/articles/476282c) in East Africa. That led him to wonder if a similar connection might be instigating the loss of forest in Central Africa's Congo Basin, home to the world's second-largest rainforest. Once the research was underway, "The question came up: What's driving these Chinese companies to extract timber from Central Africa?" Fuller said. The answer? "It's just an unbelievable amount of demand from [consumers] in the U.S.," he said. Fuller and his colleagues started by pulling together the statistics on timber exports from five Central African countries to China between 2001 and 2015. During that period, China more than doubled its imports of wood from the Congo Basin and eclipsed the European Union as the region's biggest export market. The E.U. Timber Regulation came into effect in 2013, near the end of the study period. It requires "due diligence" from importers to verify that timber they're bringing into E.U. markets isn't illegally harvested, particularly when it comes from "high-risk" countries. Fuller said those restrictions could be a "plausible" factor behind why China had become such a large export market. The researchers [published their findings in the journal *Area*](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/area.12469) on June 27th. To determine the effect that this demand had on forests, the team also looked at satellite data tracking annual rates of tree cover loss in each of the countries. The Democratic Republic of Congo, with the region's largest bank of forest, didn't export a lot of wood to China during the study period. Fuller said the DRC's lack of roads made getting timber out of the forests difficult and expensive, and subsistence farming [remains the main cause of deforestation there](https://news.mongabay.com/2018/02/maps-tease-apart-complex-relationship-between-agriculture-and-deforestation-in-drc/). But a statistical model revealed a correlation between the levels of timber exports to China and the rate of tree cover loss in the Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, and Gabon. What's more, those export figures did a better job of explaining the countries' rates of tree cover loss than other factors such as rural population growth, palm oil production, and the existence of logging roads. The analysis also turned up a marked shift in where that wood was coming from. Until 2009, Gabon was China's major supplier, responsible for 60 percent of the wood exported from the Congo Basin to China. But [a 2010 ban on the export of unprocessed logs](https://news.mongabay.com/2010/06/gabon-bans-log-exports/) in Gabon, aimed at building up its own wood processing sector, slashed that figure to 30 percent by 2015. Fuller and his colleagues calculated that the Republic of Congo and Cameroon, where timber regulations aren't as strict, have made up for the shortfall, and by 2015, together they accounted for half of China's timber supply from the region. For its part, Gabon's export ban appears to have benefited the country's forests. "It reduced deforestation to some extent," Fuller said. The team also found that tree cover loss in the Republic of Congo and Cameroon was "significantly higher" than it was in Gabon between 2001 and 2015. The impact that these restrictions can have should be important consideration for Congo Basin countries, the authors write, especially as Cameroon and Gabon are currently revising their forest codes. Their analysis also revealed that the proportion of furniture arriving in the U.S. from China rose from 30 percent to 50 percent between 2001 and 2015. They suggest curbing some of that demand by encouraging consumers to seek out furniture made from bamboo, recycled wood, or plastic. A sustainability certification process for furniture might also provide "a way to combat unsustainable timber extraction," Fuller said. He also said he would like to investigate the potential for public awareness campaigns, in both China and the U.S. "Can they change consumers' buying habits?" he asked. If they are effective in stemming demand, they could hold a key to keeping more of the Congo Basin's forests, and the vast reserves of carbon and biodiversity they contain, intact.

#### There is a direct correlation between deforestation and new zoonotic diseases

Padma 20 [T.V. Padma is a science and environment correspondent based in New Delhi. Her reports have been published in a mix of international and national publications including Nature, New Scientist, Chemistry World, India Climate Dialigue and The Wire. “Deforestation and disease: How natural habitat destruction can fuel zoonotic diseases.” April 1, 2020. https://india.mongabay.com/2020/04/deforestation-and-disease-how-natural-habitat-destruction-can-fuel-zoonotic-diseases/]

In recent years, the intrusion of human beings into habitats of rodents and mites, particularly for cutting grass, has resulted in a wider distribution of scrub typhus disease in India, he says. A similar link between increased risk of scrub typhus and deforestation was recently reported in South Korea too, he pointed out. Similarly, local deforestation has been linked to the emergence of Kyasanur Forest Disease (KFD) in and around Shimoga in Karnataka state, while the emergence of Nipah Virus is being linked to changes in ecological conditions that have led to fruit bats coming out of their natural habitat and feeding on agricultural produce. This is in addition to insect-borne infections such as dengue, chikungunya and Japanese encephalitis, which have re-emerged in the Indian sub-continent, Dhiman says. Graphic shows how the KFD virus can spread to animals and humans. Over 9000 people living in the periphery of the Western Ghats have been affected by the disease. Infographic courtesy the Centre for Disease Control, USA. Rajan Patil, associate professor of epidemiology at SRM University, Chennai, says growing proximity between human settlements and wildlife is increasing the rate of disease transmission between domestic animals and wildlife. “Irrespective of whether humans are going into forest areas or animals are coming to human settlements due to deforestation, viruses are being exchanged,” he says. “Usually in undisturbed habitats, viruses keep circulating in mild forms in animals. It is when this equilibrium is disturbed and they come in contact with humans, some cross the species barrier due to a mutation, and human infections start taking place,” Patil explains. He cites the example of swine flu (H1N1) virus that remains a very mild infection in pigs, but becomes “deadly” when it mutates and crosses over to humans.” Patil’s team had previously attributed Nipah and Hendra virus outbreaks to “destruction of forests that have adversely affected the roosting site for fruit bat species which is the reservoir for these pathogens.” As a result, fruit bats have shifted to the fruit trees in human settlements, increasing contact between human and bats. Other examples cited by Patil are Lyme disease transmitted by ticks through white-footed mice; West Nile Disease, a mosquito-borne disease whose primary reservoir is wild birds; and an outbreak of anthrax in Chhattisgarh state which he attributes to loss of biodiversity. Global problem Globally too, experts are linking deforestation with recent outbreaks. Tropical deforestation in southeast Asia, and in South America, has been increasing at alarming rates, points out Rulli. Rulli’s work on Ebola has shown how the index cases of about 10 Ebola epidemics in Africa over the last two decades occurred in regions affected by deforestation and forest fragmentation. According to her, “the spillover from wildlife or reservoir species into humans is favored by landuse change such as deforestation

and forest fragmentation for a variety of reasons.” One is that as humans encroach wildlife habitats, there are increased chances of human contact with infected species. A second is that natural habitat destruction alters animal community dynamics, and sometimes increases the numbers of some ‘generalist’ pathogens that can reside in a range of hosts, and reduces the numbers of ‘specialist’ species that thrive in limited hosts in the previous “undisturbed” conditions. Thomas Gillespie, associate professor at the department of environmental sciences at Emory University, U.S. says that when extractive industries, such as logging, oil exploration and mining, are implemented in largely uninhabited wilderness areas, they provide the opportunity for human exposure to novel pathogens. “Everyone is talking about the problem of the wet (illegal black market) market in Wuhan, but what about the effects of the nearby Three Gorges Dam project?” asks Gillespie. “It is the world’s largest hydroelectric power station, built on the Yangtze river in an area that was previously a mix of secondary forest and agricultural land. Many of the animals that used to live in that area likely died when their habitat was destroyed, but bats can fly.” The Three Gorges Dam project on the Yangtze river in China is in an area that was previously a mix of secondary forest and agricultural land. Photo by Le Grand Portage/Wikimedia Commons. While scientists do not have the necessary data yet on where exactly the dislodged bats went or how did they adapt, “but there are plausible linkages,” he says. “Whenever you have novel interactions with a diverse range of species in one place — whether that’s in a natural environment like a tropical forest or in an artificially created environment like a wet market — you can have spillover events,” says Gillespie. The wet markets really represent the minority of opportunities for spillover to occur, he says. Close to a third of diseases that emerge are linked to large-scale land-use change like deforestation and well over half of diseases that emerge are coming from wildlife in forests – including such well-known examples as HIV and Ebola. Gillespie says there are many examples of pathogen spillover related to deforestation for agricultural monocultures including palm oil, for example Nipah and Lassa viruses; sugar cane and soybean in the case of hantavirus. He traces the emergence of Nipah virus, for example, to deforestation for palm oil production and an El Niño-driven drought that led to large-scale burning of rainforests in Indonesia. Forced to find food elsewhere, fruit bats, which are long-distance flyers made their way to Malaysia, where industrial-scale pig farming was expanding rapidly – to the scale of about 500-1000-hectare farms with 25,000-50,000 pigs. “The fruit bats found food from the fruit trees on these pig farms, but the pigs became sick after eating partially eaten fruit that fell from these trees into their enclosures. Pig farmers then became infected by the pigs,” and led to the first of a series of recurrent outbreaks of Nipah in people throughout southeast Asia including India, explains Gillespie. Like the Nipah virus, the global demand for palm oil was the driver for the large-scale land-use change that led to the spillover of Lassa virus, which causes a hemorrhagic fever like Ebola in humans and can kill 30 percent of the infected, in West Africa, says Gillespie. From Sierra Leone to Nigeria, native forest-living rodents were forced to seek out food when forests were cleared to establish palm oil plantations. In 2013 Gillespie’s team reported the probable emergence of Saint Louis encephalitis in association with the Conquistadors hauling plundered gold from Peru across the isthmus of Panama to ship back to Spain. “The AIDS pandemic traces its roots back to the butchering of chimpanzees in forested areas of central Africa,” he points out.

#### Pathogens cause extinction.

Anders **Sandberg 18**. Future of Humanity Institute, University of Oxford. 02/26/2018. “Human Extinction from Natural Hazard Events.” Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Natural Hazard Science. oxfordre.com, doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780199389407.013.293.

Biological Risks Human populations are subject to natural pandemics where “new” pathogens spread across large areas. These can often be lethal: the Black Death killed 72–200 million people in Eurasia (18%–50% of the world’s population), with a mortality rate ranging from 20%–60% in different locations (Benedictow, 2004; Ziegler, 2013). The Columbian exchange of diseases between the New and Old world led to a catastrophic population decline in the Americas (Alfani & Murphy, 2017). The 1918 flu pandemic resulted in 50–100 million deaths (Johnson & Mueller, 2002) (2.7%–5% of the world’s population). Emerging diseases are likely to cause pandemics in the future, and this may contribute to extinction. It may appear unlikely that a pathogen could cause extinction of its host, since lack of hosts would naturally limit the pathogen population. However, this does not apply if the pathogen has a reservoir in another host species. A pathogen with a reservoir species that acts as a stable carrier state for the pathogen, a high potential for infecting susceptible species (especially critical age groups), and hyperlethality (mortality in the range of 50%–75%) may cause repeated outbreaks that gradually reduces the fitness of the species until eventually it succumbs to other random environmental events (MacPhee & Greenwood, 2013). Amphibian chytridiomycosis may be a good example, where the pathogen has a large host range but is lethal to particular species (Berger et al., 2016). On the other hand, Tasmanian devil facial tumor disease may cause an extinction in an already threatened species because both a low density threshold and low genetic diversity among the hosts makes all individuals susceptible (McCallum, 2012). As an example, avian influenza H5N1 represents a recognized potential pandemic that could cause massive damage if a mutation would add the ability of easy transmissibility between humans (at present human infections are not transmissible). It also exists within a large pool of bird hosts. Given that past influenza pandemics have infected between 24%–38% of the population, H5N1 has a case fatality rate ranging from 1% to 60%, a rough estimate suggest that a pandemic could kill between 16.8 million and 1.7 billion people (Cotton-Barratt et al., 2016). A pandemic flu model estimated 21–33 million deaths globally for a modern re-run of the 1918 flu but noted that it did not represent a worst case scenario (Madhav, 2013). While unlikely to be an extinction threat on its own, it could clearly weaken a vulnerable population. Viruses with longer incubation times, higher infectiousness, and case fatality rates are known: while a super-pandemic combining all these properties may be unlikely, it does not seem biologically impossible. In addition, deliberate alterations of different viruses have successfully increased transmissibility and lethality, or reduced treatability: the major biological extinction risk may be deliberately engineered pathogens rather than natural.