# AFF

### Notes

#### AC outline

* Worker power
  + Inequality (strike, unions ILs)- multilat impact
  + Climate change
  + Democracy
  + Unions- interventionism impact
* Solvency
  + PIC pre-empts

## AC

### Advocacy

#### I affirm, Resolved: A just government ought to recognize an unconditional right of workers to strike.

### Worker Power

#### Contention One: Worker Power

#### The right to strike is the only way to leverage worker power- that builds unions, solves inequality and environmental collapse, and forges democratic consciousness

Bradbury, 19 – Labor Notes editor

[Alexandra, et al, “Why Strikes Matter,” Labor Notes, 10-17-19, https://www.labornotes.org/2019/10/why-strikes-matter, accessed 10-10-21]

Why Strikes Matter

Strikes are where our power is. Without a credible strike threat, workers are at the boss's mercy.

“Why do you rob banks?” a reporter once asked Willie Sutton. “Because that’s where the money is,” the infamous thief replied.

Why go on strike? Because that’s where our power is.

Teachers in West Virginia showed it in 2018 when they walked out, in a strike that bubbled up from below, surprising even their statewide union leaders.

No one seemed concerned that public sector strikes were unlawful in West Virginia. “What are they going to do, fire us all?” said Jay O’Neal, treasurer for the Kanawha County local. “Who would they get to replace us?” Already the state had 700 teaching vacancies, thanks to the rock-bottom pay the strikers were protesting.

After 13 days out, the teachers declared victory and returned to their classrooms with a 5 percent raise. They had also backed off corporate education “reformers” on a host of other issues.

The biggest lesson: “Our labor is ours first,” West Virginia teacher Nicole McCormick told the crowd at the Labor Notes Conference that spring. “It is up to us to give our labor, or to withhold it.”

That’s the fundamental truth on which the labor movement was built.

Strikes by unorganized workers led to the founding of unions. Strikes won the first union contracts. Strikes over the years won bigger paychecks, vacations, seniority rights, and the right to tell the foreman “that’s not my job.” Without strikes we would have no labor movement, no unions, no contracts, and a far worse working and living situation.

In short, strikes are the strongest tool in workers’ toolbox—our power not just to ask, but to force our employers to concede something.

DISCOVER YOUR POWER

The key word is “force.” A strike is not just a symbolic protest. It works because we withhold something that the employer needs—its production, its good public image, its profits, and above all its control over us.

As one union slogan has it, “this university works because we do”—or this company, or this city. A strike reveals something that employers would prefer we not notice: they need us.

Workplaces are typically run as dictatorships. The discovery that your boss does not have absolute power over you—and that in fact, you and your co-workers can exert power over him—is a revelation.

There’s no feeling like it. Going on strike changes you, personally and as a union.

“Walking into work the first day back chanting ‘one day longer, one day stronger’ was the best morning I’ve ever had at Verizon,” said Pam Galpern, a field tech and mobilizer with Communication Workers Local 1101, after workers beat the corporate giant in a 45-day strike in 2016.

“There was such a tremendous feeling of accomplishment. People were smiling and happy. It was like a complete 180-degree difference from before the strike,” when supervisors had been micromanaging and writing workers up for the smallest infractions.

In a good strike, everyone has a meaningful role. Strikers develop new skills and a deeper sense that they own and run their union. New leaders emerge from the ranks and go on to become stewards.

New friendships are formed; workers who didn’t know or trust one another before forge bonds of solidarity. A few stubborn co-workers finally see why the union matters and sign on as members.

Allies from faith groups, neighborhood groups, or other unions adopt your cause. You and your co-workers lose some fear of the boss—and the boss gains some fear of you.

In all these ways and more—not to mention the contract gains you may win—a strike can be a tremendous union-building activity.

JUST THE THREAT

Sometimes coming to the brink of a strike is enough to make your employer blink. Workers at an Indiana truck plant in 2016 got as far as hauling burn barrels to work every day to show they were ready to hit the picket lines. The company, Hendrickson International, averted a strike by agreeing to phase out two-tier wages and pensions.

The benefits of a humbled employer can last beyond a single contract cycle. After Seattle’s grocery chains in 2013 came within two hours of a strike—the union dramatized the impending deadline with a giant countdown clock—the chains scrambled to avoid a repeat in 2016 by settling a new contract before the old one expired.

The transformation can also reach beyond the workplace. Strikes open up our political horizons, expanding our sense of what’s possible if we use our power.

This summer, a general strike in Puerto Rico brought down two corrupt governors in quick succession. This fall, Amazon workers struck for a day as they pushed their employer to take on climate change. Large-scale strikes will be crucial if we expect to rescue our world from the corporations that promote poverty and environmental collapse. The 1% are not going to hand us anything.

A NEW UPSURGE?

Strikes in the U.S. have declined dramatically over the past half-century. Since 1947 the Bureau of Labor Statistics has tracked strikes and lockouts involving 1,000 or more workers.

From 1947 through 1981, there were hundreds of such big strikes each year. Last year there were 20. The decline in strikes is a reflection of unions’ diminishing power and numbers—and a reason for it. But strikes aren’t dead.

Over the years it has gotten harder (in some ways) to strike and win. Some of the best tactics have been outlawed; some of the best sources of leverage have been neutralized.

#### The right to strike is key to strong unions- that solves inequality

Myall, 19 -- Maine Center for Economic Policy policy analyst

[James Myall, "Right to strike would level the playing field for public workers, with benefits for all of us," MECEP, 4-17-2019, https://www.mecep.org/blog/right-to-strike-would-level-the-playing-field-for-public-workers-with-benefits-for-all-of-us/, accessed 10-10-2021]

Right to strike would level the playing field for public workers, with benefits for all of us

The right of workers to organize and bargain with their employer benefits all Mainers. Collective bargaining leads to better wages, safer workplaces, and a fairer and more robust economy for everyone — not just union members. The right to strike is critical to collective organizing and bargaining. Without it, Maine’s public employees are unable to negotiate on a level playing field.

Maine’s Legislature is considering a bill that would give public-sector workers the right to strike. MECEP supports the legislation, and is urging legislators to enact it.

The right to strike would enable fairer negotiations between public workers and the government. All of us have reason to support that outcome. Research shows that union negotiations set the bar for working conditions with other employers. And as the largest employer in Maine, the state’s treatment of its workers has a big impact on working conditions in the private sector.

Unions support a fairer economy. Periods of high union membership are associated with lower levels of income inequality, both nationally and in Maine. Strong unions, including public-sector unions, have a critical role to play in rebuilding a strong middle class.

Unions help combat inequities within work places. Women and people of color in unions face less wage discrimination than those in nonunion workplaces. On average, wages for nonunionized white women in Maine are 18 percent less than of those of white men. Among unionized workers, that inequality shrinks to just 9 percent. Similarly, women of color earn 26 percent less than men in nonunionized jobs; for unionized women of color, the wage gap shrinks to 17 percent.[i]

All of us have a stake in the success of collective bargaining. But a union without the right to strike loses much of its negotiating power. The right to withdraw your labor is the foundation of collective worker action. When state employees or teachers are sitting across the negotiating table from their employers, how much leverage do they really have when they can be made to work without a contract? It’s like negotiating the price of a car when the salesman knows you’re going to have to buy it — whatever the final price is.

Research confirms that public-sector unions are less effective without the right to strike. Public employees with a right to strike earn between 2 percent and 5 percent more than those without it.[ii] While that’s a meaningful increase for those workers, it also should assuage any fears that a right to strike would lead to excessive pay increases or employees abusing their new right.

LD 900, “An Act to Expand the Rights of Public Employees Under the Maine Labor Laws,” ensures that Maine’s public-sector workers will have the same collective bargaining rights as other employees in Maine. The bill would strengthen the ability of Maine’s public-sector workers to negotiate, resulting in higher wagers, a more level playing field, and a fairer economy for all of us.

#### Remedying inequality is key to prevent growing populism, backlash to the liberal order, and international conflict- no alt causes

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[Thomas, and Ronald Rogowski, UCLA political science professor, "Rising Inequality As a Threat to the Liberal International Order," International Organization, 75.2, 4-12-21, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/rising-inequality-as-a-threat-to-the-liberal-international-order/4CDE05DEB3AB076CE338E1AA4A9C8087, accessed 6-27-21]

The rise of top-heavy inequality—earnings concentration in a very thin layer of elites—calls into question our understanding of the distributional effects of the Liberal International Order. Far more people lose from globalization, and fewer gain, than traditional economic models suggest. We review three modern trade theories (neo-Heckscher-Ohlin-Stolper-Samuelson or H-O-S-S, new new trade theory, and economic geography) that each arrive at the conclusion of top-heavy inequality by introducing some form of unit heterogeneity—an assumption that the actors we once treated as identical actually differ from one another in important ways. Heterogeneity allows the gains from globalization to concentrate in a narrow segment of workers with superlative talents, extraordinarily productive firms, or heavily agglomerated cities. An analysis of European voting data shows that shocks from trade and migration elicit populist opposition only where the top 1 percent have gained the most. With few politically feasible alternatives to protectionism, most notably the failure of democracies to redistribute income, our analysis predicts a persistence of public support for antiglobalization parties, especially those on the Right.

Presiding over the November 2016 meeting of the International Political Economy Society, which followed that year's US presidential election by only three days, David Lake began by saying, “To our theories, this result unfortunately comes as no surprise.” And indeed the field at large has believed that the growing “populist”1 backlash against the Liberal International Order (LIO)—not just the Trump victory but Brexit, the election of illiberal governments in Hungary, Poland, Turkey, the Philippines, and Brazil (to name only a few), and growing support for anti-immigrant and illiberal parties and candidates in many other democracies—has followed almost inevitably from the very changes the LIO has wrought, including of course increased trade and migration but also one major concomitant, rising economic inequality within states. According to our traditional economic theories,2 advanced and even middle-income countries are abundantly endowed with human capital, and poorly endowed with low-skill labor. And it is a rudimentary implication of international economics that, in those countries, expanded trade—or, even more, immigration of low-skill workers—will benefit the highly skilled and harm the less educated. Inequality will rise, and—perhaps the most prescient conclusion of the traditional analysis—partisanship will correlate increasingly with possession of human capital: opposition to the LIO will be strongest among the least educated and will decrease monotonically with more years of schooling.

The evidence, which we survey briefly, admits of no doubt that in almost all of the wealthier (and not a few semiwealthy) countries, inequality has risen, often quite sharply; returns on education3 have risen markedly; and education, even more than occupational status, has emerged as one of the most important predictors of electoral support for antiglobalization parties. What our theories however did not anticipate, and so far cannot explain, may well prove to have been even more important:

1. Not all who are well endowed in human capital, but chiefly a very thin upper layer—the top 1 percent, or even 0.1 percent—have harvested most of the gains from globalization.

2. The antiglobalization movements we observe

adopt a populist rhetoric that often excoriates not just globalization or immigration but also allegedly nefarious elites, who conspire, both domestically and across borders, to enrich each other at the expense of their fellow citizens;4

benefit chiefly parties of the radical Right; and

have in important cases attracted non-negligible support among university-educated segments of the electorate, albeit far less than among the less skilled.5

We suggest that the extreme inequality and the anomalies are related, and that some insights from recent work in international economics may help explain them. Three advances in trade theory predict extreme inequality. “New new” trade theory (NNTT), with its emphasis on superstar firms, offers a natural framework. So too does an “enriched” neo-H-O-S-S (Heckscher-Ohlin-Stolper-Samuelson) perspective that explores how superstar workers arise in the context of heterogeneous talent.6 Finally, economic geography, explored thoroughly by Broz, Frieden, and Weymouth in this issue, shows how globalization gives rise to superstar cities.7 These three trade theories predict top-heavy inequality primarily by allowing for unit heterogeneity—an assumption that the actors our traditional theories treated as identical actually differ in important ways. Firms within sectors differ in productivity, workers within a factor class differ in innate talents, and regions within countries differ in agglomeration economies.

None of this suggests, of course, that rising inequality is the only, or even necessarily the most important, cause of the growing popular backlash against the LIO. Skill-biased technological innovation and resistance to cultural change also matter, as we discuss more fully later. We do find, however, at least from a cursory analysis of European elections, that backlash against shocks from immigration and imports is conditional on high inequality, disappearing where inequality is low; and we suspect that rising “top-heavy” inequality is related to a particularly prominent strain, within the antiglobalization movements, of anti-elite and anti-expert sentiment.

We go on to suggest why rising inequality matters, not only as a source of opposition to the LIO but as an impediment to economic growth and an exacerbant of domestic polarization and international conflict.

We assess the implications of top-heavy inequality for the LIO. What remedies have been proposed? And if they lack sufficient political support, what sources of resilience can sustain the LIO under top-heavy inequality? Relatedly, we return to the question of why antiglobalization sentiment has benefited the political Right more than the Left. Finally, we chart a course for future research on models of top-heavy inequality, and discuss how they illuminate “blind spots” in the literature on international political economy.

First, however, we survey briefly the extent of growing economic inequality in advanced economies and its seeming relation, chiefly through a human-capital channel, to antiglobalization and anti-elite attitudes and voting.

Convergence Across Countries, Divergence Within Them

The triumph of the LIO in the 1980s and 1990s—the collapse of Communism, the dismantling of trade barriers, the strengthening of institutions of international governance—coupled with, and facilitated by, breakthrough innovations in transport, communication, and finance, affected economic inequality in two ways that standard factor-endowment theories predicted: inequality declined significantly between countries, thus beginning to erode three centuries of the Great Divergence between rich and poor nations; but inequality within countries, especially among the advanced economies, increased almost as sharply.

Between countries. As late as 1990, the richest 10 percent of the world's population earned on average over ninety times what the poorest decile received; only twenty years later, that ratio had fallen to sixty-five times,8 or only slightly more than the within-country ratio of Brazil, where in 2008 the average income of the richest decile was about fifty times that of the poorest.9

Within countries. Beginning even earlier, inequality of incomes, whether measured as the Gini index or the share of total income accruing to the top decile, has risen in virtually all of the advanced economies,10 and indeed in many of the middle-income ones.11 Bourguignon notes that the collapse of the Soviet empire and the opening of China, India, and Latin America injected roughly “a billion workers, for the most part unskilled, into international competition.”12 That will have drastically lowered the global capital-labor ratio and hence further raised returns on human and physical capital, while reducing those on low-skill labor, in virtually all but the poorest, most labor-abundant countries.

In short, across much of the globe, the enormous overall gains from trade have benefited the highly skilled, the inventive entrepreneurs, and the owners of capital; the incomes of the less skilled and the capital-poor have risen more slowly, stagnated, or actually declined—exactly the development whose early manifestations alarmed Dani Rodrik two decades ago.13

Surely not all of the rise in inequality stems from globalization.14 Many analyses attribute much of the widening within-country gap—in the US, perhaps as much as four-fifths15—not to globalization but to skill-biased technological innovation.16 Bourguignon contends, to be sure, that innovation has been largely endogenous to globalization: wider markets and intensified competition have raised the returns on cost-reducing innovation.17 Cheaper labor, however, whether from offshoring or the competition of low-wage imports, might be expected to curtail the demand for labor-saving technologies, not to increase it.18 A stronger case is implied by “new new” trade theory: if managerial pay correlates closely with firm size, and if the most successful firms in a globalized economy tend to be the largest, it follows that globalization contributes directly to the rise in top incomes.19 Perhaps most importantly, however, whatever skill-biased innovation may have contributed to the gains of the top quintile or decile, it can say little about the gains of the top 1, or 0.1, percent of the distribution.20 Trade, as we argue, can more readily explain those disproportionate gains.

Rising Skills Premia

Also consistent with mainstream theory were the rising returns on education and the widening gap between high- and low-skill workers’ attitudes toward trade and migration. Exactly as theory would lead us to expect, antiglobalization sentiment rose sharply, and was increasingly concentrated, among voters with the least human capital—that is, the less educated.

Returns on education have indeed risen sharply. In the US in the 1970s, workers with a college degree earned only about a quarter more than ones of comparable ethnicity and age who had completed only high school; by 2010, that gap had risen to almost 50 percent.21 The “raw” difference in annual earnings (i.e., without controlling for ethnicity and age) between college graduates and those who have completed only high school is now 64 percent in the US, and on average in the OECD economies 45 percent.22

At the same time, less educated voters have mobilized strongly against globalization in almost all of the advanced economies. In the US, whites with less than a college education, having up to the year 2000 differed little in their partisanship from whites with university degrees, began to tilt Republican in the early 2000s23 and supported Trump in 2016 by a margin of more than two to one (64 to 28 percent).24 In the Brexit referendum, similarly, 70 percent of voters with only a General Certificate of Secondary Education, roughly equivalent to a US high-school diploma, supported leaving the European Union, while those with university degrees voted by almost the same margin (68 percent) to remain.25 And a recent International Monetary Fund working paper finds that since 2002 tertiary (i.e., university or equivalent) education has correlated, more than any other single variable, with not voting for a populist party in European parliamentary elections—an effect that has grown only stronger since 2012.26

The Riddle of the 1 Percent

In many ways, then, a standard factor-proportions picture of globalization's distributional and political effects holds up. What it cannot explain, as economists have by now noted repeatedly,27 is why so much of the bounty has gone to the top 1 percent and why even the remainder of the top decile, let alone the highly educated generally, have benefited comparatively little. This pattern is reflected in average real income trends since 1991 across five advanced economies (Figure 1). Much of the real income growth of the top 10 percent owes to gains by the top 1 percent (compare panels 1 and 2); the next 9 percent (i.e., the remainder of the top decile) have seen a comparatively paltry increase. At the same time, the incomes of next 9 percent, which stagnate or even decline after about 2000, mirror those of the middle 40 percent (compare panels 2 and 3). Taken together, the three panels demonstrate the extent to which a narrow elite has risen above the rest of society's otherwise skilled workers.

Haskel and colleagues more vividly make this case in the US with data on returns on education, finding that the median income of the top 1 percent had risen by 60 percent between 1990 and 2010, while the returns on university education, even for holders of advanced degrees, had declined in real terms after about 2000, virtually erasing their modest gains from the previous decade.28

The seemingly inexorable rise of the 1 percent, when contrasted with the relative stagnation of the rest of the top decile, and of owners of human capital in the middle 40 percent, raises at least three questions. Can our standard theories be modified to explain this “top-heavy” form of inequality? Would such a modified theory still provide a plausible link to globalization? And does such a theory help us understand the simultaneously anti-elitist and antiglobalization character of recent populist movements?

Heterogeneous Workers, Firms, and Regions: Three Ways Globalization Affects Top-Heavy Inequality

We argue that the top-heavy inequality we observe is consistent with three recent advances in trade theory. Each highlights how the bulk of globalization's gains concentrate in a narrow subset of superstar workers, superstar firms, or superstar cities. An “enriched” H-O-S-S model shows how globalization concentrates wages in a small share of highly talented workers. New new trade theory implies that globalization concentrates profits in a few multinational corporations. Finally, economic geography, extensively reviewed by Broz, Frieden, and Weymouth (in this issue), predicts that globalization concentrates economic growth in a few metropolitan regions.29 By producing far more extreme inequality than traditional models suggest, these theories may help explain the puzzling composition of antiglobalization interests and why these movements adopt a populist tone that demonizes elites.

In presenting these advances, we spare the reader their mathematical exposition and instead focus on their sometimes subtle intuitions. We then explore their similarities and differences, as well as how they illuminate the puzzles of LIO backlash.

Neo-H-O-S-S

The first advance injects new life into the increasingly disesteemed, yet still heavily used, factor-endowments framework of Heckscher-Ohlin and Stolper-Samuelson. It turns out that modest enhancements introduced by Haskel and colleagues yield productive insights into the puzzles of LIO backlash.30 The key amendment introduces heterogeneous workers with varying degrees of innate talent. To state briefly the salient and surprising implications of that model, a drop in the relative price of labor-intensive goods, whether induced by globalization or by technology, can not only reduce the wages of low-skill workers, as in traditional models, but also distribute almost all of the resultant gains to a thin layer of highly talented people—and, at least as importantly, induce stagnation, or actual decline, in the earnings of highly skilled but less talented workers.31 And, once we observe that such a shift is both quite recent and plausibly linked to globalization, we may have shed some light on (a) the rabidly anti-elitist and antiglobalization tinge of the populist movements, (b) why such movements have recently peaked, and (c) why they gain (and may well continue to gain) support not only from the “usual suspects” among low-skill workers but also from those with moderate or even relatively high endowments of human capital.32

For those who appreciate a more rigorous introduction, we offer a graphical exposition of the “richer” H-O-S-S model in online Appendix A2. More intuitively, the key to understanding that model is what happens to high-skill workers when the relative price of capital rises.33 First consider the unsurprising fact that within most firms, sectors, and professions, some workers possess natural talent while the majority are perfectly average. Naturally, the most talented employees are far more productive than their average colleagues, even when everyone works with the same amount of capital. In Hollywood, for example, all actors may read the same script, but only A-list talent like Meryl Streep, Denzel Washington, or Tom Hanks can turn that script into an Oscar-winning performance.

In the classic model, trade lowers wages and raises the relative cost of capital; in the enriched model, the owners of capital make up for that higher cost by lowering the wages of mediocre employees and raising the wages of superstars. Capital owners become less able to afford mediocre workers whose productivity cannot keep up with rising capital costs. Instead, they hire the superstars, whose superior productivity can more than cover the increased costs of capital.

Consider the Hollywood example that Haskel and colleagues used, where film scripts represent intellectual capital, indeed the most important form of capital for the entertainment industry. As the world's tastes and purchasing power increase demand for Hollywood entertainment, the price of scripts rises—those of stellar scripts, most of all. As that price rises, studios or streaming services become less and less likely to hire actors of only middling quality to perform such a script. The studios’ investment in a high-quality script will pay off, and bring their film the requisite audience, only if it stars actors of extremely high talent: Robert Downey Jr., Scarlett Johansson, or Samuel L. Jackson (or all three in the same film!).34

Admittedly, this analysis assumes, rather than explains, that we can attribute the rise of the top 1 percent to differences in talent but a lot of evidence supports the thesis. For one thing, in almost all countries—including such improbable cases as France and Spain—half to two-thirds of the income of the top 1 percent consists of salaries (compensation for work). Rarely, in any present-day advanced economy, do returns on capital constitute more than a quarter of the incomes of the top 1 percent (in the US, it is less than 15 percent), Thomas Piketty's arguments notwithstanding.35 As one observer notes, “The fact that so many of [today's] top earners work for a living is striking,”36 given that a century ago the great majority of elite incomes came from investments in property, bonds, or equities. For another, the model accurately predicts the kind of “fractal” inequality that so far has seemed to prevail almost everywhere in advanced and semi-advanced economies.37 That is, inequality seems to have grown not only between, but within firms and occupations: the top lawyers, academics, physicians, middle managers, and even shop floor workers, have begun to earn far more than the median member of their profession, or even the median co-worker of equal qualifications in their firm.

Once we grant that such differences in talent can become important, the model suggests that any globalization-induced rise in the relative price of capital-intensive goods (or, equivalently, decline in the relative price of labor-intensive products) in advanced economies will depress (or threaten to depress) the wages not only of low-skill workers but also of high-skill ones of less than superlative talent. It thus raises the prospect that the growing resistance to global markets may be embraced, sooner rather than later, not only by low-skill workers but by a growing segment of those with higher education or advanced training.

New New Trade Theory

“New new” trade theory (NNTT) offers an alternative firm-centric view of top-heavy inequality.38 Whereas neo-H-O-S-S focuses on how workers of different talents select into different sectors, NNTT focuses on how firms of different productivity levels sort into import-export activities. One of its salient implications is that increases in foreign trade concentrate the distribution of profits into the largest and most productive firms in each sector.39

The intuition is simple: import and export activities require large upfront costs, such as setting up global logistics networks and investing overseas—costs that only the largest firms can afford. The benefits of trade, access to larger markets, for example, then make these large firms even larger, which subsequently allows them to out-compete their smaller domestic rivals. Armed with global economies of scale, superstars like Walmart and Amazon flood the domestic market with low-cost goods and services. This squeezes out the smallest firms, for example, local mom-and-pop establishments, while reducing the profits of the midsize firms, whose middling productivity permits them to sell only domestically. In sum, NNTT implies, and offers evidence to show, that superstar firms in each sector reap the lion's share of the gains from globalization.

In its earliest formulation, NNTT implied no wage inequality, because it assumed workers to be homogeneous. Recent advances draw implications for wage inequality by allowing some profits to pass through to workers—what the literature calls rent-sharing. One modification allows firms to screen, and bargain over quasi-rents with, workers of varying abilities.40 More productive exporting firms pay higher wages to attract higher-ability talent. In the end, rent-sharing allows inequality in firm profits to spill over into inequality in workers’ wages.41

NNTT implies that globalization-induced inequality should manifest itself principally at the level of the firm, pulling up the compensation of all workers in the larger and more successful firms, and leaving behind all of those employed in smaller, domestically oriented firms (or those unemployed through the demise of the smallest firms). This is exactly what Helpman and colleagues find in Brazil, where 70 percent of overall inequality occurs within sectors and occupational categories; similar results were obtained by Akerman and co-authors in an analysis of wage inequality in Sweden from 2000 to 2007.42

Economic Geography

Economic geography explores the origins and effects of one of society's most readily observable features: the unequal distribution of economic activity across space, a phenomenon commonly called agglomeration.43 Broz, Frieden, and Weymouth (in this issue) document how globalization's effects appear most clearly at the level of communities, and operate through the mechanisms specified by economic geography.44 Here we complement their account by situating economic geography within only the broader set of trade models that contribute to extreme inequality. Globalization, we contend, exacerbates regional inequality by inflicting economic stagnation and decline on all but a handful of superstar cities. The mechanism works through the joint effect of agglomeration forces and trade costs. Globalization facilitates the lowering of trade costs (not just those of transportation and communication, but also costs imposed by tariff policies), and this frees up firms to locate in the places that confer the greatest advantage.

The literature identifies many advantages to urban agglomerations. Large cities increase access to suppliers of intermediate inputs, as well as to transportation infrastructure, large pools of specialized talent, and diverse consumers. Moreover, they facilitate the exchange of information about changes in competition, technology, and consumer tastes.45 Some locations also offer a fixed advantage such as access to deep ports or natural resources. Overall, large cities exist and continue to grow because they confer some large basket of benefits on those who locate there.46 The link to globalization seems obvious: the cheaper transportation becomes, and the farther tariff barriers fall, the easier it is for firms and workers to realize the benefits of agglomeration.

For regional inequality to speak to the puzzle of earnings inequality, it must be true that changes in regional growth both reflect and pass through to the wages of resident workers. We find this plausible and consistent with evidence of the stark spatial inequality in returns on skills. A growing literature documents the “end of spatial wage convergence” since 1980, with the bulk of wage gains going to high-skill workers concentrating in just a handful of large cities.47 However, enormous wage inequality within the largest cities suggests that between-region inequality provides only a partial picture. In reality, heterogeneity among workers and firms likely overlaps with, and is accentuated by, the effects of large cities.

Notable Similarities and Differences

All three advances in trade theory point to the same pessimistic outcome, that globalization produces extreme inequality, where a narrow segment of society benefits to the exclusion of the rest. Each theory identifies a different set of “superstars” within this narrow segment: workers with superlative talents, extraordinarily productive firms, or urban agglomerations. Despite varying mechanisms, each arrives at the conclusion of extreme inequality by introducing some form of unit heterogeneity—an assumption that the actors we once treated as identical actually differ from one another in important ways. Workers of similar education differ in innate talent; firms in the same sector vary in productivity; and regions in the same country vary in their advantages of agglomeration. This heterogeneity suggests a radically different perspective on the politics of globalization, one where we should not be surprised that populist protectionist movements arise; that they vilify elites; or that, despite finding their base constituency among low-skill workers, they enjoy nontrivial support from high-skill workers across many sectors.

We highlight two differences among these theories. First, they arrive at the implication of extreme inequality by varying degrees of theoretical complexity. In this regard, neo-H-O-S-S offers a clear advantage: its general framework requires no added assumptions about heterogeneous firms, economies of scale, locational mobility, or rent sharing.

Second, and at least as important, is the empirical accuracy of key theoretical assumptions. In the case of NNTT, evidence for the crucial rent-sharing assumption is decidedly mixed.48 For economic geography, countries almost certainly differ in the degree to which factors are spatially mobile. The neo-H-O-S-S model of differently talented workers will enjoy the most traction in longer-run analyses of wage outcomes, where factors are fully mobile across sectors and regions. Overall, the evident variance in empirical support for different modeling assumptions should caution users to validate these assumptions in their particular research contexts.

Finally, these unit heterogeneity models are not mutually exclusive—they likely reinforce one another in interesting ways. The most talented workers can earn the highest wage by working for the largest firms that can afford them. Regional agglomeration facilitates this advantageous match by locating these superstar workers and superstar firms in the same city. Thus, the top-heavy inequality we observe may very well arise at the intersection of heterogeneous workers, firms, and regions.

Hypothesis

Under any of the three trade theories described here, globalization produces top-heavy inequality, wherein a thin margin of workers benefits while the rest are left behind. This drives a populist strain of backlash that views globalization as a struggle of the masses versus the elites. To our mind, this casts a different light on recent research that sees the backlash as a response to shocks from immigration or imports. To state our key hypothesis:

H when top-heavy inequality is high, shocks from trade, whether in goods, services, or factors of production, increase public support for populist parties. 49 In the absence of top-heavy inequality, however, such shocks have no effect on support for populism. 50

#### Global co-op is key to solve guaranteed existential threats

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[Patrycja, "Mistaking Panacea for Pathogens: The Case for Existential Multilateralism," Challenges of Global Governance Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic, May 2020, https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report\_pdf/challenges-of-global-governance-amid-the-covid-19-pandemic.pdf, accessed 8-18-20]

The majority of the global population only fears a handful of international threats. According to a Eurobarometer poll, the greatest EU concerns are immigration (34 percent), climate change (24 percent), the economic situation (18 percent), and terrorism (15 percent). According to a Pew survey, the top three concerns in Asia-Pacific and Latin America are cyberattacks, climate change, and terrorism. In most polls, Africans fear economic hardship the most, but the 2019 Afrobarometer also found that a majority think climate change is making their lives worse. According to an early Pew survey after the pandemic in the United States, Americans feared infectious diseases the most (79 percent) followed by terrorism (73 percent), nuclear weapons (73 percent), cyberattacks (72 percent), a rising China (62 percent), and climate change (60 percent).

These first-tier global challenges—climate change, terrorism, mass migration, infectious diseases, nuclear weapons, economic hardship, and cyberattacks—are not only substantively but also qualitatively different. That quality rests neither on the number of victims nor on the kind of perpetrator (state, individual, or natural) hut instead on the potential to threaten the **existence of humanity**. Three threats have this potential: climate change, highly infectious diseases, and nuclear weapons. Of course, abstract scenarios are easily imagined in which human existence is endangered because of a massive cyberattack, mass migration, or vicious artificial intelligence that leads to a **conflict in which nuclear weapons are used** and **humanity kills itself**. Such potential futures, though, require a chain of events, whereas the three existential menaces are present and direct. Unlike other threats, they are all global and equal. No community is immune from them or their aftermath. All three can reach a tipping point, after which the danger spirals out of control.

This set of existential threats is not conventionally recognized. The term existential threat has proliferated in political debates to mean anything across a spectrum of minor and major challenges: the opiate crisis to the policies of the Donald J. Trump administration. In twentieth-century politics, the expression was barely used despite the omnipresent danger of the nuclear bomb. For the past two decades, it has been mostly associated with terrorism. Terrorism, however, is not a threat to human existence—not even to Middle Easterners, where 95 percent of deaths from terrorist attacks occur. Classing mass migration as an existential threat is even more preposterous given how little insecurity migrants have brought to already stable host countries. Similarly, little suggests that inequality or economic hardship are existential threats, though their complex forms and far-reaching consequences render them categories of their own.

The distinction between existential and other international threats matters for multilateralism and global governance in light of the functional difference in the roles of the state in fighting them. The former can be taken on **only by international efforts**. Other concerns can be fought in other ways: a unilateral national decision to act internally or on another state; or a national bottom-up societal effort to reduce terrorism, disrupt cyber capabilities, or influence local migration patterns. Climate change, nuclear weapons, and infectious diseases, however, require global multilateral efforts to prevent their destructive potential from manifesting itself.

REVIVING TRUST IN INFORMATION AND SCIENCE

National responses to the pandemic have often been provisional—decisions of utmost importance to civil liberties are taken without proper argumentation or scientific judgment, because none is available. Not in living memory have governments watched each other as closely as now on decisions such as when and how to lock down and open societies and economies—at least in Europe. Since the pandemic, hunger for information and knowledge seems to have increased exponentially in international relations and the global public sphere because specific epidemiological expertise was needed—such that was available to only a few. Perhaps for the first time on such a scale, information is seen as directly correlated with human well-being. What scientists know about the virus—the way it is transmitted, how it mutates, how strong the antibodies are—is no longer seen as abstractly affecting our individual lives but directly affecting them.

The shortening of this perception chain is an opportunity for the scientific and analytical community to revive trust in experts by learning from the experience of life scientists. Medicine advanced as a result of interdisciplinary and international teams, and innovative fast publishing procedures (short communications and case reports). Given the importance of information to physical, political, and social life, further plans are being enacted to make scientific publications available for free, something social scientists should ponder as well.

The pandemic also exposes the weight of information in politics. First, information has been critical to assessing how effectively governments are responding to COVID-19. Without reliable statistical information from the health sector, it is impossible to analyze the scale of the pandemic, and therefore say anything about the measures authorities have taken. The Open Data Inventory 2018/19, which assesses the coverage and openness of official statistics, including health data, finds them open and covered only in Europe, North America, and a handful of other countries. Second, states have used the pandemic to spread propaganda and misinformation. China and Russia have a lot to answer for here by vilifying the European Union and the United States, as do Iran (which blamed the virus on the United States) and several Gulf states (which blamed Iran).

EXISTENTIAL MULTILATERALISM

The Indian novelist Arundhati Roy sees the pandemic as a portal between the old and new world. In international politics, this may translate into a passage from the post-1989 preoccupation with terrorism and economic growth based on consumption and exploitation to new existential politics. Little can be said about the future with certainty except that **it will face global existential threats**: climate change, infectious diseases, nuclear war. Because of the nature of these menaces, **they cannot be mitigated save by multinational**, informed, and expert **governance**.

#### Right to strike is key to combat climate change

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[Ruwan, and Jeff Vogt, director for the Solidarity Center’s Rule of Law department and was previously the legal director of the International Trade Union Confederation, "Unions must join the Global Climate Strike to avert a climate catastrophe," Equal Times, 9-5-19, https://www.equaltimes.org/unions-must-join-the-global?lang=en#.YYKfiZrMJPZ, accessed 11-3-21]

Unions must join the Global Climate Strike to avert a climate catastrophe

Over the past twelve months, groups like the youth-led #FridaysforFuture movement and the civil disobedience network Extinction Rebellion have woken up the world to the climate and ecological emergency we are facing. Earlier this year, over a million students walked out of classes as part of two hugely successful global school strikes against inaction on the climate crisis.

Now young people around the world are calling on workers to join them on 20 and 27 September for the third wave of global climate strikes. While some trade unions have been responding to the call with plans for lunch break actions and workplace climate assemblies, most are constrained by legal restrictions on the right to strike at the national level.

Since taking unprotected action can lead to unions and their leaders being held liable for damages and individual members being disciplined or dismissed, defying legal requirements in pursuit of climate action may not be a viable option for many beleaguered unions across the globe.

A strike is generally framed in national law as either a positive right or a freedom from liability which an employer would otherwise be able to assert in, for example, tort or contract. However, in many jurisdictions the right can only be exercised in the context of collective bargaining and/or a trade dispute. Unions operating in such jurisdictions will find it difficult to formally join the Global Climate Strike as the purpose of the action ostensibly falls outside the strict scope of collective bargaining or a trade dispute. While unions are increasingly bringing environmental issues to the bargaining table with demands for greening or just transition clauses, these efforts are still limited to workplace mitigation and adaptation strategies and do not cover wider commitments on climate change.

In countries where strikes in furtherance of socio-economic aims are permitted, unions will nevertheless need to win the argument that climate change is a socio-economic issue and not just an environmental or a political one.

Here we can, and should, rely on international law.

Committee on Freedom of Association

The International Labour Organization’s (ILO) tripartite Committee on Freedom of Association (CFA) has for nearly 70 years defined the scope of the right to freedom of association, including the right to strike. The CFA has consistently held that workers may engage in collective action, including protests and strikes, outside of the collective bargaining process and over matters beyond the traditional ambit of wages and conditions of work. So long as the strike is not ‘purely political’ in nature, such as an insurrection, the CFA has stated that, “organizations responsible for defending workers’ socio-economic and occupational interests should be able to use strike action to support their position in the search for solutions to problems posed by major social and economic policy trends which have a direct impact on their members and all workers in general, in particular as regards employment, social protection and standards of living.”

In the past, the CFA has given its imprimatur to protests and strikes concerning a range of issues including trade agreements, labour law reform, pensions, tax policy, social protection and similar demands. While it has not yet had occasion to consider a climate strike, it should find such a strike to be protected. Indeed, there is no issue today that has a more direct, immediate and serious impact on the world of work than the climate emergency.

Already, the ILO has explained that climate change, if not addressed, will have a serious impact on employment in all sectors and in all regions. These impacts include significant climate-driven migration for work, dangerous working conditions from extreme heat, job loss in rural areas due to crop failure and job loss in urban areas due to extreme weather events. Also, the actions we will need to take to mitigate climate change may be deeply disruptive, as the ILO Commission on the Future of Work has underscored. Conflict over how this is carried out and who benefits is certain to happen. Indeed, this is why Sustainable Development Goal 16 calls for broad social engagement in order to attain economic, social and environmental sustainability.

The Global Climate Strike, for trade unions, would necessarily mean a call for immediate and significant reductions in emissions while respecting the need for a just transition to protect workers and their communities.

The concept of a just transition of the workforce is firmly embedded in the legally binding Paris Agreement. Furthermore, in 2015 the ILO’s tripartite constituents unanimously endorsed guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies. The promotion and realisation of fundamental principles and rights at work, which includes the principle of freedom of association, lies at the heart of the guidelines. It is evident that without the right to strike workers will not be able to effectively demand investment in new green jobs, training, income protection and other necessary measures for a fair and just transition.

Strengthening the green-red alliance

After the climate strike, we will urgently need to think about how to deepen policy coherence between the labour and environmental justice fields. While they have some different objectives, both share a common history of resistance to dominant economic and political structures which have subordinated the interests of individuals and communities. Indeed, a new field of ‘just transition’ law may be a way to bridge the fields of labour and environmental law and transform these into a coherent legal discourse.

We would also propose as an important step the recognition of the right to strike in cases where an employer engages in activity which is demonstrably harmful to the environment. This is in a sense the extension of the long-standing principle that workers can remove themselves immediately from dangerous work without fear of retaliation. What can be more dangerous than activity that threatens our workplace, our communities and indeed life on Earth as we know it.

With only 11 years left to avert climate catastrophe, trade unions must be given the means to help prevent irreversible damage from climate change.

The right to strike is a human right protected under international law. Strikes have been, and can continue to be, a tool for major societal transformations, such as the democratisation of countries, from Poland to South Africa to Tunisia, and a just transition to a low carbon economy is just as significant. Without the industrial muscle of unions, we will not be able to effectively achieve the profound transformation of our economy, including the investment needed to create millions of new sustainable jobs.

A determined labour movement can face up to the ultimate challenge of climate change.

#### Extinction

Ahmed, 19 -- INSURGE intelligence editor; citing Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration research director David Spratt and former Chief of the Australian Defence Force retired Admiral Chris Barrie

[Nafeez, "New Report Suggests ‘High Likelihood of Human Civilization Coming to an End’ Starting in 2050," Vice, 6-3-19, https://www.vice.com/en\_us/article/597kpd/new-report-suggests-high-likelihood-of-human-civilization-coming-to-an-end-in-2050, accessed 5-5-20]

A harrowing scenario analysis of how human civilization might collapse in coming decades due to climate change has been endorsed by a former Australian defense chief and senior royal navy commander.

The analysis, published by the Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration, a think-tank in Melbourne, Australia, describes climate change as “a near- to mid-term existential threat to human civilization” and sets out a plausible scenario of where business-as-usual could lead over the next 30 years.

The paper argues that the potentially “extremely serious outcomes” of climate-related security threats are often far more probable than conventionally assumed, but almost impossible to quantify because they “fall outside the human experience of the last thousand years.”

On our current trajectory, the report warns, “planetary and human systems [are] reaching a ‘point of no return’ by mid-century, in which the prospect of a largely uninhabitable Earth leads to the breakdown of nations and the international order.”

The only way to avoid the risks of this scenario is what the report describes as “akin in scale to the World War II emergency mobilization”—but this time focused on rapidly building out a zero-emissions industrial system to set in train the restoration of a safe climate.

The scenario warns that our current trajectory will likely lock in at least 3 degrees Celsius (C) of global heating, which in turn could trigger further amplifying feedbacks unleashing further warming. This would drive the accelerating collapse of key ecosystems “including coral reef systems, the Amazon rainforest and in the Arctic.”

The results would be devastating. Some one billion people would be forced to attempt to relocate from unlivable conditions, and two billion would face scarcity of water supplies. Agriculture would collapse in the sub-tropics, and food production would suffer dramatically worldwide. The internal cohesion of nation-states like the US and China would unravel.

“Even for 2°C of warming, more than a billion people may need to be relocated and in high-end scenarios, the scale of destruction is beyond our capacity to model with a high likelihood of human civilization coming to an end,” the report notes.

The new policy briefing is written by David Spratt, Breakthrough’s research director and Ian Dunlop, a former senior executive of Royal Dutch Shell who previously chaired the Australian Coal Association.

In the briefing’s foreword, retired Admiral Chris Barrie—Chief of the Australian Defence Force from 1998 to 2002 and former Deputy Chief of the Australian Navy—commends the paper for laying “bare the unvarnished truth about the desperate situation humans, and our planet, are in, painting a disturbing picture of the real possibility that human life on Earth may be on the way to extinction, in the most horrible way.”

Barrie now works for the Climate Change Institute at Australian National University, Canberra.

Spratt told Motherboard that a key reason the risks are not understood is that “much knowledge produced for policymakers is too conservative. Because the risks are now existential, a new approach to climate and security risk assessment is required using scenario analysis.”

Last October, Motherboard reported on scientific evidence that the UN’s summary report for government policymakers on climate change—whose findings were widely recognized as “devastating”—were in fact too optimistic.

While the Breakthrough scenario sets out some of the more ‘high end’ risk possibilities, it is often not possible to meaningfully quantify their probabilities. As a result, the authors emphasize that conventional risk approaches tend to downplay worst-case scenarios despite their plausibility.

Spratt and Dunlop’s 2050 scenario illustrates how easy it could be to end up in an accelerating runaway climate scenario which would lead to a largely uninhabitable planet within just a few decades.

#### Strikes are vital for democracy- they prefigure collective democratic movements and activate skilled movements

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[John, "On the Strike and Democratic Protest," in Protest and Dissent, ed. by Melissa Schwartzberg, 2020, University Press Scholarship Online, accessed 11-3-21]

But in order to highlight the democratic significance of the strike, it is necessary to emphasize that a strike is not merely a (p.246) cessation of work—and it can never be just an individual act. To be sure, a strike might be experienced as nothing more than not-working by a worker who participates only by staying home on strike days. But a work stoppage by an individual worker would not be a strike. To be potent and meaningful, a strike must be collective.34 And for this reason it must also be more than just a collective cessation. For even the cessation of labor necessarily entails collective action: an ongoing ensemble of reflexive activities directed toward coordination among many agents. Examples of this coordinating activity include designing and carrying out a program of face-to-face mobilizing, planning, and holding mass meetings, and related organization-building. The nine-day West Virginia teacher walkout in 2018 took place only as the culmination of a long process needed to achieve such coordination, an active process whose incidents included the organization and use of a Facebook group for dissenting public employees in late 2017; teachers’ meetings in many counties beginning in January 2018; informational “walk-ins” beginning at about the same time; smaller daylong walkouts in February; and finally, strike votes in counties across the state.35

There is a further sense in which a strike intrinsically is a collective action, and not just an individual act or a collective cessation. A strike is an action of a collective that constitutes and posits the collective. The few political theorists who write about strikes often emphasize that they are coercive, but it is important to recognize one of the specific kinds of coercion involved. Many movements adopt strategies that restructure power relations, strategies that forcefully shift contention between challengers and more powerful elites from one arena to another.36 Strikes fit this mold, reshaping power relations by combining the power of employees, forming them into a collective for dealing with an employer, forcefully insisting that the boss cannot bypass collective demands and impose terms of employment on isolated workers, in a series of one-on-one negotiations.

In fact, strikes, as autonomy-seeking exercises of collective power, cannot be summoned without workers cooperating with each other on terms that recognize equal voice. Under most established labor law regimes, strikes must be authorized by a democratic vote. And this democratic requirement is more than a contingent imposition by the state on workers’ range of action—a democratic principle (p.247) imposed, extraneously, on the nature of the strike.37 For one thing, strikes by minorities of workers generally cannot succeed. And the idea of democratic authorization is arguably inscribed in the purpose of strikes: supporting the autonomy of otherwise isolated, individual workers vis-à-vis the market and employers. Two relevant and interrelated forms of autonomy can be distinguished here: private autonomy—the autonomy protected by individual liberties, and public autonomy—the collective autonomy of democratic agents.38 Strikes, we have seen, are often necessary to counteract domination and oppression faced by isolated workers, to support their autonomy. But, again, there can be no such thing as an individual strike, and so no way for an isolated individual to support just her private autonomy through an individual suspension of labor. An exercise of workers’ public autonomy is required to protect both public and private autonomy in this instance. If the goal is to protect autonomy, in other words, workers’ only choice is to act collectively and democratically. Neither inaction nor undemocratic combined action will do.39 Some recognition of considerations like these probably explain why West Virginia teachers held strike votes, sought democratic authorization, even though this procedure was not mandated by law—even though, in fact, it was probably illegal under state law for the teachers to strike at all. So, to sum up: Even the apparently simple collective stoppage of work usually seen to characterize a strike is never just a cessation. It is also an active phase, a culmination of a process of coordination and cooperation among equal workers, part of an extended democratic collective action.40 And in any case, as we shall soon see, there is generally more to a strike than stoppage and the degree of active coordination needed to initiate it.

Republican theorists make a strong case for understanding strikes as statements about domination. But in addition to a statement about domination, a strike can also justly be interpreted as a positive statement, or a reminder, about the agency, power, and skill of rank-and-file actors, and the way the exercise of these capacities or qualities shapes firms and organizations—as well as their ability to achieve their recognized goals. Jane McAlevey notes that “the ability of workers” to strike—“to withdraw their cooperation from interdependent relationships of power”–such as workplaces, firms, schools, governments—depends on their already (p.248) “understanding their contribution” to those institutions and social relations.41 Indeed, it is not uncommon for workers, even those planning to strike, not just to recognize but to be positively disposed toward some of the purposes of their workplaces, firms, and organizations—and to be proud of their contributions to fulfilling those purposes.42 Citing the Chicago school strike of 2012, McAlevey argues that even as teachers withdrew their labor, they were conscious that they “labor[ed] for something deeply purposeful,” that they valued, and were fully aware of “their contribution to the education and development” of children, and regarded this as their mission even as they geared up to walk out.43

Here it is worth acknowledging that, as crucial as it is to recognize the potential for oppression and domination in employment, it is also essential to recognize the need and potential for satisfaction and fulfillment through work. Robert Kuttner observes that much orthodox economic analysis assumes workers see work only as “a burden and something to be avoided.”44 Work does entail effort, exertion, and the overcoming of difficulty. But this is not necessarily negative. For work is also “a source of self-esteem and mastery; an engagement with the social world; a basis for positive or negative self-identity.”45 G.W.F. Hegel’s account of the lord and bondsman—one of the best known treatments in canonical political theory of the ethical significance and characteristics of labor—rests on the related idea that labor is valuable to workers as an externalization of their will, and a demonstration of their skill, agency, and potency, one they can see reflected, sometimes in the material results of their work, but more generally in the constructed social world around them.46

With all this in mind, it is appropriate, first, to regard a strike as a living counterfactual that demonstrates the efforts and contributions—as well as the agency and skill—of workers to the organization for which they work, and at least some of the organization’s goals. A variety of university, school, and public employee unions deploy variants of the slogan: The university (school, city) works because we do.47 The slogan is of course in part a warning about the possible impact of a strike—of a work stoppage—but it also reminds us, more generally, that even institutions that are often identified with their most visible leaders—entrepreneurs, CEOs, presidents, superintendents—are made what they are, substantially, by the (p.249) many, by the active contributions of ordinary actors. This could fairly be described as the democratic truth of any organization, the fact that it is made what it is substantially by its rank and file.48

In addition to adding a layer to the potential meaning of strikes, the positive consciousness of workers of their own agency, potency, and skill likely helps explain the sense of roughly political attachment of many employees to their organizations—their sense of durable membership in the firms or schools or governments of which they are a part in consequence of their work. It explains something additional, that is, about why workers claim to be entitled to quit working without quitting their jobs: because they claim a kind of membership that is not cancelled by striking, and that cannot simply be revoked purely on the discretion of management.49 And this, too, makes strikes more politically, ethically, and expressively more complex than they might seem—at least to some people. Joseph Schumpeter focused on entrepreneurial potency, was contemptuous of workers who also saw factories and firms as in some sense “theirs.”50 But a sense that their effort, skill, agency, and contributions make them legitimate members of their firms and organizations gives workers as well a reason to choose “voice” over “exit”—protest, even deeply contentious protest, over mere quitting.51 Even as workers stop working, their strike is often in part an expression of this political, incipiently democratic sense of commitment and earned belonging to an organization or association. And although this chapter is not really about workplace democracy, it is worth noting that insofar as workers seek to democratize a workplace, they are attempting to democratize an institution that they understand already to be, in substantial part, the result of their work—an association of which they already consider themselves members.

If labor in the most obvious or familiar sense relevant here—making things, or performing services—ceases during a strike, other generative activity, of a different kind, by the same people—cooperating with and acting on other agents—does not end but is instead significantly redirected. Ordinarily, the activity of obeying superiors, following work rules and procedures, and so on, maintains or reproduces the hierarchical relationships and lines of authority that to some extent characterize almost every workplace. But during strikes, this activity is redirected toward more horizontal (p.250) ties and relations between workers cooperating for a common purpose.52 From beginning to end, a strike is in yet another sense not only a suspension of one kind of activity, but also a robust collective action that has to be planned and actively maintained. In most contemporary instances, as I have already shown, simply to coordinate the work stoppage itself, there must first be a long process of discussion, advocacy, and persuasion between workers—and then, often, a strike vote. And once a strike of any length begins, more egalitarian collective action, more horizontal relation-building, is needed. Workers must organize picket lines, rallies, and similar protests that call attention to and support their efforts. They must engage in bargaining that involves and ultimately wins the support of most employees. They must create and sustain the mechanisms for communicating, sharing information, calling and running meetings, issuing public statements, and so on. The particular work involved varies according to the nature and duration of the strike and the kind of organization struck. Sit-down strikes, ones involving an occupation of the workplace, were perhaps at the far end of the spectrum in the variety and intensity of both the work strikers were called upon to perform, and the social ties and relationships they found it necessary to build in so doing. A description of the 1936–37 sit-down strike at the Fisher One and Two General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan is instructive:

The strike, which was to continue for six weeks, was a large organizational undertaking. A committee of seventeen was in charge and reported daily to membership meetings. The sit-downers, organized into squads of fifteen under a captain, lived together in these groups in sections of the plant. Strike duty was six hours a day, three on and nine off, consisting of picketing at the gates, patrolling, health and sanitary inspection, [and] K.P.53

The teachers’ strikes that spread across the United States in 2018 also required many different kinds of work and collective effort. While the West Virginia strike was on, thousands of teachers protested daily in the state capitol building in Charleston.54 Other strikers collected and distributed food for poor students who normally rely on school breakfasts and lunches.55 And still others, of course, continued bargaining with political leaders and (p.251) communicating with and canvassing members. Later, while on strike in Oklahoma, teachers organized a 110-mile march.56 There is a lot more going on in these instances, obviously, than cessation, than not-working.

And these directly-strike-related activities do not exhaust the list of egalitarian, horizontal relationships and institutions that strikes may enact or reproduce. Consider, for example, the matter of labor rights, or what we might call a regime of labor rights: the right to strike itself, of course, but also the right to engage in a whole range of what American labor law calls “concerted activities,” the right to form and take part in unions and other worker associations, the right ultimately to engage in collective bargaining over wages, benefits, and working conditions, and the related association and speech rights needed for this. Even labor rights that are well defined in law and policy and not presently a matter of public debate are only really enjoyed to the degree they are enacted and supported by many people. If, as J. S. Mill argues, to “have” a right is to “have something which society ought to defend [a person] in the possession of,” then to enjoy and experience a right requires both enactment on one person’s part and the active support and defense of the enactment by others.57

Some relatively well-institutionalized exercises of rights, like voting or publishing an article, mainly require the fairly impersonal, routinized action of many people, such as editors, election officials, poll workers, or advertising salespeople. Other, more extra-institutional rights exercises, such as marching or speaking at a demonstration, are enabled by more consciously enabling activities undertaken by people playing different roles for a shared aim. In either case, one person’s exercise of a right—whether a more institutionalized exercise or a more extra-institutional one—may also be made possible by many other people simultaneously exercising the same right. All this analysis applies to strikes. Those engaged in strikes together provide each other the active support that the exercise of any right always requires. And in so doing, they are building horizontal, participation-supportive social relations and ties. They are producing and reproducing, for themselves and each other, an actual labor rights regime—bringing it out of the pages of law books and into lived experience, so to speak.

(p.252) And this horizontal relation-building in support of labor rights is even more significant, more needed, in the many actual instances where labor rights are controversial, resisted, and contested—where it is an open question what rights workers will have and enjoy. Strikes, as opportunities actively and forcefully to enact and experience labor rights, have sometimes been at least as important to determining what labor rights ultimately are as simple legislation, litigation, and debate. Even after the US National Labor Relations Act (or Wagner Act) was passed, Ahmed White notes, its meaning “remained in doubt for months after its passage.”58 In fact, many employers simply assumed the Supreme Court would annul Wagner, since the Court had so often overturned labor rights legislation.59 As White adds: “until this contest was settled there was, as the history of the strikes shows, no real labor law.”60 Under such conditions, “the process of forging the Act’s meaning was accomplished not only by the courts, the Board, and other elite institutions, but by labor itself—and, in this respect, not only by the movement’s top leaders, but by rank-and-file workers and shop-floor activists.”61

Something similar could be said about an earlier era, when the question was not so much actively establishing the meaning of new labor legislation, but rather actively overturning established labor law practice and precedent. The scourge of labor then, as it had been for decades, was the court injunction forbidding a strike. James Gray Pope argues that it is the long history of strikes carried out in defiance of injunctions that more than anything else discredited and forced an end to the court orders.62

Finally, even if the legislature and courts have determined the legal extent and definition of some labor right, employers may still often attempt to deny workers the enjoyment of that right. If it is true that strikes and other concerted labor actions can contest and determine the content of actual labor rights as against the state and political resistance, the same is surely true as against employer resistance in the economy and workplace.

To take stock, then, the case so far for the strike as a democratic response to the character of labor and employment encompasses: the proposition that even the cessation of labor is a collective action that requires, if it is to serve its purpose, active coordination among workers on equal terms; the proposition that strikes (p.253) can be seen as positive expressions or reminders of the agency and skill of workers; the related proposition that recognition of how their, effort, skill, and agency help make their firms or organizations what they are provides the basis for a claim to membership in them and so to collective influence in them, a claim that adds to our understanding of why workers strike rather than quit; and the proposition that in a strike, workers redirect some of their activity from reproducing workplace hierarchy to producing and reproducing horizontal, egalitarian ties with other workers, and toward reproducing or practically enacting a regime of democratic labor rights.

These claims take on even greater importance when read in conjunction with the vital republican case for strikes as responses to forms of domination characteristic of employment. Too much democratic theory neglects domination, or ignores the central place of resisting domination and oppression in democratic practice.63 But contemporary republicanism’s characteristic concern for identifying and resisting domination readily complements an approach to democratic theory that understands democratic movements and institutions always emerge in a social world that has already taken shape—a social world, parts of which strongly resists efforts at common egalitarian management, and that provides some groups and individuals the means to oppress or dominate others.64 With domination and oppression in view, it is possible to distinguish the entire comprehensive argument for viewing strikes as democratic: They consist of workers striving to act together, on equal terms, building horizontal relations with each other, to resist economic domination and to achieve some rough sort of collective management of the terms of labor.

From the Strike to Democratic Protest

What does this exploration of the strike tell us about democratic protest and collective action, generally? One rendering of the question would be: What does the strike tell us about when we are justified in saying that a protest or collective action has democratic value—in characterizing the protest or collective action as democratic? And it is not too difficult to see that the desiderata that make strikes democratically valuable should qualify other protests (p.254) as democratic as well. In short, then, protests and collective actions that are coordinated on equal terms by their participants; collective actions that are exercises and expressions of the effort, agency, and skill of ordinary people; protests that build, maintain, or reproduce horizontal, egalitarian ties and relations among participants; protests that enact and give life to a scheme of democratic rights; and protests that counter oppression and domination are in this measure democratic. But I think it is possible to learn more than this about protest—especially democratic protest—from the analysis of the strike.

To this point, my case for the democratic value and significance of the strike has rested in part on recognition of a number of claims. It has rested on appreciation of the uniqueness of labor—or labor power—as compared to other purported commodities, and the resultant, troubling potential in employment for oppression and domination.65 It has rested as well on recognizing that strikes involve a cessation of labor—but also much more. For human activity, of which labor is just one variety, does not just make commodities and services, it also reproduces relations of employment and other social relations. And the socially reproductive activity of workers does not cease in a strike, but instead is redirected democratically. My argument so far has also rested on the related recognition of the effort, agency, and skill of workers, on their recognition of this effort, agency, and skill, and on the claim of membership in workplaces, firms, and organizations to which this recognition may give rise.

So the question about the broader implications of what we have learned about the strike cashes out, in part, as a question about the generalizability of these claims about labor, domination, activity, agency, and skill. As we move away from the sphere of employment, which of these assumptions still pertain? To answer, we must expand the scope of attention from labor (and labor power), narrowly, to activity, generally—or at least the kinds of activity that characterize politics. And we must broaden the scope of attention from protest or collective action within relations of employment and within the political economy to protest or collective action in virtually any social domain.

It seems clear that the particular concerns associated with selling labor power, while essential in the domain of employment, are (p.255) not necessarily relevant outside of it. Other forms of protest are focused on domination and oppression, but they are not necessarily focused on the particular forms of these phenomena that can arise from selling one’s labor power. Similarly, the fundamental relation between cessation or withdrawal and the strike does not necessarily pertain to other forms of democratic protest—though it is crucial to some, such as boycotts.

But many of the crucial assumptions or claims from the previous section are still relevant when we turn our attention away from employment and employees to protesters and political actors, generally. More specifically: their effort, agency, and skill; the consciousness they often have of this agency and skill and of their importance for their campaigns, movements, or organizations; the sense in which their protest activity builds and reproduces horizontal ties and social relations among participants—these all apply to activity other than labor, as well, and so are quite relevant outside of the realm of employment. And I want to suggest now that these pertinent assumptions—these facts about protesters or participants in collective action—jointly support a claim that democratic protest should be understood as work.

By calling a variety of political action work, by calling attention to political work, I seek to accentuate activity that is purposive, that involves exertion and effort, and that both requires and develops, in varying measure, know-how and skill. We are very conscious of work as a feature of employment—of work as something that goes on in the political economy—but my point is that work is a crucial feature of political life as well. Yet the importance of political work is not well recognized in either of the two reigning approaches to democratic theory today. Elite approaches have typically seen voting—or some other relatively untaxing form of participation—as the activity characteristic of democracy, and have doubted the ability of citizens to do much more than vote.66 And although one recent trend in deliberative theory de-emphasizes the need for any particular individuals to engage in principled deliberation, it still emphasizes discourse over other forms of participation.67 Work as democratic participation tends not to get its due.

The concrete types of activities indicated by “political work” are fairly clear in the case both of strikes and other non-strike collective actions. Just as (potential) strikers must persuade other (p.256) workers to join them on strike, both strikers and other protesters and activists must often work to gain the support of other similarly situated or like-minded people, or to persuade them to join them in some other form of protest, such as a rally, march, or picket. But it is not easy to organize such a campaign of agitation, to canvass others to participate politically. (This is especially true of canvassing that aims to get a majority of some group of people—not just the “usual suspects”—to engage in a costly or risky effort.) Such an endeavor involves assessing the target group, deciding who among them is to actually to be contacted and recruited, creating a system or organization for reaching those people and recording the interactions; learning through trial and error how to communicate with them persuasively and effectively. Similarly, organizing the rally or march itself also requires work. Someone has to choose and scout the location; some participants must obtain permission or permits and deal with the police (or plan for the consequences of not doing so); some participants must serve as leaders or monitors, to make sure more casual participants understand and abide by decisions about the nature of the protest; someone has to train those leaders and monitors; and so on. Meetings to decide on the goals and parameters of the protest—sometimes smaller leadership meetings and sometimes larger mass-membership ones—are inevitably involved, as well. And planning and organizing meetings is another sort of skill or art. Almost all of these efforts involve using and developing what we tend to call social skills: listening and responding to frustrated people, defusing conflicts, making people feel welcome and appreciated. And, of course, situated within these broader tactical and strategic efforts are smaller practical tasks, from making signs to feeding, hydrating, and caffeinating marchers or canvassers.

Some democrats, convinced that all this is work, still may not be sure they should pay attention or pay heed to such run-of-the mill effort and skill. Surely keeping lists, designing posters, or making coffee are beneath the interest of democratic theory. But it is telling that democracy’s skeptics and critics have always doubted the ability and proficiency of ordinary people to participate significantly in politics—that this doubt has been part of their case against democracy, or at least against enthusiasm for democracy. Schumpeter is not alone in having concluded that “the electoral (p.257) mass is incapable of action other than a stampede.”68 By contrast, theorists favorable toward democracy have tended to evince an appreciation of the capacities to act of ordinary people, even if this appreciation has usually taken the form of appreciation of lay capacities to engage in a fairly narrow range of specific activities they have considered to be truly democratic, like voting and deliberating. Surely this appreciation of lay capacities (even when applied only to a narrow range of capacities) makes sense for democrats. If an “ought” implies a “can,” then democratic theorists have reason to find evidence for and grounds to appreciate the relevant capacities of ordinary people. And so, if I am right that democratic protest requires ordinary people to engage in political work—that ordinary people ought to do such work for the vitality of democracy—then it behooves us to find evidence for and the grounds to appreciate the capacities of ordinary people for such work. Democratic theory should explore and recognize the value of what Mary Dietz calls “sustained, purposeful activity that meets obstacles and undertakes acts of transformation in the world”; democratic theory needs “an action-coordinating concept that appreciates the purposeful nature of human struggle as politics.”69

Democratic theorists might offer another objection to recognizing the centrality of political work. Surely, some might say, it is possible to distinguish the reflection, deliberation, and judgment that go into planning such work from the subsequent drudgery of actually carrying it out. And surely, the critics might say, it is the deliberation—the distinctly discursive, thoughtful phase leading to a decision—that, once distinguished from the phase of action, should be carefully studied and democratically appreciated or critiqued. I have argued elsewhere that this sort of objection stems, in part, from a mistaken view that takes action to be divisible into a series of discrete acts, each preceded by a distinct decision.70 Action is better seen as a continual, reflexive process, ongoing in time.

But rather than deducing a response to this objection from a relatively abstract theory of action, it is better to notice the way that a little concrete familiarity with actual cases of “political work” furnishes a response to the idea that we should distinguish and valorize the reflection, deliberation, and judgment involved in protest. The teachers who went on statewide strike in West Virginia (p.258) in 2018 did not arrive at that point through completion of a distinct phase of pure reflection and deliberation. Rather, they got to the point of mounting a lengthy statewide strike by series of active interventions—and learning from them. They had tried lobbying the state government and learned from the failure of that effort. They tried smaller walkouts and informational walk-ins and learned from the meager results of those actions. And as the movement grew, other teachers were drawn to join those first to act, not through deliberative persuasion alone, but through active example. And strikes themselves are always active tests of hypotheses. Workers do not know if they will succeed. They are trying their powers and testing the intentions and strength of their opponents.

In general, then, strikers, activists, and other participants in political work usually do not engage in a distinct and prior process of study, discussion, deliberation, and judgment all before engaging in any action. Rather, they learn, communicate, and even formulate goals through engagement in a continual active process. The activity itself is infused with inquiry, thought, and communication. They start acting, and their action elicits or provokes responses that have to be considered—exposes them and others to experiences and information that would never have been available to them had they opted for a distinct a priori discursive process. Another clear example of this, one not tied to labor and employment, is the lunch counter protests that spread across the American South in 1960.71 The upsurge did not begin with a full plan, or even a clear policy demand or singular message. In initiating the sit-ins, protesters, in effect, were poking a stick at a complex system of institutions, laws, and disparate groups all sustaining—or at least not yet undermining—the racial caste system. Unpredictably, businesses and officials in Greensboro, North Carolina, hesitated to crack down harshly on the early sit-ins. Crucial allies had previously disapproved of sit-ins, but now new ones stepped in to help. Protesters learned, reacted, and formulated new tactics, and revised goals in response to these countermoves, growing more ambitious all the time. What mushroomed in spring 1960, it is important to emphasize, was a novel form of action, not so much any new contribution to discourse—a new argument or policy proposal. And it is not just the activists who learned from this tactical intervention. So did other lay actors. And they learned from (p.259) watching an active intervention playing out—not, primarily, from listening to or taking part in an exchange of reasons.

Drawing on John Dewey, it is appropriate to call this sort of active political process experimental. Dewey stressed scientific practice of experiment as a model for political action and social inquiry because experimentation always involves active intervention, rather than mere passive observation and reflection—a continual process of thoroughly entwined action and thought, rather than just “comparison of ideas already current” or “elaboration of ideas and policies after ideas are once put forth” as a prelude to a distinct phase that puts those ideas into action.72 In such a process, thought and deliberation cannot be seen as purely prior to action. Nor can ends or goals—since these are likely to change as active experience spurs reconsideration.

This understanding of political work as experimental and continually ongoing provides, I think, a valuable perspective from which to consider recent work on means and ends in politics. The critique of political theory that is overly focused on ends—to the exclusion or derogation of means—is a growing genre.73 Ends-centered political thought often assumes that it is possible to posit ideal ends, goals that are valuable in themselves, and then later devise means capable of achieving them. Karuna Mantena shows how M. K. Gandhi perceived the dangers of this approach and transcended it. Gandhi, according to Mantena, was deeply concerned with “cycles of violence” and the “inherent tendency towards escalation in conflict.”74 He believed that those who unduly elevated their ideal ends would be prone to choose means that would lead toward violent escalation. The alternative was to understand that means and ends are not categorically distinct, but are “convertible terms”—and to select means that would minimize the likelihood of resistance and violent escalation.75 Alexander Livingston has made the case for a remarkably analogous reading of Dewey, one focused on the unpredictability and contingency of action. Livingston’s Dewey argues that once we recognize that action is unpredictable in outcome; that it is an always ongoing, endlessly iterative process; and that ends are never more fallible projections from our current situation, rather than fixed, certain beacons, guiding our action from beyond its native realm, then we recognize that means and ends (p.260) are interdependent. Today’s ends are always tomorrow’s means.76 Interestingly, Livingston shows how this approach leads Dewey to justify strikes, despite the fact that they are coercive. Strikes can be a “democratic means” when they serve “as a tool of provoking public inquiry,” where inquiry means “the practice of creatively responding to problematic situations that arise when the means of action escape their anticipated ends.”77

Mantena’s Gandhi, then, demonstrates how potential destructive cycles of violence should lead us to see means and ends as interrelated. And Livingston’s Dewey should prompt us to recognize that action’s contingency—and the revisability of ends—establish the same. I would add: Recognition of the chief claims of this chapter—the significance of the agency and skill of workers and activists, their participation in political work, the experimental quality of much of that work—provides a complementary but distinct justification for viewing means and ends as interdependent.

The interrelation of means and ends—indeed the difficulty of making a sharp distinction between means and ends—is quite clear with respect to strikes. Strikes are intended to protect and achieve worker autonomy, but they are also active exercises of it. They are intended to establish a democratic regime of labor rights, but they attempt to establish such rights through collectively putting them into action. The point, I think, is quite generalizable. Mantena, for example, argues that “Gandhi’s understanding of swaraj or self-rule may be the clearest instance of an end that is constitutive of the act itself.”78 Citizens and activists often understand their participation not as a one-off tactic chosen to accomplish an end and then abandoned, but as a long-lasting process, in the course of which they seek to become more effective. They obtain satisfaction now in exercising their skills, agency, and their power—individual and collective—and they also understand that the present exercise can help lead to greater future efficacy as citizens. Experimental action, then, should not be seen just as a means to democratic ends: first because, like other kinds of political action, it may be one form of a never-ending process of growth in citizen efficacy and power.

It should not be seen just as a means, additionally, because in fact it often entails a process of clarifying and choosing purposes and values and understandings that are not determined ahead of (p.261) time or externally from the activity itself. Interviews suggest, for example, that Occupy Wall Street activists saw their varied activities neither just as fulfillments in themselves nor merely as means to some ideal democratic future, but as part of an ongoing process of developing their political capacities for future democratic involvement. Participants celebrated the fact that movement activity “unleash[ed] all these sorts of talents and energies,” that it “politicized” people, enhancing their understanding of the world; gave them opportunities to “learn the right skills” and become “really good leaders and good organizers”; engendered pride at having “transformed” the Occupy encampment to make it a better site for democratic activity; and fostered a “sense of community.”79

Conclusion

Strikes and other concerted activities by workers are, even in the best times we have ever known, crucial for what we could fairly call democratic equality—for combating the forms of economic inequality that are so dangerous to political equality and in turn to the health of democratic politics. Strikes are also important democratic collective actions that address the deep interest workers have in exercising control over how they labor, in influencing the structure of employment. And strikes are vivid exemplars of two things we should remember about all democratic protest: its character as political work, purposive, strenuous, and skillful; and its status as neither means nor end, but both.

#### Strong democracy prevents world war

Diamond, 19 – Stanford polisci professor

[Larry; 2019; Professor of Sociology and Political Science and at Stanford University, Ph.D. in Sociology from Stanford University; Ill Winds, “Conclusion: A New Birth of Freedom,” Ch. 14]

In such a near future, my fellow experts would no longer talk of “democratic erosion.” We would be spiraling downward into a time of democratic despair, recalling Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s grim observation from the 1970s that liberal democracy “is where the world was, not where it is going.” 5 // The world pulled out of that downward spiral—but it took new, more purposeful American leadership. The planet was not so lucky in the 1930s, when the global implosion of democracy led to a catastrophic world war, between a rising axis of emboldened dictatorships and a shaken and economically depressed collection of self-doubting democracies. // These are the stakes. Expanding democracy—with its liberal norms and constitutional commitments—is a crucial foundation for world peace and security. Knock that away, and our most basic hopes and assumptions will be imperiled. // The problem is not just that the ground is slipping. It is that we are perched on a global precipice. That ledge has been gradually giving way for a decade. If the erosion continues, we may well reach a tipping point where democracy goes bankrupt suddenly—plunging the world into depths of oppression and aggression that we have not seen since the end of World War II. As a political scientist, I know that our theories and tools are not nearly good enough to tell us just how close we are getting to that point—until it happens.

#### Democratic peace is an empirical law- best and newest studies prove

Imai, 20 – Harvard government and stats professor

[Kosuke, PhD in Political Science at Harvard, Professor in the Department of Government and the Department of Statistics at Harvard University "Robustness of Empirical Evidence for the Democratic Peace: A Nonparametric Sensitivity Analysis", accessed 9-1-2021, https://imai.fas.harvard.edu/research/files/dempeace.pdf]

The democratic peace — the idea that democracies rarely fight one another — has been called “the closest thing we have to an empirical law in the study of international relations.” Yet, some contend that this relationship is spurious and suggest alternative explanations. Unfortunately, in the absence of randomized experiments, we can never rule out the possible existence of such confounding biases. Rather than commonly used regression-based approaches, we apply a nonparametric sensitivity analysis. We show that overturning the positive association between democracy and peace would require a confounder that is 47 times more prevalent in democratic dyads than in other dyads. To put this number in context, the relationship between democracy and peace is at least five times as robust as that between smoking and lung cancer. To explain away the democratic peace, therefore, scholars must find far more powerful confounders than already those identified in the literature.

#### Strong unions empowered by strikes build peace movements- de-rails interventionism

Marshall, 3 -- Labor Commission of the Communist Party USA chair

[Scott, "Our Best Defense: Labor and the Anti-war Movement," Political Affairs, July 2003, https://web.archive.org/web/20071024140838/http://politicalaffairs.net:80/article/view/48/1/23, accessed 4-16-18]

Our Best Defense: Labor and the Anti-war Movement

The world’s working class and people had no side in the war in Iraq and nothing to gain. George Bush, with his narrow band of extreme right-wing ideologues, corporate interests, military fanatics and racists, was willing to spill gallons of other people’s blood for economic and political domination. The corrupt, dictatorial regime in Baghdad, while really powerless in this situation, was willing to sacrifice its people in hope of preserving its rule. In response to the slaughter, the world’s overwhelming majority, the working people, demand an immediate end to the war and the complete withdrawal of all US, British and other forces from Iraq and the region. Meanwhile, the largest, broadest, most global peace movement ever has developed. Millions around the world, including hundreds of thousands in the US, have taken to the streets. In much of the world this movement is led, in part, by the trade unions. In many countries, strike actions and boycotts were used to oppose the war and to block military supplies. Here at home the labor component of the anti-war movement was unprecedented. Hundreds of local unions, dozens of central labor bodies and joint councils and many other labor- related coalitions denounced the war. Several international unions condemned the war outright. The AFL-CIO Executive Council seriously questioned the war drive of the Bush administration. In many cities labor anti-war coalitions, which combine labor leaders and rank-and-file activists, have sprung into life – even helping to lead broader, massive anti-war demonstrations. Labor and Peace Issues of war and peace have always been critical questions of the class struggle – many times, they become overriding issues. For the working class and the labor movement the struggle for peace is ultimately inseparable from the struggle for economic and social justice. This is not at all a new idea. Eugene Debs, one of the greatest labor leaders in American history, put it this way in 1918 in his famous Canton, Ohio peace speech: The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose – especially their lives. Debs, one of the great pioneers of industrial unionism, was arrested and jailed for this speech and for counseling young workers to refuse military service in World War I. From his jail cell, Debs received close to a million votes for president in the 1920 election. Debs was not alone in opposing World War I. Most of the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World opposed the war and spoke out. Many locals of the American Federation of Labor passed resolutions condemning it. In fact, labor anti-war sentiment is deeply rooted in US labor history. Samuel Gompers, president of the AFL, made a fiery speech against war at a meeting called by the New York Central Labor Union in 1890, saying: Labor is never for war. It is always for peace…Who would be compelled to bear the burden of war? The working people. They would pay the taxes, and their blood would flow like water … The battle for the cause of labor, from the times of the remotest antiquity, has been for peace and for good will among men. The capitalists and their elected supporters became alarmed at the unity and militancy of the CIO and labor emerging from World War II. Though labor fully supported this just war to defeat fascism, it also expected greater democracy and a more peaceful world to emerge. The labor movement fully expected, also, to recoup equally for the many sacrifices made by workers in support of the war. Corporate and banking profits were up and labor expected wages, health care, pensions and the general welfare of working people to improve also. Wall Street had other plans. A vicious anti-labor offensive, including the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarthy red scare, were tools used to put labor in its place. This campaign effectively killed democracy in labor and drove out progressive and militant labor leadership from most of the unions. In time, this led to domination by the right-wing, class collaborationist leadership of George Meany and later Lane Kirkland. Central to the Meany/Kirkland leaderships’ thinking was full support for the US government’s anti-Communist, cold-war foreign policy. In this process, foreign policy issues were moved out of the local union halls and workplaces and into small committees in the national offices of the AFL-CIO. The Meany/Kirkland leadership argued that unions should leave foreign policy to the experts, including the CIA and State Department agents they welcomed into the house of labor. It got worse. As rank-and-file movements and some labor leaders began to question the war in Vietnam, the AFL-CIO leadership made it clear that any labor council that passed an anti-war resolution would be expelled from the federation. Regardless, the basic self-interest of working people for peace began to reassert itself in labor. Local unions passed resolutions against the war and some labor leaders spoke out. Eventually this jelled in a national Labor for Peace movement that played a role, with the larger peace movement, in helping to end the war in Vietnam. Another closely related development was going on at the same time. Rank-and-file union activists, many of them veterans of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements, were beginning to be elected to leadership positions in labor. These activists began to have a progressive influence far beyond their numbers, even in top circles of the AFL-CIO. In the 1960s, 1970s and in to the 1980s, rank-and-file union caucuses were changing the face of labor. These included Black caucuses, Latino caucuses and women’s caucuses. These caucuses tended mainly to deal with questions of promoting more militant trade unionism and union democracy. Most also took on peace and civil rights issues. Very few had a narrow focus on just “bread-and-butter” union issues. After all, that was the kind of trade unionism they were fighting to change. The grass roots caucuses and activists and even some higher level progressive labor leaders began to reintroduce foreign policy issues into labor. In the 1980s and early 1990s attention shifted to US policy in Central and Latin America. The Reagan/Bush years saw an aggressive big business assault on labor and working people at home coupled with an aggressive foreign policy. Many in labor saw the political connection between runaway shops in places like El Salvador and Nicaragua and union-busting at home to support those same company profits. During this period labor leaders like John Sweeney spoke out against US policy in Central America while the old guard Kirkland leadership continued to aid and give comfort to US government efforts in support of anti-labor dictatorships around the world. The election of the Sweeney/Chavez-Thompson/Trumka leadership was a watershed event for labor. The stagnation and class collaborationism imposed on labor by the McCarthy-era attacks was coming to an end. Another change was an end to AFL-CIO blind obedience to the foreign policy goals of the State Department. The door was opened for labor to once again assume its natural role as a champion of peace. After the Sweeney team’s election many unions and central labor bodies began actively questioning US foreign policy. This included things like questioning labor’s own involvement in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile. What a difference – from Meany threatening to lift charters for opposing the Vietnam war, to hundreds of local unions and labor bodies demanding the Bush administration not invade Iraq. From “Bread and Butter” Comes Peace This engaging of foreign policy and peace issues in labor did not happen in a vacuum, separated from other important developments in the class struggle. In the past, labor was at the heart of great movements. The fight for public education, the eight-hour day movement, the fight for unemployment compensation and Social Security, and the fight against fascism are prime examples. Under the Meany/Kirkland leadership the unions were no longer identified with the great social movements of the day. Nor was labor seen as the social movement around which great coalitions and struggles could be built. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, it was the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, and the women’s movement of the 1960s and 1970s that helped to shake labor out of its lethargy. Coming out of the McCarthy era, the center of gravity for rank-and-file movements and for progressive labor leaders who wanted change was the killing organized workers were taking in the workplaces. The massive restructuring of industry in the late 1970s and early 1980s meant the loss of hundreds of thousands of good-paying union jobs. In steel, auto, electrical, rubber and manufacturing in general, union jobs and benefits were being decimated. Union density, or the percentage of workers in unions, was plummeting. New technologies were not only cutting down the number of workers needed in manufacturing, but were also making it easier for industries to move production around – from north to south, or to other countries. Though it wasn’t called globalization yet, a new wave of that process was beginning. Added to this, was the fact that the business unionism style of Kirkland and friends was not attracting new emerging sections of workers. With the exception of a few unions, most were doing little to organize new members. Most of the unions that backed the Sweeney team against the old leadership in 1995 were also deeply concerned about the stagnation and declining power of the unions to influence economic and political life. There was no strategy. Labor’s influence at election time and in the halls of Congress was in steep decline. With the new Sweeney leadership, this began to change rapidly. Debate was on labor’s agenda again. How to build coalitions with other social movements – the African American, Mexican American, Latino, Asian American and other oppressed people’s movements, the women’s movements, youth movements, seniors movements, gay and lesbian movements, civil liberties and religious movements? How to make the unions the champions of all working people, organized and unorganized? How to bring new vigor and strategy to organizing the unorganized? How to build labor’s independent political action? And yes, how to build ties with peace and solidarity movements? These were the kinds of questions swirling around at all levels of a labor movement that suddenly seemed released from stagnation. This most recent burst of anti-war sentiment in labor against the Bush administration’s pre-emptive, go-it-alone war on Iraq has been explosive, broad-based and qualitative. Yet it is logically and organically linked to these other developments in labor mentioned above. It was a good thing the fog was lifting because the new George W. Bush administration was radically renewing the assault on labor. But in the new situation, labor was fighting back like it hadn’t in many years. Important victories like the recent longshore union’s West Coast agreement (ILWU) and the transit workers victory in New York (TWU) are prime examples. Of course, fighting back doesn’t always mean winning, but it does mean lessons are being learned and connections are being made. Even as the new peace movement continues to grow in labor, it’s instructive to look at the other key components of labor’s fightback agenda. Just a few important examples: the AFL-CIO has opened a broad offensive against Bush’s radical budget and tax give-away to the rich plans. Labor is sponsoring a dramatic new “freedom ride” across the country to champion legalization of undocumented immigrant workers. The AFL-CIO is active in coalitions to protect affirmative action at the University of Michigan. Unions and the AFL-CIO are leading all kinds of campaigns to expose the corruption and criminal activities of some of the biggest corporations. And labor is gearing up to continue to refine its independent political action and mobilization abilities for the 2004 elections. Once labor moves to a position of again questioning the right of corporations and the government to run roughshod over workers’ lives and rights, certain other conclusions have to be drawn. There is a connection between the company that shuts down your plant to move it overseas and the foreign policy that props up right-wing dictators in the countries where your plant moves. This developing understanding of the link between “bread and butter” issues at home and international affairs and peace are key components of class consciousness.

#### Interventionism causes global hotspots to go nuclear

Obayemi, 6 -- East Bay Law School professor

[Olumide, admitted to the Bars of Federal Republic of Nigeria and the State of California, Golden Gate University School of Law, "Article: Legal Standards Governing Pre-Emptive Strikes and Forcible Measures of Anticipatory Self-Defense Under the U.N. Charter and General International Law," 12 Ann. Surv. Int'l & Comp. L. 19, l/n, accessed 9-19-13]

The United States must abide by the rigorous standards set out above that are meant to govern the use of preemptive strikes, because today's international system is characterized by a relative infrequency of interstate war. It has been noted that developing doctrines that lower the threshold for preemptive action could put that accomplishment at risk, and exacerbate regional crises already on the brink of open conflict. n100 This is important as O'Hanlon, Rice, and Steinberg have rightly noted: ...countries already on the brink of war, and leaning strongly towards war, might use the doctrine to justify an action they already wished to take, and the effect of the U.S. posture may make it harder for the international community in general, and the U.S. in particular, to counsel delay and diplomacy. Potential examples abound, ranging from Ethiopia and Eritrea, to China and Taiwan, to the Middle East. But perhaps the clearest case is the India-Pakistan crisis. n101 The world must be a safe place to live in. We cannot be ruled by bandits and rogue states. There must be law and order not only in the books but in enforcement as well. No nation is better suited to enforce international law than the United States. The Bush Doctrine will stand the test [\*42] of time and survive. Again, we submit that nothing more would protect the world and its citizens from nuclear weapons, terrorists and rogue states than an able and willing nation like the United States, acting as a policeman of the world within all legal boundaries. This is the essence of the preamble to the United Nations Charter.

### Solvency

#### Contention Two: Solvency

#### Unconditional right to strike is key to prevent ambiguity and loopholes that gut the aff

**Chang, 15** – Renmin University Professor of Labour Law

[Kai, Director of the Research Institute of Labour Relations of Renmin University, Chair of the Labour Relations Branch of the China Human Resource Development Association; and Fang Lee Cooke, Distinguished Professor of Human Resource Management (HRM) and Asia Studies at Monash University, “Legislating the right to strike in China: Historical development and prospects,” Journal of Industrial Relations, 2015, Vol. 57(3), https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.920.4293&rep=rep1&type=pdf, accessed 10-10-21]

**The right to strike is a basic** human **right** in the Covenant on International Human Rights (United Nations Human Rights website: http://www.ohchr.org/ EN/Professionallnterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx). It is also the basic content of the right to collective disputes in labour disputes. This concerns an important issue in the legislation of the right to strike, that is the position of the right to strike in the legal system of citizens’ rights in China. We argue that human rights or Constitutional rights must be made more specific through further legislation. **Otherwise**, such **rights** will **only exist in notion without** any **enforcement** possibility. In China, the legislation of strike should be reified in labour laws and not merely exist as a kind of general human rights or constitutional rights in abstract. Although the Constitution in 1975 and 1978 also stipulated ‘the freedom of strike’, the meaning of this kind of constitutional right is symbolic as a declaration rather than implementational. This is because the stipulation was not re-enforced with more specific legal regulations, especially when the Labour Law (enacted in 1995) and other relevant labour regulations did not exist at the time. The legislation of the right to strike is therefore not only a necessity in the provision of a fuller set of human rights or civil rights in general, but also a necessity in providing a more comprehensive set of basic labour rights, particularly the right to organise and the right to collective bargaining (Kovacs, 2005).

The legislation of the right to strike is an important component of labour legislation. In the system of labour laws, the right to strike is not a single or isolated right, but an integral part of the system of workers’ rights. The right to strike, the right to organise and the right to collective bargaining together form the ‘basic labour rights’. These rights are interconnected and interact with each other to take effect. In particular, the right to organise is a basic right; the right to bargaining is a core right; and the right to strike is to guarantee the right to bargain (Ewing, 2013). As the basic component of labour rights to collective disputes, the right to strike is the ultimate and the highest means of defence for workers in the dispute between labour and capital. As a labour right of self-defence for workers, the effect of strike is ‘deterrent’. It exerts pressure and restriction on employers and forces them to deal with labour relations more cautiously. The implementation of the right to strike is closely related to the right to collective bargaining. Under normal circumstances, only when the bargaining fails, or the collective contract fails to perform, or the rights and interests of the workers have been violated or will suffer an encroachment and cannot be resolved by bargaining, can workers exercise the right to strike. The direct purpose of a strike is to sign or implement collective contract or other agreement. The strike is the major means that workers have to restrict employers from refusing to bargain and non-honcst bargaining in the course of collective bargaining. In China, without the guarantee of the right to collective disputes, especially the right to strike, it will be difficult for the system of collective bargaining to be effective. Therefore, the legislation of the right to strike in China should be combined with the legislation of collective contract. This will **avoid ambiguity** of the legislation **on the right to strike**. It will stipulate the nature, effect and position of the right to strike more clearly. The implementation and restriction of the right will also be more easily regulated.

As an important part of the collective labour rights, the right to strike with other contents of collective labour rights should be considered together as a bundle of rights or a holistic system of rights to make a legislative plan. In addition, in view of the equality principle in regulating labour relations, we argue that if the right to strike can be incorporated into the legislation of the right to collective disputes, then it will be beneficial to the formation of a **comprehensive** system of labour dispute rights. The significance of doing so is manifold: first, making it clear that the right to strike is an integral part of the right to collective disputes and is the right to be exercised in collective disputes; second, the employers should correspondingly have the right to lockout as a counter power; third, the exercise of the right to collective disputes should follow the procedure that deals with collective disputes.

The legislation of the right to strike involves not only legislative theories, but also the opportunity and conditions to legislate. This mainly involves two conditions.

First, the legislation of the right to strike must have a corresponding legal environment and conditions, especially a relatively comprehensive system of collective contract and labour disputes settlement. The system of collective contract in China has only been developed recently, and much remains to be improved (e.g. Brown, 2006). For example, in the overall design and detailed procedure of the labour disputes resolution system, the trade unions as a main body in the system have not been taken into account. Disputes derived from signing the collective contract cannot go through the procedure of labour disputes resolution. By contrast, disputes arising from the implementation of the collective contract can do so according to relevant regulations. However, in the ‘Regulation on Labour Disputes Settlement' (1993), there is no regulation on the resolution of disputes over collective contracts. In addition, the same regulation specifies that ‘enterprise and workers are parties of the case of labour disputes'. This means that the enterprise union is not listed as a party in labour disputes and that the legitimacy of the union’s involvement in the dispute resolution is questionable. These examples of legislative **loopholes** suggest that there is a need to amend and improve relevant laws and regulations to provide **greater** procedural and substantive **clarity**.

Second, whether or not enterprise unions really represent workers’ interests is another condition for strike legislation. Standard strikes should have the grassroots unions as the legal organisers of strikes. In some countries, self-organised strikes that bypass the union as the legal strike organising body will be deemed illegal.6 In the Chinese context, the grassroots unions, especially those in the private sector, have not become organisations that are independent of the employer and truly represent the workers’ interests. Therefore, whether or not the unions can undertake the duty of organising collective disputes or strike remains uncertain. Moreover, in situations where the union enjoying the exclusive right to organise is unwilling to or cannot organise strikes, workers will not be able to hold spontaneous strikes without violating the law, if spontaneous strikes that arc not organised by the union are outlawed. Under such circumstances, the legislation of strike is likely to have an adverse effect on workers’ capacity to strike, because they are trapped by the predicaments of the unions. In a period when the law is evasive on strikes, workers can still go on spontaneous strikes without violating the law. But after the legislation of strikes, spontaneous strikes will be most likely prohibited. Therefore, the legislation of strikes in China must seriously take into account the role of the unions and the reform necessary for them to function appropriately in the light of marketisation and legislation.

The legislation of the right to collective disputes or the right to strike must make it the basic starting point to guarantee the basic rights and interests of workers on the one hand and to maintain the stability of the society on the other. **The legislation of strikes should not be turned into** the **legislation** against, or **restricting, strikes**. In view of the current situation in China, the legislation of strikes should take the strategy of being proactive, incremental, and consistent with corresponding laws. It should be noted that Article 27, Chapter Three of the Trade Union Law (2001) has made a significant step forward towards the legislation of right to strike. In spite of the fact that the term ‘strikes' is not used in this law, its description of ‘incidents of stoppage of work and go-slow collectively’ clearly refers to strikes. This law requires that after a stoppage or go-slow occurs in enterprises or public sector organisations, the unions ‘should’ raise demands on behalf of the workers and the employer ‘should’ address its employees’ legitimate demands. The logical premise of the two ‘shoulds’ is: strike is not illegal.

This stipulation in the Trade Union Law (2001) is obviously transitional in nature, however. There remains a large gap between this rudimentary stipulation and a more comprehensive system appropriate for a market economy. The current stipulation is no more than a passive approval of strike action without any clear specification of its legality. It offers no legal protection for striking in the form of ‘criminal immunity’ and ‘civil immunity’.7 Nevertheless, this basic provision is a significant step towards the legislation of the right to strike.

#### Limited right to strike is a picnic for lawyers- even when employees would win the strike is delayed into non-existence

**Bornstein, 18** -- Maurice Blackburn Lawyers National Head of Employment Law

[Josh, “Requiem for the Right to Strike,” Maurice Blackburn Lawyers, 2018, https://www.monash.edu/\_\_data/assets/pdf\_file/0008/1441196/Josh-Bornstein-paper.pdf,%20accessed%2010=11=21]

In practise, the **technical requirements** are a **lawyers' picnic**, enabling employers to **frustrate and delay** strike action. **Even where there is complete compliance**, the **limited right to strike** is **all too easily removed** because the Fair Work Commission (FWC) is vested with considerable power to suspend or terminate protected industrial action.15 It must suspend or terminate protected industrial action if satisfied that the action is "... causing or threating to cause, significant economic harm to the employer, or any of the employees, that will be covered by the agreement.'16 Or. if it may cause "significant damage to the Australian economy or an important part of if}7

#### Unconditional is key- exceptions are stretched to ban strikes even when they should be allowed

**le Roux, 16** -- University of Cape Town law professor

[Rochelle, and Tamara Cohen, University of KwaZulu-Natal, "Understanding the limitations to the right to strike in essential and public services in the SADC region," Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal, 2016, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1727-37812016000100007, accessed 10-11-2021]

This analysis has shown that, with the exception of South Africa and Namibia, limitations to the right to strike of public sector employees in the SADC exceed those endorsed by international conventions. In particular, limitations to freedom of association in the public sector are commonplace, and limitations to the right to strike vary from an outright ban to a **ban by subterfuge**. In other words, **even where strikes are generally permitted** in the public sector and prohibited only in defined essential services, a **broad definition** of essential services or a determination of essential services swayed by governmental influence and interests **effectively results** in an outright ban of public sector strikes in the sub-region.

## NOVICE AC

### Advocacy

#### I affirm, Resolved: A just government ought to recognize an unconditional right of workers to strike.

### Worker Power

#### Contention One: Worker Power

#### The right to strike is the only way to leverage worker power- that builds unions, solves inequality, and forges democratic consciousness

Bradbury, 19 – Labor Notes editor

[Alexandra, et al, “Why Strikes Matter,” Labor Notes, 10-17-19, https://www.labornotes.org/2019/10/why-strikes-matter, accessed 10-10-21]

Why Strikes Matter

Strikes are where our power is. Without a credible strike threat, workers are at the boss's mercy.

“Why do you rob banks?” a reporter once asked Willie Sutton. “Because that’s where the money is,” the infamous thief replied.

Why go on strike? Because that’s where our power is.

Teachers in West Virginia showed it in 2018 when they walked out, in a strike that bubbled up from below, surprising even their statewide union leaders.

No one seemed concerned that public sector strikes were unlawful in West Virginia. “What are they going to do, fire us all?” said Jay O’Neal, treasurer for the Kanawha County local. “Who would they get to replace us?” Already the state had 700 teaching vacancies, thanks to the rock-bottom pay the strikers were protesting.

After 13 days out, the teachers declared victory and returned to their classrooms with a 5 percent raise. They had also backed off corporate education “reformers” on a host of other issues.

The biggest lesson: “Our labor is ours first,” West Virginia teacher Nicole McCormick told the crowd at the Labor Notes Conference that spring. “It is up to us to give our labor, or to withhold it.”

That’s the fundamental truth on which the labor movement was built.

Strikes by unorganized workers led to the founding of unions. Strikes won the first union contracts. Strikes over the years won bigger paychecks, vacations, seniority rights, and the right to tell the foreman “that’s not my job.” Without strikes we would have no labor movement, no unions, no contracts, and a far worse working and living situation.

In short, strikes are the strongest tool in workers’ toolbox—our power not just to ask, but to force our employers to concede something.

DISCOVER YOUR POWER

The key word is “force.” A strike is not just a symbolic protest. It works because we withhold something that the employer needs—its production, its good public image, its profits, and above all its control over us.

As one union slogan has it, “this university works because we do”—or this company, or this city. A strike reveals something that employers would prefer we not notice: they need us.

Workplaces are typically run as dictatorships. The discovery that your boss does not have absolute power over you—and that in fact, you and your co-workers can exert power over him—is a revelation.

There’s no feeling like it. Going on strike changes you, personally and as a union.

“Walking into work the first day back chanting ‘one day longer, one day stronger’ was the best morning I’ve ever had at Verizon,” said Pam Galpern, a field tech and mobilizer with Communication Workers Local 1101, after workers beat the corporate giant in a 45-day strike in 2016.

“There was such a tremendous feeling of accomplishment. People were smiling and happy. It was like a complete 180-degree difference from before the strike,” when supervisors had been micromanaging and writing workers up for the smallest infractions.

In a good strike, everyone has a meaningful role. Strikers develop new skills and a deeper sense that they own and run their union. New leaders emerge from the ranks and go on to become stewards.

New friendships are formed; workers who didn’t know or trust one another before forge bonds of solidarity. A few stubborn co-workers finally see why the union matters and sign on as members.

Allies from faith groups, neighborhood groups, or other unions adopt your cause. You and your co-workers lose some fear of the boss—and the boss gains some fear of you.

In all these ways and more—not to mention the contract gains you may win—a strike can be a tremendous union-building activity.

JUST THE THREAT

Sometimes coming to the brink of a strike is enough to make your employer blink. Workers at an Indiana truck plant in 2016 got as far as hauling burn barrels to work every day to show they were ready to hit the picket lines. The company, Hendrickson International, averted a strike by agreeing to phase out two-tier wages and pensions.

The benefits of a humbled employer can last beyond a single contract cycle. After Seattle’s grocery chains in 2013 came within two hours of a strike—the union dramatized the impending deadline with a giant countdown clock—the chains scrambled to avoid a repeat in 2016 by settling a new contract before the old one expired.

The transformation can also reach beyond the workplace. Strikes open up our political horizons, expanding our sense of what’s possible if we use our power.

This summer, a general strike in Puerto Rico brought down two corrupt governors in quick succession. This fall, Amazon workers struck for a day as they pushed their employer to take on climate change. Large-scale strikes will be crucial if we expect to rescue our world from the corporations that promote poverty and environmental collapse. The 1% are not going to hand us anything.

A NEW UPSURGE?

Strikes in the U.S. have declined dramatically over the past half-century. Since 1947 the Bureau of Labor Statistics has tracked strikes and lockouts involving 1,000 or more workers.

From 1947 through 1981, there were hundreds of such big strikes each year. Last year there were 20. The decline in strikes is a reflection of unions’ diminishing power and numbers—and a reason for it. But strikes aren’t dead.

Over the years it has gotten harder (in some ways) to strike and win. Some of the best tactics have been outlawed; some of the best sources of leverage have been neutralized.

#### The right to strike is key to strong unions- that solves inequality

Myall, 19 -- Maine Center for Economic Policy policy analyst

[James Myall, "Right to strike would level the playing field for public workers, with benefits for all of us," MECEP, 4-17-2019, https://www.mecep.org/blog/right-to-strike-would-level-the-playing-field-for-public-workers-with-benefits-for-all-of-us/, accessed 10-10-2021]

Right to strike would level the playing field for public workers, with benefits for all of us

The right of workers to organize and bargain with their employer benefits all Mainers. Collective bargaining leads to better wages, safer workplaces, and a fairer and more robust economy for everyone — not just union members. The right to strike is critical to collective organizing and bargaining. Without it, Maine’s public employees are unable to negotiate on a level playing field.

Maine’s Legislature is considering a bill that would give public-sector workers the right to strike. MECEP supports the legislation, and is urging legislators to enact it.

The right to strike would enable fairer negotiations between public workers and the government. All of us have reason to support that outcome. Research shows that union negotiations set the bar for working conditions with other employers. And as the largest employer in Maine, the state’s treatment of its workers has a big impact on working conditions in the private sector.

Unions support a fairer economy. Periods of high union membership are associated with lower levels of income inequality, both nationally and in Maine. Strong unions, including public-sector unions, have a critical role to play in rebuilding a strong middle class.

Unions help combat inequities within work places. Women and people of color in unions face less wage discrimination than those in nonunion workplaces. On average, wages for nonunionized white women in Maine are 18 percent less than of those of white men. Among unionized workers, that inequality shrinks to just 9 percent. Similarly, women of color earn 26 percent less than men in nonunionized jobs; for unionized women of color, the wage gap shrinks to 17 percent.[i]

All of us have a stake in the success of collective bargaining. But a union without the right to strike loses much of its negotiating power. The right to withdraw your labor is the foundation of collective worker action. When state employees or teachers are sitting across the negotiating table from their employers, how much leverage do they really have when they can be made to work without a contract? It’s like negotiating the price of a car when the salesman knows you’re going to have to buy it — whatever the final price is.

Research confirms that public-sector unions are less effective without the right to strike. Public employees with a right to strike earn between 2 percent and 5 percent more than those without it.[ii] While that’s a meaningful increase for those workers, it also should assuage any fears that a right to strike would lead to excessive pay increases or employees abusing their new right.

LD 900, “An Act to Expand the Rights of Public Employees Under the Maine Labor Laws,” ensures that Maine’s public-sector workers will have the same collective bargaining rights as other employees in Maine. The bill would strengthen the ability of Maine’s public-sector workers to negotiate, resulting in higher wagers, a more level playing field, and a fairer economy for all of us.

#### Remedying inequality is key to prevent growing populism, backlash to the liberal order, and international conflict- no alt causes

Flaherty, 21 – PhD candidate in Political Science, University of California, San Diego

[Thomas, and Ronald Rogowski, UCLA political science professor, "Rising Inequality As a Threat to the Liberal International Order," International Organization, 75.2, 4-12-21, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/rising-inequality-as-a-threat-to-the-liberal-international-order/4CDE05DEB3AB076CE338E1AA4A9C8087, accessed 6-27-21]

The rise of top-heavy inequality—earnings concentration in a very thin layer of elites—calls into question our understanding of the distributional effects of the Liberal International Order. Far more people lose from globalization, and fewer gain, than traditional economic models suggest. We review three modern trade theories (neo-Heckscher-Ohlin-Stolper-Samuelson or H-O-S-S, new new trade theory, and economic geography) that each arrive at the conclusion of top-heavy inequality by introducing some form of unit heterogeneity—an assumption that the actors we once treated as identical actually differ from one another in important ways. Heterogeneity allows the gains from globalization to concentrate in a narrow segment of workers with superlative talents, extraordinarily productive firms, or heavily agglomerated cities. An analysis of European voting data shows that shocks from trade and migration elicit populist opposition only where the top 1 percent have gained the most. With few politically feasible alternatives to protectionism, most notably the failure of democracies to redistribute income, our analysis predicts a persistence of public support for antiglobalization parties, especially those on the Right.

Presiding over the November 2016 meeting of the International Political Economy Society, which followed that year's US presidential election by only three days, David Lake began by saying, “To our theories, this result unfortunately comes as no surprise.” And indeed the field at large has believed that the growing “populist”1 backlash against the Liberal International Order (LIO)—not just the Trump victory but Brexit, the election of illiberal governments in Hungary, Poland, Turkey, the Philippines, and Brazil (to name only a few), and growing support for anti-immigrant and illiberal parties and candidates in many other democracies—has followed almost inevitably from the very changes the LIO has wrought, including of course increased trade and migration but also one major concomitant, rising economic inequality within states. According to our traditional economic theories,2 advanced and even middle-income countries are abundantly endowed with human capital, and poorly endowed with low-skill labor. And it is a rudimentary implication of international economics that, in those countries, expanded trade—or, even more, immigration of low-skill workers—will benefit the highly skilled and harm the less educated. Inequality will rise, and—perhaps the most prescient conclusion of the traditional analysis—partisanship will correlate increasingly with possession of human capital: opposition to the LIO will be strongest among the least educated and will decrease monotonically with more years of schooling.

The evidence, which we survey briefly, admits of no doubt that in almost all of the wealthier (and not a few semiwealthy) countries, inequality has risen, often quite sharply; returns on education3 have risen markedly; and education, even more than occupational status, has emerged as one of the most important predictors of electoral support for antiglobalization parties. What our theories however did not anticipate, and so far cannot explain, may well prove to have been even more important:

1. Not all who are well endowed in human capital, but chiefly a very thin upper layer—the top 1 percent, or even 0.1 percent—have harvested most of the gains from globalization.

2. The antiglobalization movements we observe

adopt a populist rhetoric that often excoriates not just globalization or immigration but also allegedly nefarious elites, who conspire, both domestically and across borders, to enrich each other at the expense of their fellow citizens;4

benefit chiefly parties of the radical Right; and

have in important cases attracted non-negligible support among university-educated segments of the electorate, albeit far less than among the less skilled.5

We suggest that the extreme inequality and the anomalies are related, and that some insights from recent work in international economics may help explain them. Three advances in trade theory predict extreme inequality. “New new” trade theory (NNTT), with its emphasis on superstar firms, offers a natural framework. So too does an “enriched” neo-H-O-S-S (Heckscher-Ohlin-Stolper-Samuelson) perspective that explores how superstar workers arise in the context of heterogeneous talent.6 Finally, economic geography, explored thoroughly by Broz, Frieden, and Weymouth in this issue, shows how globalization gives rise to superstar cities.7 These three trade theories predict top-heavy inequality primarily by allowing for unit heterogeneity—an assumption that the actors our traditional theories treated as identical actually differ in important ways. Firms within sectors differ in productivity, workers within a factor class differ in innate talents, and regions within countries differ in agglomeration economies.

None of this suggests, of course, that rising inequality is the only, or even necessarily the most important, cause of the growing popular backlash against the LIO. Skill-biased technological innovation and resistance to cultural change also matter, as we discuss more fully later. We do find, however, at least from a cursory analysis of European elections, that backlash against shocks from immigration and imports is conditional on high inequality, disappearing where inequality is low; and we suspect that rising “top-heavy” inequality is related to a particularly prominent strain, within the antiglobalization movements, of anti-elite and anti-expert sentiment.

We go on to suggest why rising inequality matters, not only as a source of opposition to the LIO but as an impediment to economic growth and an exacerbant of domestic polarization and international conflict.

We assess the implications of top-heavy inequality for the LIO. What remedies have been proposed? And if they lack sufficient political support, what sources of resilience can sustain the LIO under top-heavy inequality? Relatedly, we return to the question of why antiglobalization sentiment has benefited the political Right more than the Left. Finally, we chart a course for future research on models of top-heavy inequality, and discuss how they illuminate “blind spots” in the literature on international political economy.

First, however, we survey briefly the extent of growing economic inequality in advanced economies and its seeming relation, chiefly through a human-capital channel, to antiglobalization and anti-elite attitudes and voting.

Convergence Across Countries, Divergence Within Them

The triumph of the LIO in the 1980s and 1990s—the collapse of Communism, the dismantling of trade barriers, the strengthening of institutions of international governance—coupled with, and facilitated by, breakthrough innovations in transport, communication, and finance, affected economic inequality in two ways that standard factor-endowment theories predicted: inequality declined significantly between countries, thus beginning to erode three centuries of the Great Divergence between rich and poor nations; but inequality within countries, especially among the advanced economies, increased almost as sharply.

Between countries. As late as 1990, the richest 10 percent of the world's population earned on average over ninety times what the poorest decile received; only twenty years later, that ratio had fallen to sixty-five times,8 or only slightly more than the within-country ratio of Brazil, where in 2008 the average income of the richest decile was about fifty times that of the poorest.9

Within countries. Beginning even earlier, inequality of incomes, whether measured as the Gini index or the share of total income accruing to the top decile, has risen in virtually all of the advanced economies,10 and indeed in many of the middle-income ones.11 Bourguignon notes that the collapse of the Soviet empire and the opening of China, India, and Latin America injected roughly “a billion workers, for the most part unskilled, into international competition.”12 That will have drastically lowered the global capital-labor ratio and hence further raised returns on human and physical capital, while reducing those on low-skill labor, in virtually all but the poorest, most labor-abundant countries.

In short, across much of the globe, the enormous overall gains from trade have benefited the highly skilled, the inventive entrepreneurs, and the owners of capital; the incomes of the less skilled and the capital-poor have risen more slowly, stagnated, or actually declined—exactly the development whose early manifestations alarmed Dani Rodrik two decades ago.13

Surely not all of the rise in inequality stems from globalization.14 Many analyses attribute much of the widening within-country gap—in the US, perhaps as much as four-fifths15—not to globalization but to skill-biased technological innovation.16 Bourguignon contends, to be sure, that innovation has been largely endogenous to globalization: wider markets and intensified competition have raised the returns on cost-reducing innovation.17 Cheaper labor, however, whether from offshoring or the competition of low-wage imports, might be expected to curtail the demand for labor-saving technologies, not to increase it.18 A stronger case is implied by “new new” trade theory: if managerial pay correlates closely with firm size, and if the most successful firms in a globalized economy tend to be the largest, it follows that globalization contributes directly to the rise in top incomes.19 Perhaps most importantly, however, whatever skill-biased innovation may have contributed to the gains of the top quintile or decile, it can say little about the gains of the top 1, or 0.1, percent of the distribution.20 Trade, as we argue, can more readily explain those disproportionate gains.

Rising Skills Premia

Also consistent with mainstream theory were the rising returns on education and the widening gap between high- and low-skill workers’ attitudes toward trade and migration. Exactly as theory would lead us to expect, antiglobalization sentiment rose sharply, and was increasingly concentrated, among voters with the least human capital—that is, the less educated.

Returns on education have indeed risen sharply. In the US in the 1970s, workers with a college degree earned only about a quarter more than ones of comparable ethnicity and age who had completed only high school; by 2010, that gap had risen to almost 50 percent.21 The “raw” difference in annual earnings (i.e., without controlling for ethnicity and age) between college graduates and those who have completed only high school is now 64 percent in the US, and on average in the OECD economies 45 percent.22

At the same time, less educated voters have mobilized strongly against globalization in almost all of the advanced economies. In the US, whites with less than a college education, having up to the year 2000 differed little in their partisanship from whites with university degrees, began to tilt Republican in the early 2000s23 and supported Trump in 2016 by a margin of more than two to one (64 to 28 percent).24 In the Brexit referendum, similarly, 70 percent of voters with only a General Certificate of Secondary Education, roughly equivalent to a US high-school diploma, supported leaving the European Union, while those with university degrees voted by almost the same margin (68 percent) to remain.25 And a recent International Monetary Fund working paper finds that since 2002 tertiary (i.e., university or equivalent) education has correlated, more than any other single variable, with not voting for a populist party in European parliamentary elections—an effect that has grown only stronger since 2012.26

The Riddle of the 1 Percent

In many ways, then, a standard factor-proportions picture of globalization's distributional and political effects holds up. What it cannot explain, as economists have by now noted repeatedly,27 is why so much of the bounty has gone to the top 1 percent and why even the remainder of the top decile, let alone the highly educated generally, have benefited comparatively little. This pattern is reflected in average real income trends since 1991 across five advanced economies (Figure 1). Much of the real income growth of the top 10 percent owes to gains by the top 1 percent (compare panels 1 and 2); the next 9 percent (i.e., the remainder of the top decile) have seen a comparatively paltry increase. At the same time, the incomes of next 9 percent, which stagnate or even decline after about 2000, mirror those of the middle 40 percent (compare panels 2 and 3). Taken together, the three panels demonstrate the extent to which a narrow elite has risen above the rest of society's otherwise skilled workers.

Haskel and colleagues more vividly make this case in the US with data on returns on education, finding that the median income of the top 1 percent had risen by 60 percent between 1990 and 2010, while the returns on university education, even for holders of advanced degrees, had declined in real terms after about 2000, virtually erasing their modest gains from the previous decade.28

The seemingly inexorable rise of the 1 percent, when contrasted with the relative stagnation of the rest of the top decile, and of owners of human capital in the middle 40 percent, raises at least three questions. Can our standard theories be modified to explain this “top-heavy” form of inequality? Would such a modified theory still provide a plausible link to globalization? And does such a theory help us understand the simultaneously anti-elitist and antiglobalization character of recent populist movements?

Heterogeneous Workers, Firms, and Regions: Three Ways Globalization Affects Top-Heavy Inequality

We argue that the top-heavy inequality we observe is consistent with three recent advances in trade theory. Each highlights how the bulk of globalization's gains concentrate in a narrow subset of superstar workers, superstar firms, or superstar cities. An “enriched” H-O-S-S model shows how globalization concentrates wages in a small share of highly talented workers. New new trade theory implies that globalization concentrates profits in a few multinational corporations. Finally, economic geography, extensively reviewed by Broz, Frieden, and Weymouth (in this issue), predicts that globalization concentrates economic growth in a few metropolitan regions.29 By producing far more extreme inequality than traditional models suggest, these theories may help explain the puzzling composition of antiglobalization interests and why these movements adopt a populist tone that demonizes elites.

In presenting these advances, we spare the reader their mathematical exposition and instead focus on their sometimes subtle intuitions. We then explore their similarities and differences, as well as how they illuminate the puzzles of LIO backlash.

Neo-H-O-S-S

The first advance injects new life into the increasingly disesteemed, yet still heavily used, factor-endowments framework of Heckscher-Ohlin and Stolper-Samuelson. It turns out that modest enhancements introduced by Haskel and colleagues yield productive insights into the puzzles of LIO backlash.30 The key amendment introduces heterogeneous workers with varying degrees of innate talent. To state briefly the salient and surprising implications of that model, a drop in the relative price of labor-intensive goods, whether induced by globalization or by technology, can not only reduce the wages of low-skill workers, as in traditional models, but also distribute almost all of the resultant gains to a thin layer of highly talented people—and, at least as importantly, induce stagnation, or actual decline, in the earnings of highly skilled but less talented workers.31 And, once we observe that such a shift is both quite recent and plausibly linked to globalization, we may have shed some light on (a) the rabidly anti-elitist and antiglobalization tinge of the populist movements, (b) why such movements have recently peaked, and (c) why they gain (and may well continue to gain) support not only from the “usual suspects” among low-skill workers but also from those with moderate or even relatively high endowments of human capital.32

For those who appreciate a more rigorous introduction, we offer a graphical exposition of the “richer” H-O-S-S model in online Appendix A2. More intuitively, the key to understanding that model is what happens to high-skill workers when the relative price of capital rises.33 First consider the unsurprising fact that within most firms, sectors, and professions, some workers possess natural talent while the majority are perfectly average. Naturally, the most talented employees are far more productive than their average colleagues, even when everyone works with the same amount of capital. In Hollywood, for example, all actors may read the same script, but only A-list talent like Meryl Streep, Denzel Washington, or Tom Hanks can turn that script into an Oscar-winning performance.

In the classic model, trade lowers wages and raises the relative cost of capital; in the enriched model, the owners of capital make up for that higher cost by lowering the wages of mediocre employees and raising the wages of superstars. Capital owners become less able to afford mediocre workers whose productivity cannot keep up with rising capital costs. Instead, they hire the superstars, whose superior productivity can more than cover the increased costs of capital.

Consider the Hollywood example that Haskel and colleagues used, where film scripts represent intellectual capital, indeed the most important form of capital for the entertainment industry. As the world's tastes and purchasing power increase demand for Hollywood entertainment, the price of scripts rises—those of stellar scripts, most of all. As that price rises, studios or streaming services become less and less likely to hire actors of only middling quality to perform such a script. The studios’ investment in a high-quality script will pay off, and bring their film the requisite audience, only if it stars actors of extremely high talent: Robert Downey Jr., Scarlett Johansson, or Samuel L. Jackson (or all three in the same film!).34

Admittedly, this analysis assumes, rather than explains, that we can attribute the rise of the top 1 percent to differences in talent but a lot of evidence supports the thesis. For one thing, in almost all countries—including such improbable cases as France and Spain—half to two-thirds of the income of the top 1 percent consists of salaries (compensation for work). Rarely, in any present-day advanced economy, do returns on capital constitute more than a quarter of the incomes of the top 1 percent (in the US, it is less than 15 percent), Thomas Piketty's arguments notwithstanding.35 As one observer notes, “The fact that so many of [today's] top earners work for a living is striking,”36 given that a century ago the great majority of elite incomes came from investments in property, bonds, or equities. For another, the model accurately predicts the kind of “fractal” inequality that so far has seemed to prevail almost everywhere in advanced and semi-advanced economies.37 That is, inequality seems to have grown not only between, but within firms and occupations: the top lawyers, academics, physicians, middle managers, and even shop floor workers, have begun to earn far more than the median member of their profession, or even the median co-worker of equal qualifications in their firm.

Once we grant that such differences in talent can become important, the model suggests that any globalization-induced rise in the relative price of capital-intensive goods (or, equivalently, decline in the relative price of labor-intensive products) in advanced economies will depress (or threaten to depress) the wages not only of low-skill workers but also of high-skill ones of less than superlative talent. It thus raises the prospect that the growing resistance to global markets may be embraced, sooner rather than later, not only by low-skill workers but by a growing segment of those with higher education or advanced training.

New New Trade Theory

“New new” trade theory (NNTT) offers an alternative firm-centric view of top-heavy inequality.38 Whereas neo-H-O-S-S focuses on how workers of different talents select into different sectors, NNTT focuses on how firms of different productivity levels sort into import-export activities. One of its salient implications is that increases in foreign trade concentrate the distribution of profits into the largest and most productive firms in each sector.39

The intuition is simple: import and export activities require large upfront costs, such as setting up global logistics networks and investing overseas—costs that only the largest firms can afford. The benefits of trade, access to larger markets, for example, then make these large firms even larger, which subsequently allows them to out-compete their smaller domestic rivals. Armed with global economies of scale, superstars like Walmart and Amazon flood the domestic market with low-cost goods and services. This squeezes out the smallest firms, for example, local mom-and-pop establishments, while reducing the profits of the midsize firms, whose middling productivity permits them to sell only domestically. In sum, NNTT implies, and offers evidence to show, that superstar firms in each sector reap the lion's share of the gains from globalization.

In its earliest formulation, NNTT implied no wage inequality, because it assumed workers to be homogeneous. Recent advances draw implications for wage inequality by allowing some profits to pass through to workers—what the literature calls rent-sharing. One modification allows firms to screen, and bargain over quasi-rents with, workers of varying abilities.40 More productive exporting firms pay higher wages to attract higher-ability talent. In the end, rent-sharing allows inequality in firm profits to spill over into inequality in workers’ wages.41

NNTT implies that globalization-induced inequality should manifest itself principally at the level of the firm, pulling up the compensation of all workers in the larger and more successful firms, and leaving behind all of those employed in smaller, domestically oriented firms (or those unemployed through the demise of the smallest firms). This is exactly what Helpman and colleagues find in Brazil, where 70 percent of overall inequality occurs within sectors and occupational categories; similar results were obtained by Akerman and co-authors in an analysis of wage inequality in Sweden from 2000 to 2007.42

Economic Geography

Economic geography explores the origins and effects of one of society's most readily observable features: the unequal distribution of economic activity across space, a phenomenon commonly called agglomeration.43 Broz, Frieden, and Weymouth (in this issue) document how globalization's effects appear most clearly at the level of communities, and operate through the mechanisms specified by economic geography.44 Here we complement their account by situating economic geography within only the broader set of trade models that contribute to extreme inequality. Globalization, we contend, exacerbates regional inequality by inflicting economic stagnation and decline on all but a handful of superstar cities. The mechanism works through the joint effect of agglomeration forces and trade costs. Globalization facilitates the lowering of trade costs (not just those of transportation and communication, but also costs imposed by tariff policies), and this frees up firms to locate in the places that confer the greatest advantage.

The literature identifies many advantages to urban agglomerations. Large cities increase access to suppliers of intermediate inputs, as well as to transportation infrastructure, large pools of specialized talent, and diverse consumers. Moreover, they facilitate the exchange of information about changes in competition, technology, and consumer tastes.45 Some locations also offer a fixed advantage such as access to deep ports or natural resources. Overall, large cities exist and continue to grow because they confer some large basket of benefits on those who locate there.46 The link to globalization seems obvious: the cheaper transportation becomes, and the farther tariff barriers fall, the easier it is for firms and workers to realize the benefits of agglomeration.

For regional inequality to speak to the puzzle of earnings inequality, it must be true that changes in regional growth both reflect and pass through to the wages of resident workers. We find this plausible and consistent with evidence of the stark spatial inequality in returns on skills. A growing literature documents the “end of spatial wage convergence” since 1980, with the bulk of wage gains going to high-skill workers concentrating in just a handful of large cities.47 However, enormous wage inequality within the largest cities suggests that between-region inequality provides only a partial picture. In reality, heterogeneity among workers and firms likely overlaps with, and is accentuated by, the effects of large cities.

Notable Similarities and Differences

All three advances in trade theory point to the same pessimistic outcome, that globalization produces extreme inequality, where a narrow segment of society benefits to the exclusion of the rest. Each theory identifies a different set of “superstars” within this narrow segment: workers with superlative talents, extraordinarily productive firms, or urban agglomerations. Despite varying mechanisms, each arrives at the conclusion of extreme inequality by introducing some form of unit heterogeneity—an assumption that the actors we once treated as identical actually differ from one another in important ways. Workers of similar education differ in innate talent; firms in the same sector vary in productivity; and regions in the same country vary in their advantages of agglomeration. This heterogeneity suggests a radically different perspective on the politics of globalization, one where we should not be surprised that populist protectionist movements arise; that they vilify elites; or that, despite finding their base constituency among low-skill workers, they enjoy nontrivial support from high-skill workers across many sectors.

We highlight two differences among these theories. First, they arrive at the implication of extreme inequality by varying degrees of theoretical complexity. In this regard, neo-H-O-S-S offers a clear advantage: its general framework requires no added assumptions about heterogeneous firms, economies of scale, locational mobility, or rent sharing.

Second, and at least as important, is the empirical accuracy of key theoretical assumptions. In the case of NNTT, evidence for the crucial rent-sharing assumption is decidedly mixed.48 For economic geography, countries almost certainly differ in the degree to which factors are spatially mobile. The neo-H-O-S-S model of differently talented workers will enjoy the most traction in longer-run analyses of wage outcomes, where factors are fully mobile across sectors and regions. Overall, the evident variance in empirical support for different modeling assumptions should caution users to validate these assumptions in their particular research contexts.

Finally, these unit heterogeneity models are not mutually exclusive—they likely reinforce one another in interesting ways. The most talented workers can earn the highest wage by working for the largest firms that can afford them. Regional agglomeration facilitates this advantageous match by locating these superstar workers and superstar firms in the same city. Thus, the top-heavy inequality we observe may very well arise at the intersection of heterogeneous workers, firms, and regions.

Hypothesis

Under any of the three trade theories described here, globalization produces top-heavy inequality, wherein a thin margin of workers benefits while the rest are left behind. This drives a populist strain of backlash that views globalization as a struggle of the masses versus the elites. To our mind, this casts a different light on recent research that sees the backlash as a response to shocks from immigration or imports. To state our key hypothesis:

H when top-heavy inequality is high, shocks from trade, whether in goods, services, or factors of production, increase public support for populist parties. 49 In the absence of top-heavy inequality, however, such shocks have no effect on support for populism. 50

#### Global co-op is key to solve guaranteed existential threats

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[Patrycja, "Mistaking Panacea for Pathogens: The Case for Existential Multilateralism," Challenges of Global Governance Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic, May 2020, https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report\_pdf/challenges-of-global-governance-amid-the-covid-19-pandemic.pdf, accessed 8-18-20]

The majority of the global population only fears a handful of international threats. According to a Eurobarometer poll, the greatest EU concerns are immigration (34 percent), climate change (24 percent), the economic situation (18 percent), and terrorism (15 percent). According to a Pew survey, the top three concerns in Asia-Pacific and Latin America are cyberattacks, climate change, and terrorism. In most polls, Africans fear economic hardship the most, but the 2019 Afrobarometer also found that a majority think climate change is making their lives worse. According to an early Pew survey after the pandemic in the United States, Americans feared infectious diseases the most (79 percent) followed by terrorism (73 percent), nuclear weapons (73 percent), cyberattacks (72 percent), a rising China (62 percent), and climate change (60 percent).

These first-tier global challenges—climate change, terrorism, mass migration, infectious diseases, nuclear weapons, economic hardship, and cyberattacks—are not only substantively but also qualitatively different. That quality rests neither on the number of victims nor on the kind of perpetrator (state, individual, or natural) hut instead on the potential to threaten the **existence of humanity**. Three threats have this potential: climate change, highly infectious diseases, and nuclear weapons. Of course, abstract scenarios are easily imagined in which human existence is endangered because of a massive cyberattack, mass migration, or vicious artificial intelligence that leads to a **conflict in which nuclear weapons are used** and **humanity kills itself**. Such potential futures, though, require a chain of events, whereas the three existential menaces are present and direct. Unlike other threats, they are all global and equal. No community is immune from them or their aftermath. All three can reach a tipping point, after which the danger spirals out of control.

This set of existential threats is not conventionally recognized. The term existential threat has proliferated in political debates to mean anything across a spectrum of minor and major challenges: the opiate crisis to the policies of the Donald J. Trump administration. In twentieth-century politics, the expression was barely used despite the omnipresent danger of the nuclear bomb. For the past two decades, it has been mostly associated with terrorism. Terrorism, however, is not a threat to human existence—not even to Middle Easterners, where 95 percent of deaths from terrorist attacks occur. Classing mass migration as an existential threat is even more preposterous given how little insecurity migrants have brought to already stable host countries. Similarly, little suggests that inequality or economic hardship are existential threats, though their complex forms and far-reaching consequences render them categories of their own.

The distinction between existential and other international threats matters for multilateralism and global governance in light of the functional difference in the roles of the state in fighting them. The former can be taken on **only by international efforts**. Other concerns can be fought in other ways: a unilateral national decision to act internally or on another state; or a national bottom-up societal effort to reduce terrorism, disrupt cyber capabilities, or influence local migration patterns. Climate change, nuclear weapons, and infectious diseases, however, require global multilateral efforts to prevent their destructive potential from manifesting itself.

REVIVING TRUST IN INFORMATION AND SCIENCE

National responses to the pandemic have often been provisional—decisions of utmost importance to civil liberties are taken without proper argumentation or scientific judgment, because none is available. Not in living memory have governments watched each other as closely as now on decisions such as when and how to lock down and open societies and economies—at least in Europe. Since the pandemic, hunger for information and knowledge seems to have increased exponentially in international relations and the global public sphere because specific epidemiological expertise was needed—such that was available to only a few. Perhaps for the first time on such a scale, information is seen as directly correlated with human well-being. What scientists know about the virus—the way it is transmitted, how it mutates, how strong the antibodies are—is no longer seen as abstractly affecting our individual lives but directly affecting them.

The shortening of this perception chain is an opportunity for the scientific and analytical community to revive trust in experts by learning from the experience of life scientists. Medicine advanced as a result of interdisciplinary and international teams, and innovative fast publishing procedures (short communications and case reports). Given the importance of information to physical, political, and social life, further plans are being enacted to make scientific publications available for free, something social scientists should ponder as well.

The pandemic also exposes the weight of information in politics. First, information has been critical to assessing how effectively governments are responding to COVID-19. Without reliable statistical information from the health sector, it is impossible to analyze the scale of the pandemic, and therefore say anything about the measures authorities have taken. The Open Data Inventory 2018/19, which assesses the coverage and openness of official statistics, including health data, finds them open and covered only in Europe, North America, and a handful of other countries. Second, states have used the pandemic to spread propaganda and misinformation. China and Russia have a lot to answer for here by vilifying the European Union and the United States, as do Iran (which blamed the virus on the United States) and several Gulf states (which blamed Iran).

EXISTENTIAL MULTILATERALISM

The Indian novelist Arundhati Roy sees the pandemic as a portal between the old and new world. In international politics, this may translate into a passage from the post-1989 preoccupation with terrorism and economic growth based on consumption and exploitation to new existential politics. Little can be said about the future with certainty except that **it will face global existential threats**: climate change, infectious diseases, nuclear war. Because of the nature of these menaces, **they cannot be mitigated save by multinational**, informed, and expert **governance**.

#### Strikes are vital for democracy- they prefigure collective democratic movements and activate skilled movements

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[John, "On the Strike and Democratic Protest," in Protest and Dissent, ed. by Melissa Schwartzberg, 2020, University Press Scholarship Online, accessed 11-3-21]

But in order to highlight the democratic significance of the strike, it is necessary to emphasize that a strike is not merely a (p.246) cessation of work—and it can never be just an individual act. To be sure, a strike might be experienced as nothing more than not-working by a worker who participates only by staying home on strike days. But a work stoppage by an individual worker would not be a strike. To be potent and meaningful, a strike must be collective.34 And for this reason it must also be more than just a collective cessation. For even the cessation of labor necessarily entails collective action: an ongoing ensemble of reflexive activities directed toward coordination among many agents. Examples of this coordinating activity include designing and carrying out a program of face-to-face mobilizing, planning, and holding mass meetings, and related organization-building. The nine-day West Virginia teacher walkout in 2018 took place only as the culmination of a long process needed to achieve such coordination, an active process whose incidents included the organization and use of a Facebook group for dissenting public employees in late 2017; teachers’ meetings in many counties beginning in January 2018; informational “walk-ins” beginning at about the same time; smaller daylong walkouts in February; and finally, strike votes in counties across the state.35

There is a further sense in which a strike intrinsically is a collective action, and not just an individual act or a collective cessation. A strike is an action of a collective that constitutes and posits the collective. The few political theorists who write about strikes often emphasize that they are coercive, but it is important to recognize one of the specific kinds of coercion involved. Many movements adopt strategies that restructure power relations, strategies that forcefully shift contention between challengers and more powerful elites from one arena to another.36 Strikes fit this mold, reshaping power relations by combining the power of employees, forming them into a collective for dealing with an employer, forcefully insisting that the boss cannot bypass collective demands and impose terms of employment on isolated workers, in a series of one-on-one negotiations.

In fact, strikes, as autonomy-seeking exercises of collective power, cannot be summoned without workers cooperating with each other on terms that recognize equal voice. Under most established labor law regimes, strikes must be authorized by a democratic vote. And this democratic requirement is more than a contingent imposition by the state on workers’ range of action—a democratic principle (p.247) imposed, extraneously, on the nature of the strike.37 For one thing, strikes by minorities of workers generally cannot succeed. And the idea of democratic authorization is arguably inscribed in the purpose of strikes: supporting the autonomy of otherwise isolated, individual workers vis-à-vis the market and employers. Two relevant and interrelated forms of autonomy can be distinguished here: private autonomy—the autonomy protected by individual liberties, and public autonomy—the collective autonomy of democratic agents.38 Strikes, we have seen, are often necessary to counteract domination and oppression faced by isolated workers, to support their autonomy. But, again, there can be no such thing as an individual strike, and so no way for an isolated individual to support just her private autonomy through an individual suspension of labor. An exercise of workers’ public autonomy is required to protect both public and private autonomy in this instance. If the goal is to protect autonomy, in other words, workers’ only choice is to act collectively and democratically. Neither inaction nor undemocratic combined action will do.39 Some recognition of considerations like these probably explain why West Virginia teachers held strike votes, sought democratic authorization, even though this procedure was not mandated by law—even though, in fact, it was probably illegal under state law for the teachers to strike at all. So, to sum up: Even the apparently simple collective stoppage of work usually seen to characterize a strike is never just a cessation. It is also an active phase, a culmination of a process of coordination and cooperation among equal workers, part of an extended democratic collective action.40 And in any case, as we shall soon see, there is generally more to a strike than stoppage and the degree of active coordination needed to initiate it.

Republican theorists make a strong case for understanding strikes as statements about domination. But in addition to a statement about domination, a strike can also justly be interpreted as a positive statement, or a reminder, about the agency, power, and skill of rank-and-file actors, and the way the exercise of these capacities or qualities shapes firms and organizations—as well as their ability to achieve their recognized goals. Jane McAlevey notes that “the ability of workers” to strike—“to withdraw their cooperation from interdependent relationships of power”–such as workplaces, firms, schools, governments—depends on their already (p.248) “understanding their contribution” to those institutions and social relations.41 Indeed, it is not uncommon for workers, even those planning to strike, not just to recognize but to be positively disposed toward some of the purposes of their workplaces, firms, and organizations—and to be proud of their contributions to fulfilling those purposes.42 Citing the Chicago school strike of 2012, McAlevey argues that even as teachers withdrew their labor, they were conscious that they “labor[ed] for something deeply purposeful,” that they valued, and were fully aware of “their contribution to the education and development” of children, and regarded this as their mission even as they geared up to walk out.43

Here it is worth acknowledging that, as crucial as it is to recognize the potential for oppression and domination in employment, it is also essential to recognize the need and potential for satisfaction and fulfillment through work. Robert Kuttner observes that much orthodox economic analysis assumes workers see work only as “a burden and something to be avoided.”44 Work does entail effort, exertion, and the overcoming of difficulty. But this is not necessarily negative. For work is also “a source of self-esteem and mastery; an engagement with the social world; a basis for positive or negative self-identity.”45 G.W.F. Hegel’s account of the lord and bondsman—one of the best known treatments in canonical political theory of the ethical significance and characteristics of labor—rests on the related idea that labor is valuable to workers as an externalization of their will, and a demonstration of their skill, agency, and potency, one they can see reflected, sometimes in the material results of their work, but more generally in the constructed social world around them.46

With all this in mind, it is appropriate, first, to regard a strike as a living counterfactual that demonstrates the efforts and contributions—as well as the agency and skill—of workers to the organization for which they work, and at least some of the organization’s goals. A variety of university, school, and public employee unions deploy variants of the slogan: The university (school, city) works because we do.47 The slogan is of course in part a warning about the possible impact of a strike—of a work stoppage—but it also reminds us, more generally, that even institutions that are often identified with their most visible leaders—entrepreneurs, CEOs, presidents, superintendents—are made what they are, substantially, by the (p.249) many, by the active contributions of ordinary actors. This could fairly be described as the democratic truth of any organization, the fact that it is made what it is substantially by its rank and file.48

In addition to adding a layer to the potential meaning of strikes, the positive consciousness of workers of their own agency, potency, and skill likely helps explain the sense of roughly political attachment of many employees to their organizations—their sense of durable membership in the firms or schools or governments of which they are a part in consequence of their work. It explains something additional, that is, about why workers claim to be entitled to quit working without quitting their jobs: because they claim a kind of membership that is not cancelled by striking, and that cannot simply be revoked purely on the discretion of management.49 And this, too, makes strikes more politically, ethically, and expressively more complex than they might seem—at least to some people. Joseph Schumpeter focused on entrepreneurial potency, was contemptuous of workers who also saw factories and firms as in some sense “theirs.”50 But a sense that their effort, skill, agency, and contributions make them legitimate members of their firms and organizations gives workers as well a reason to choose “voice” over “exit”—protest, even deeply contentious protest, over mere quitting.51 Even as workers stop working, their strike is often in part an expression of this political, incipiently democratic sense of commitment and earned belonging to an organization or association. And although this chapter is not really about workplace democracy, it is worth noting that insofar as workers seek to democratize a workplace, they are attempting to democratize an institution that they understand already to be, in substantial part, the result of their work—an association of which they already consider themselves members.

If labor in the most obvious or familiar sense relevant here—making things, or performing services—ceases during a strike, other generative activity, of a different kind, by the same people—cooperating with and acting on other agents—does not end but is instead significantly redirected. Ordinarily, the activity of obeying superiors, following work rules and procedures, and so on, maintains or reproduces the hierarchical relationships and lines of authority that to some extent characterize almost every workplace. But during strikes, this activity is redirected toward more horizontal (p.250) ties and relations between workers cooperating for a common purpose.52 From beginning to end, a strike is in yet another sense not only a suspension of one kind of activity, but also a robust collective action that has to be planned and actively maintained. In most contemporary instances, as I have already shown, simply to coordinate the work stoppage itself, there must first be a long process of discussion, advocacy, and persuasion between workers—and then, often, a strike vote. And once a strike of any length begins, more egalitarian collective action, more horizontal relation-building, is needed. Workers must organize picket lines, rallies, and similar protests that call attention to and support their efforts. They must engage in bargaining that involves and ultimately wins the support of most employees. They must create and sustain the mechanisms for communicating, sharing information, calling and running meetings, issuing public statements, and so on. The particular work involved varies according to the nature and duration of the strike and the kind of organization struck. Sit-down strikes, ones involving an occupation of the workplace, were perhaps at the far end of the spectrum in the variety and intensity of both the work strikers were called upon to perform, and the social ties and relationships they found it necessary to build in so doing. A description of the 1936–37 sit-down strike at the Fisher One and Two General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan is instructive:

The strike, which was to continue for six weeks, was a large organizational undertaking. A committee of seventeen was in charge and reported daily to membership meetings. The sit-downers, organized into squads of fifteen under a captain, lived together in these groups in sections of the plant. Strike duty was six hours a day, three on and nine off, consisting of picketing at the gates, patrolling, health and sanitary inspection, [and] K.P.53

The teachers’ strikes that spread across the United States in 2018 also required many different kinds of work and collective effort. While the West Virginia strike was on, thousands of teachers protested daily in the state capitol building in Charleston.54 Other strikers collected and distributed food for poor students who normally rely on school breakfasts and lunches.55 And still others, of course, continued bargaining with political leaders and (p.251) communicating with and canvassing members. Later, while on strike in Oklahoma, teachers organized a 110-mile march.56 There is a lot more going on in these instances, obviously, than cessation, than not-working.

And these directly-strike-related activities do not exhaust the list of egalitarian, horizontal relationships and institutions that strikes may enact or reproduce. Consider, for example, the matter of labor rights, or what we might call a regime of labor rights: the right to strike itself, of course, but also the right to engage in a whole range of what American labor law calls “concerted activities,” the right to form and take part in unions and other worker associations, the right ultimately to engage in collective bargaining over wages, benefits, and working conditions, and the related association and speech rights needed for this. Even labor rights that are well defined in law and policy and not presently a matter of public debate are only really enjoyed to the degree they are enacted and supported by many people. If, as J. S. Mill argues, to “have” a right is to “have something which society ought to defend [a person] in the possession of,” then to enjoy and experience a right requires both enactment on one person’s part and the active support and defense of the enactment by others.57

Some relatively well-institutionalized exercises of rights, like voting or publishing an article, mainly require the fairly impersonal, routinized action of many people, such as editors, election officials, poll workers, or advertising salespeople. Other, more extra-institutional rights exercises, such as marching or speaking at a demonstration, are enabled by more consciously enabling activities undertaken by people playing different roles for a shared aim. In either case, one person’s exercise of a right—whether a more institutionalized exercise or a more extra-institutional one—may also be made possible by many other people simultaneously exercising the same right. All this analysis applies to strikes. Those engaged in strikes together provide each other the active support that the exercise of any right always requires. And in so doing, they are building horizontal, participation-supportive social relations and ties. They are producing and reproducing, for themselves and each other, an actual labor rights regime—bringing it out of the pages of law books and into lived experience, so to speak.

(p.252) And this horizontal relation-building in support of labor rights is even more significant, more needed, in the many actual instances where labor rights are controversial, resisted, and contested—where it is an open question what rights workers will have and enjoy. Strikes, as opportunities actively and forcefully to enact and experience labor rights, have sometimes been at least as important to determining what labor rights ultimately are as simple legislation, litigation, and debate. Even after the US National Labor Relations Act (or Wagner Act) was passed, Ahmed White notes, its meaning “remained in doubt for months after its passage.”58 In fact, many employers simply assumed the Supreme Court would annul Wagner, since the Court had so often overturned labor rights legislation.59 As White adds: “until this contest was settled there was, as the history of the strikes shows, no real labor law.”60 Under such conditions, “the process of forging the Act’s meaning was accomplished not only by the courts, the Board, and other elite institutions, but by labor itself—and, in this respect, not only by the movement’s top leaders, but by rank-and-file workers and shop-floor activists.”61

Something similar could be said about an earlier era, when the question was not so much actively establishing the meaning of new labor legislation, but rather actively overturning established labor law practice and precedent. The scourge of labor then, as it had been for decades, was the court injunction forbidding a strike. James Gray Pope argues that it is the long history of strikes carried out in defiance of injunctions that more than anything else discredited and forced an end to the court orders.62

Finally, even if the legislature and courts have determined the legal extent and definition of some labor right, employers may still often attempt to deny workers the enjoyment of that right. If it is true that strikes and other concerted labor actions can contest and determine the content of actual labor rights as against the state and political resistance, the same is surely true as against employer resistance in the economy and workplace.

To take stock, then, the case so far for the strike as a democratic response to the character of labor and employment encompasses: the proposition that even the cessation of labor is a collective action that requires, if it is to serve its purpose, active coordination among workers on equal terms; the proposition that strikes (p.253) can be seen as positive expressions or reminders of the agency and skill of workers; the related proposition that recognition of how their, effort, skill, and agency help make their firms or organizations what they are provides the basis for a claim to membership in them and so to collective influence in them, a claim that adds to our understanding of why workers strike rather than quit; and the proposition that in a strike, workers redirect some of their activity from reproducing workplace hierarchy to producing and reproducing horizontal, egalitarian ties with other workers, and toward reproducing or practically enacting a regime of democratic labor rights.

These claims take on even greater importance when read in conjunction with the vital republican case for strikes as responses to forms of domination characteristic of employment. Too much democratic theory neglects domination, or ignores the central place of resisting domination and oppression in democratic practice.63 But contemporary republicanism’s characteristic concern for identifying and resisting domination readily complements an approach to democratic theory that understands democratic movements and institutions always emerge in a social world that has already taken shape—a social world, parts of which strongly resists efforts at common egalitarian management, and that provides some groups and individuals the means to oppress or dominate others.64 With domination and oppression in view, it is possible to distinguish the entire comprehensive argument for viewing strikes as democratic: They consist of workers striving to act together, on equal terms, building horizontal relations with each other, to resist economic domination and to achieve some rough sort of collective management of the terms of labor.

From the Strike to Democratic Protest

What does this exploration of the strike tell us about democratic protest and collective action, generally? One rendering of the question would be: What does the strike tell us about when we are justified in saying that a protest or collective action has democratic value—in characterizing the protest or collective action as democratic? And it is not too difficult to see that the desiderata that make strikes democratically valuable should qualify other protests (p.254) as democratic as well. In short, then, protests and collective actions that are coordinated on equal terms by their participants; collective actions that are exercises and expressions of the effort, agency, and skill of ordinary people; protests that build, maintain, or reproduce horizontal, egalitarian ties and relations among participants; protests that enact and give life to a scheme of democratic rights; and protests that counter oppression and domination are in this measure democratic. But I think it is possible to learn more than this about protest—especially democratic protest—from the analysis of the strike.

To this point, my case for the democratic value and significance of the strike has rested in part on recognition of a number of claims. It has rested on appreciation of the uniqueness of labor—or labor power—as compared to other purported commodities, and the resultant, troubling potential in employment for oppression and domination.65 It has rested as well on recognizing that strikes involve a cessation of labor—but also much more. For human activity, of which labor is just one variety, does not just make commodities and services, it also reproduces relations of employment and other social relations. And the socially reproductive activity of workers does not cease in a strike, but instead is redirected democratically. My argument so far has also rested on the related recognition of the effort, agency, and skill of workers, on their recognition of this effort, agency, and skill, and on the claim of membership in workplaces, firms, and organizations to which this recognition may give rise.

So the question about the broader implications of what we have learned about the strike cashes out, in part, as a question about the generalizability of these claims about labor, domination, activity, agency, and skill. As we move away from the sphere of employment, which of these assumptions still pertain? To answer, we must expand the scope of attention from labor (and labor power), narrowly, to activity, generally—or at least the kinds of activity that characterize politics. And we must broaden the scope of attention from protest or collective action within relations of employment and within the political economy to protest or collective action in virtually any social domain.

It seems clear that the particular concerns associated with selling labor power, while essential in the domain of employment, are (p.255) not necessarily relevant outside of it. Other forms of protest are focused on domination and oppression, but they are not necessarily focused on the particular forms of these phenomena that can arise from selling one’s labor power. Similarly, the fundamental relation between cessation or withdrawal and the strike does not necessarily pertain to other forms of democratic protest—though it is crucial to some, such as boycotts.

But many of the crucial assumptions or claims from the previous section are still relevant when we turn our attention away from employment and employees to protesters and political actors, generally. More specifically: their effort, agency, and skill; the consciousness they often have of this agency and skill and of their importance for their campaigns, movements, or organizations; the sense in which their protest activity builds and reproduces horizontal ties and social relations among participants—these all apply to activity other than labor, as well, and so are quite relevant outside of the realm of employment. And I want to suggest now that these pertinent assumptions—these facts about protesters or participants in collective action—jointly support a claim that democratic protest should be understood as work.

By calling a variety of political action work, by calling attention to political work, I seek to accentuate activity that is purposive, that involves exertion and effort, and that both requires and develops, in varying measure, know-how and skill. We are very conscious of work as a feature of employment—of work as something that goes on in the political economy—but my point is that work is a crucial feature of political life as well. Yet the importance of political work is not well recognized in either of the two reigning approaches to democratic theory today. Elite approaches have typically seen voting—or some other relatively untaxing form of participation—as the activity characteristic of democracy, and have doubted the ability of citizens to do much more than vote.66 And although one recent trend in deliberative theory de-emphasizes the need for any particular individuals to engage in principled deliberation, it still emphasizes discourse over other forms of participation.67 Work as democratic participation tends not to get its due.

The concrete types of activities indicated by “political work” are fairly clear in the case both of strikes and other non-strike collective actions. Just as (potential) strikers must persuade other (p.256) workers to join them on strike, both strikers and other protesters and activists must often work to gain the support of other similarly situated or like-minded people, or to persuade them to join them in some other form of protest, such as a rally, march, or picket. But it is not easy to organize such a campaign of agitation, to canvass others to participate politically. (This is especially true of canvassing that aims to get a majority of some group of people—not just the “usual suspects”—to engage in a costly or risky effort.) Such an endeavor involves assessing the target group, deciding who among them is to actually to be contacted and recruited, creating a system or organization for reaching those people and recording the interactions; learning through trial and error how to communicate with them persuasively and effectively. Similarly, organizing the rally or march itself also requires work. Someone has to choose and scout the location; some participants must obtain permission or permits and deal with the police (or plan for the consequences of not doing so); some participants must serve as leaders or monitors, to make sure more casual participants understand and abide by decisions about the nature of the protest; someone has to train those leaders and monitors; and so on. Meetings to decide on the goals and parameters of the protest—sometimes smaller leadership meetings and sometimes larger mass-membership ones—are inevitably involved, as well. And planning and organizing meetings is another sort of skill or art. Almost all of these efforts involve using and developing what we tend to call social skills: listening and responding to frustrated people, defusing conflicts, making people feel welcome and appreciated. And, of course, situated within these broader tactical and strategic efforts are smaller practical tasks, from making signs to feeding, hydrating, and caffeinating marchers or canvassers.

Some democrats, convinced that all this is work, still may not be sure they should pay attention or pay heed to such run-of-the mill effort and skill. Surely keeping lists, designing posters, or making coffee are beneath the interest of democratic theory. But it is telling that democracy’s skeptics and critics have always doubted the ability and proficiency of ordinary people to participate significantly in politics—that this doubt has been part of their case against democracy, or at least against enthusiasm for democracy. Schumpeter is not alone in having concluded that “the electoral (p.257) mass is incapable of action other than a stampede.”68 By contrast, theorists favorable toward democracy have tended to evince an appreciation of the capacities to act of ordinary people, even if this appreciation has usually taken the form of appreciation of lay capacities to engage in a fairly narrow range of specific activities they have considered to be truly democratic, like voting and deliberating. Surely this appreciation of lay capacities (even when applied only to a narrow range of capacities) makes sense for democrats. If an “ought” implies a “can,” then democratic theorists have reason to find evidence for and grounds to appreciate the relevant capacities of ordinary people. And so, if I am right that democratic protest requires ordinary people to engage in political work—that ordinary people ought to do such work for the vitality of democracy—then it behooves us to find evidence for and the grounds to appreciate the capacities of ordinary people for such work. Democratic theory should explore and recognize the value of what Mary Dietz calls “sustained, purposeful activity that meets obstacles and undertakes acts of transformation in the world”; democratic theory needs “an action-coordinating concept that appreciates the purposeful nature of human struggle as politics.”69

Democratic theorists might offer another objection to recognizing the centrality of political work. Surely, some might say, it is possible to distinguish the reflection, deliberation, and judgment that go into planning such work from the subsequent drudgery of actually carrying it out. And surely, the critics might say, it is the deliberation—the distinctly discursive, thoughtful phase leading to a decision—that, once distinguished from the phase of action, should be carefully studied and democratically appreciated or critiqued. I have argued elsewhere that this sort of objection stems, in part, from a mistaken view that takes action to be divisible into a series of discrete acts, each preceded by a distinct decision.70 Action is better seen as a continual, reflexive process, ongoing in time.

But rather than deducing a response to this objection from a relatively abstract theory of action, it is better to notice the way that a little concrete familiarity with actual cases of “political work” furnishes a response to the idea that we should distinguish and valorize the reflection, deliberation, and judgment involved in protest. The teachers who went on statewide strike in West Virginia (p.258) in 2018 did not arrive at that point through completion of a distinct phase of pure reflection and deliberation. Rather, they got to the point of mounting a lengthy statewide strike by series of active interventions—and learning from them. They had tried lobbying the state government and learned from the failure of that effort. They tried smaller walkouts and informational walk-ins and learned from the meager results of those actions. And as the movement grew, other teachers were drawn to join those first to act, not through deliberative persuasion alone, but through active example. And strikes themselves are always active tests of hypotheses. Workers do not know if they will succeed. They are trying their powers and testing the intentions and strength of their opponents.

In general, then, strikers, activists, and other participants in political work usually do not engage in a distinct and prior process of study, discussion, deliberation, and judgment all before engaging in any action. Rather, they learn, communicate, and even formulate goals through engagement in a continual active process. The activity itself is infused with inquiry, thought, and communication. They start acting, and their action elicits or provokes responses that have to be considered—exposes them and others to experiences and information that would never have been available to them had they opted for a distinct a priori discursive process. Another clear example of this, one not tied to labor and employment, is the lunch counter protests that spread across the American South in 1960.71 The upsurge did not begin with a full plan, or even a clear policy demand or singular message. In initiating the sit-ins, protesters, in effect, were poking a stick at a complex system of institutions, laws, and disparate groups all sustaining—or at least not yet undermining—the racial caste system. Unpredictably, businesses and officials in Greensboro, North Carolina, hesitated to crack down harshly on the early sit-ins. Crucial allies had previously disapproved of sit-ins, but now new ones stepped in to help. Protesters learned, reacted, and formulated new tactics, and revised goals in response to these countermoves, growing more ambitious all the time. What mushroomed in spring 1960, it is important to emphasize, was a novel form of action, not so much any new contribution to discourse—a new argument or policy proposal. And it is not just the activists who learned from this tactical intervention. So did other lay actors. And they learned from (p.259) watching an active intervention playing out—not, primarily, from listening to or taking part in an exchange of reasons.

Drawing on John Dewey, it is appropriate to call this sort of active political process experimental. Dewey stressed scientific practice of experiment as a model for political action and social inquiry because experimentation always involves active intervention, rather than mere passive observation and reflection—a continual process of thoroughly entwined action and thought, rather than just “comparison of ideas already current” or “elaboration of ideas and policies after ideas are once put forth” as a prelude to a distinct phase that puts those ideas into action.72 In such a process, thought and deliberation cannot be seen as purely prior to action. Nor can ends or goals—since these are likely to change as active experience spurs reconsideration.

This understanding of political work as experimental and continually ongoing provides, I think, a valuable perspective from which to consider recent work on means and ends in politics. The critique of political theory that is overly focused on ends—to the exclusion or derogation of means—is a growing genre.73 Ends-centered political thought often assumes that it is possible to posit ideal ends, goals that are valuable in themselves, and then later devise means capable of achieving them. Karuna Mantena shows how M. K. Gandhi perceived the dangers of this approach and transcended it. Gandhi, according to Mantena, was deeply concerned with “cycles of violence” and the “inherent tendency towards escalation in conflict.”74 He believed that those who unduly elevated their ideal ends would be prone to choose means that would lead toward violent escalation. The alternative was to understand that means and ends are not categorically distinct, but are “convertible terms”—and to select means that would minimize the likelihood of resistance and violent escalation.75 Alexander Livingston has made the case for a remarkably analogous reading of Dewey, one focused on the unpredictability and contingency of action. Livingston’s Dewey argues that once we recognize that action is unpredictable in outcome; that it is an always ongoing, endlessly iterative process; and that ends are never more fallible projections from our current situation, rather than fixed, certain beacons, guiding our action from beyond its native realm, then we recognize that means and ends (p.260) are interdependent. Today’s ends are always tomorrow’s means.76 Interestingly, Livingston shows how this approach leads Dewey to justify strikes, despite the fact that they are coercive. Strikes can be a “democratic means” when they serve “as a tool of provoking public inquiry,” where inquiry means “the practice of creatively responding to problematic situations that arise when the means of action escape their anticipated ends.”77

Mantena’s Gandhi, then, demonstrates how potential destructive cycles of violence should lead us to see means and ends as interrelated. And Livingston’s Dewey should prompt us to recognize that action’s contingency—and the revisability of ends—establish the same. I would add: Recognition of the chief claims of this chapter—the significance of the agency and skill of workers and activists, their participation in political work, the experimental quality of much of that work—provides a complementary but distinct justification for viewing means and ends as interdependent.

The interrelation of means and ends—indeed the difficulty of making a sharp distinction between means and ends—is quite clear with respect to strikes. Strikes are intended to protect and achieve worker autonomy, but they are also active exercises of it. They are intended to establish a democratic regime of labor rights, but they attempt to establish such rights through collectively putting them into action. The point, I think, is quite generalizable. Mantena, for example, argues that “Gandhi’s understanding of swaraj or self-rule may be the clearest instance of an end that is constitutive of the act itself.”78 Citizens and activists often understand their participation not as a one-off tactic chosen to accomplish an end and then abandoned, but as a long-lasting process, in the course of which they seek to become more effective. They obtain satisfaction now in exercising their skills, agency, and their power—individual and collective—and they also understand that the present exercise can help lead to greater future efficacy as citizens. Experimental action, then, should not be seen just as a means to democratic ends: first because, like other kinds of political action, it may be one form of a never-ending process of growth in citizen efficacy and power.

It should not be seen just as a means, additionally, because in fact it often entails a process of clarifying and choosing purposes and values and understandings that are not determined ahead of (p.261) time or externally from the activity itself. Interviews suggest, for example, that Occupy Wall Street activists saw their varied activities neither just as fulfillments in themselves nor merely as means to some ideal democratic future, but as part of an ongoing process of developing their political capacities for future democratic involvement. Participants celebrated the fact that movement activity “unleash[ed] all these sorts of talents and energies,” that it “politicized” people, enhancing their understanding of the world; gave them opportunities to “learn the right skills” and become “really good leaders and good organizers”; engendered pride at having “transformed” the Occupy encampment to make it a better site for democratic activity; and fostered a “sense of community.”79

Conclusion

Strikes and other concerted activities by workers are, even in the best times we have ever known, crucial for what we could fairly call democratic equality—for combating the forms of economic inequality that are so dangerous to political equality and in turn to the health of democratic politics. Strikes are also important democratic collective actions that address the deep interest workers have in exercising control over how they labor, in influencing the structure of employment. And strikes are vivid exemplars of two things we should remember about all democratic protest: its character as political work, purposive, strenuous, and skillful; and its status as neither means nor end, but both.

#### Strong democracy prevents world war

Diamond, 19 – Stanford polisci professor

[Larry; 2019; Professor of Sociology and Political Science and at Stanford University, Ph.D. in Sociology from Stanford University; Ill Winds, “Conclusion: A New Birth of Freedom,” Ch. 14]

In such a near future, my fellow experts would no longer talk of “democratic erosion.” We would be spiraling downward into a time of democratic despair, recalling Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s grim observation from the 1970s that liberal democracy “is where the world was, not where it is going.” 5 // The world pulled out of that downward spiral—but it took new, more purposeful American leadership. The planet was not so lucky in the 1930s, when the global implosion of democracy led to a catastrophic world war, between a rising axis of emboldened dictatorships and a shaken and economically depressed collection of self-doubting democracies. // These are the stakes. Expanding democracy—with its liberal norms and constitutional commitments—is a crucial foundation for world peace and security. Knock that away, and our most basic hopes and assumptions will be imperiled. // The problem is not just that the ground is slipping. It is that we are perched on a global precipice. That ledge has been gradually giving way for a decade. If the erosion continues, we may well reach a tipping point where democracy goes bankrupt suddenly—plunging the world into depths of oppression and aggression that we have not seen since the end of World War II. As a political scientist, I know that our theories and tools are not nearly good enough to tell us just how close we are getting to that point—until it happens.

### Solvency

#### Contention Two: Solvency

#### Unconditional right to strike is key to prevent ambiguity and loopholes that gut the aff

**Chang, 15** – Renmin University Professor of Labour Law

[Kai, Director of the Research Institute of Labour Relations of Renmin University, Chair of the Labour Relations Branch of the China Human Resource Development Association; and Fang Lee Cooke, Distinguished Professor of Human Resource Management (HRM) and Asia Studies at Monash University, “Legislating the right to strike in China: Historical development and prospects,” Journal of Industrial Relations, 2015, Vol. 57(3), https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.920.4293&rep=rep1&type=pdf, accessed 10-10-21]

**The right to strike is a basic** human **right** in the Covenant on International Human Rights (United Nations Human Rights website: http://www.ohchr.org/ EN/Professionallnterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx). It is also the basic content of the right to collective disputes in labour disputes. This concerns an important issue in the legislation of the right to strike, that is the position of the right to strike in the legal system of citizens’ rights in China. We argue that human rights or Constitutional rights must be made more specific through further legislation. **Otherwise**, such **rights** will **only exist in notion without** any **enforcement** possibility. In China, the legislation of strike should be reified in labour laws and not merely exist as a kind of general human rights or constitutional rights in abstract. Although the Constitution in 1975 and 1978 also stipulated ‘the freedom of strike’, the meaning of this kind of constitutional right is symbolic as a declaration rather than implementational. This is because the stipulation was not re-enforced with more specific legal regulations, especially when the Labour Law (enacted in 1995) and other relevant labour regulations did not exist at the time. The legislation of the right to strike is therefore not only a necessity in the provision of a fuller set of human rights or civil rights in general, but also a necessity in providing a more comprehensive set of basic labour rights, particularly the right to organise and the right to collective bargaining (Kovacs, 2005).

The legislation of the right to strike is an important component of labour legislation. In the system of labour laws, the right to strike is not a single or isolated right, but an integral part of the system of workers’ rights. The right to strike, the right to organise and the right to collective bargaining together form the ‘basic labour rights’. These rights are interconnected and interact with each other to take effect. In particular, the right to organise is a basic right; the right to bargaining is a core right; and the right to strike is to guarantee the right to bargain (Ewing, 2013). As the basic component of labour rights to collective disputes, the right to strike is the ultimate and the highest means of defence for workers in the dispute between labour and capital. As a labour right of self-defence for workers, the effect of strike is ‘deterrent’. It exerts pressure and restriction on employers and forces them to deal with labour relations more cautiously. The implementation of the right to strike is closely related to the right to collective bargaining. Under normal circumstances, only when the bargaining fails, or the collective contract fails to perform, or the rights and interests of the workers have been violated or will suffer an encroachment and cannot be resolved by bargaining, can workers exercise the right to strike. The direct purpose of a strike is to sign or implement collective contract or other agreement. The strike is the major means that workers have to restrict employers from refusing to bargain and non-honcst bargaining in the course of collective bargaining. In China, without the guarantee of the right to collective disputes, especially the right to strike, it will be difficult for the system of collective bargaining to be effective. Therefore, the legislation of the right to strike in China should be combined with the legislation of collective contract. This will **avoid ambiguity** of the legislation **on the right to strike**. It will stipulate the nature, effect and position of the right to strike more clearly. The implementation and restriction of the right will also be more easily regulated.

As an important part of the collective labour rights, the right to strike with other contents of collective labour rights should be considered together as a bundle of rights or a holistic system of rights to make a legislative plan. In addition, in view of the equality principle in regulating labour relations, we argue that if the right to strike can be incorporated into the legislation of the right to collective disputes, then it will be beneficial to the formation of a **comprehensive** system of labour dispute rights. The significance of doing so is manifold: first, making it clear that the right to strike is an integral part of the right to collective disputes and is the right to be exercised in collective disputes; second, the employers should correspondingly have the right to lockout as a counter power; third, the exercise of the right to collective disputes should follow the procedure that deals with collective disputes.

The legislation of the right to strike involves not only legislative theories, but also the opportunity and conditions to legislate. This mainly involves two conditions.

First, the legislation of the right to strike must have a corresponding legal environment and conditions, especially a relatively comprehensive system of collective contract and labour disputes settlement. The system of collective contract in China has only been developed recently, and much remains to be improved (e.g. Brown, 2006). For example, in the overall design and detailed procedure of the labour disputes resolution system, the trade unions as a main body in the system have not been taken into account. Disputes derived from signing the collective contract cannot go through the procedure of labour disputes resolution. By contrast, disputes arising from the implementation of the collective contract can do so according to relevant regulations. However, in the ‘Regulation on Labour Disputes Settlement' (1993), there is no regulation on the resolution of disputes over collective contracts. In addition, the same regulation specifies that ‘enterprise and workers are parties of the case of labour disputes'. This means that the enterprise union is not listed as a party in labour disputes and that the legitimacy of the union’s involvement in the dispute resolution is questionable. These examples of legislative **loopholes** suggest that there is a need to amend and improve relevant laws and regulations to provide **greater** procedural and substantive **clarity**.

Second, whether or not enterprise unions really represent workers’ interests is another condition for strike legislation. Standard strikes should have the grassroots unions as the legal organisers of strikes. In some countries, self-organised strikes that bypass the union as the legal strike organising body will be deemed illegal.6 In the Chinese context, the grassroots unions, especially those in the private sector, have not become organisations that are independent of the employer and truly represent the workers’ interests. Therefore, whether or not the unions can undertake the duty of organising collective disputes or strike remains uncertain. Moreover, in situations where the union enjoying the exclusive right to organise is unwilling to or cannot organise strikes, workers will not be able to hold spontaneous strikes without violating the law, if spontaneous strikes that arc not organised by the union are outlawed. Under such circumstances, the legislation of strike is likely to have an adverse effect on workers’ capacity to strike, because they are trapped by the predicaments of the unions. In a period when the law is evasive on strikes, workers can still go on spontaneous strikes without violating the law. But after the legislation of strikes, spontaneous strikes will be most likely prohibited. Therefore, the legislation of strikes in China must seriously take into account the role of the unions and the reform necessary for them to function appropriately in the light of marketisation and legislation.

The legislation of the right to collective disputes or the right to strike must make it the basic starting point to guarantee the basic rights and interests of workers on the one hand and to maintain the stability of the society on the other. **The legislation of strikes should not be turned into** the **legislation** against, or **restricting, strikes**. In view of the current situation in China, the legislation of strikes should take the strategy of being proactive, incremental, and consistent with corresponding laws. It should be noted that Article 27, Chapter Three of the Trade Union Law (2001) has made a significant step forward towards the legislation of right to strike. In spite of the fact that the term ‘strikes' is not used in this law, its description of ‘incidents of stoppage of work and go-slow collectively’ clearly refers to strikes. This law requires that after a stoppage or go-slow occurs in enterprises or public sector organisations, the unions ‘should’ raise demands on behalf of the workers and the employer ‘should’ address its employees’ legitimate demands. The logical premise of the two ‘shoulds’ is: strike is not illegal.

This stipulation in the Trade Union Law (2001) is obviously transitional in nature, however. There remains a large gap between this rudimentary stipulation and a more comprehensive system appropriate for a market economy. The current stipulation is no more than a passive approval of strike action without any clear specification of its legality. It offers no legal protection for striking in the form of ‘criminal immunity’ and ‘civil immunity’.7 Nevertheless, this basic provision is a significant step towards the legislation of the right to strike.

#### Limited right to strike is a picnic for lawyers- even when employees would win the strike is delayed into non-existence

**Bornstein, 18** -- Maurice Blackburn Lawyers National Head of Employment Law

[Josh, “Requiem for the Right to Strike,” Maurice Blackburn Lawyers, 2018, https://www.monash.edu/\_\_data/assets/pdf\_file/0008/1441196/Josh-Bornstein-paper.pdf,%20accessed%2010=11=21]

In practise, the **technical requirements** are a **lawyers' picnic**, enabling employers to **frustrate and delay** strike action. **Even where there is complete compliance**, the **limited right to strike** is **all too easily removed** because the Fair Work Commission (FWC) is vested with considerable power to suspend or terminate protected industrial action.15 It must suspend or terminate protected industrial action if satisfied that the action is "... causing or threating to cause, significant economic harm to the employer, or any of the employees, that will be covered by the agreement.'16 Or. if it may cause "significant damage to the Australian economy or an important part of if}7

#### Unconditional is key- exceptions are stretched to ban strikes even when they should be allowed

**le Roux, 16** -- University of Cape Town law professor

[Rochelle, and Tamara Cohen, University of KwaZulu-Natal, "Understanding the limitations to the right to strike in essential and public services in the SADC region," Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal, 2016, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1727-37812016000100007, accessed 10-11-2021]

This analysis has shown that, with the exception of South Africa and Namibia, limitations to the right to strike of public sector employees in the SADC exceed those endorsed by international conventions. In particular, limitations to freedom of association in the public sector are commonplace, and limitations to the right to strike vary from an outright ban to a **ban by subterfuge**. In other words, **even where strikes are generally permitted** in the public sector and prohibited only in defined essential services, a **broad definition** of essential services or a determination of essential services swayed by governmental influence and interests **effectively results** in an outright ban of public sector strikes in the sub-region.

# CASE

## IMPACT Calc

### Impact Calc

#### Case outweighs and turns the DA:

#### 1. Climate is a near-term existential risk- ecosystem and ag collapse dooms humanity- that’s Ahmed.

#### 2. Global co-op is a pre-req- modern problems require global solutions- national remedies are insufficient for the scale of the problem. Try or die aff- it’s reverse causal- global solutions provide expertise that solves every problem- that’s Sasnal.

#### 3. Democracy is an impact filter- decline causes world war BUT liberal commitments mean no possibility of war- that’s Diamond. Democratic Peace Theory is an empirical law- best and most recent studies prove- that’s Imai. Global right to strike means global peace- zeroes their impacts.

#### 4. Unions are an impact filter- they organize for peace and prevent war- strong unions mean strong and effective peace movements- that’s Marshall.

### Impact Calc (Nov AC)

#### Case outweighs and turns the DA:

#### 1. Strikes solve inequality and populism that doom global co-op key to solve existential challenges like climate change, out of control AI, and nuclear security dilemmas– that’s Sasnal.

#### 2. Global co-op is a pre-req to solving their impacts- modern problems require global solutions- national remedies are insufficient for the scale of the problem. Try or die aff- it’s reverse causal- global solutions provide expertise that solves every problem- that’s Sasnal.

#### 3. Democracy is an impact filter- decline causes world war BUT liberal commitments mean no possibility of war- that’s Diamond. Democratic Peace Theory is an empirical law- best and most recent studies prove- that’s Imai. Global right to strike means global peace- zeroes their impacts.

## INEQUALITY

### IL: Isolationism

#### Tackling inequality is key to catalyze international coop and inoculate the US against nationalism

Kupchan, 21 – Georgetown University international affairs professor

[Charles A. Kupchan, CFR senior fellow, served on the National Security Council during the Obama administration, and Peter L. Trubowitz, London School of Economics and Political Science IR professor, Associate Fellow at Chatham House, “The Home Front: Why an Internationalist Foreign Policy Needs a Stronger Domestic Foundation,” Foreign Affairs, May/June 2021, accessed 6-23-21]

The Home Front: Why an Internationalist Foreign Policy Needs a Stronger Domestic Foundation

U.S. President Joe Biden has declared that under his leadership, “America is back” and once again “ready to lead the world.” Biden wants to return the country to its traditional role of catalyzing international cooperation and staunchly defending liberal values abroad. His challenge, however, is primarily one of politics, not policy. Despite Biden’s victory in last year’s presidential election, his internationalist vision faces a deeply skeptical American public. The political foundations of U.S. internationalism have collapsed. The domestic consensus that long supported U.S. engagement abroad has come apart in the face of mounting partisan discord and a deepening rift between urban and rural Americans.

An inward turn has accompanied these growing divides. President Donald Trump’s unilateralism, neo-isolationism, protectionism, and nativism were anathema to most of the U.S. foreign policy establishment. But Trump’s approach to statecraft tapped into public misgivings about American overreach, contributing to his victory in 2016 and helping him win the backing of 74 million voters in 2020. An “America first” approach to the world sells well when many Americans experience economic insecurity and feel that they have been on the losing end of globalization. A recent survey by the Pew Research Center revealed that roughly half the U.S. public believes that the country should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate more on fixing problems at home.

Redressing the hardships facing many working Americans is essential to inoculating the country against “America first” and Trump’s illiberal politics of grievance. That task begins with economic renewal. Restoring popular support for the country’s internationalist calling will entail sustained investment in pandemic recovery, health care, infrastructure, green technology and jobs, and other domestic programs. Those steps will require structural political reforms to ease gridlock and ensure that U.S. foreign policy serves the interests of working Americans.

What Biden needs is an “inside out” approach that will link imperatives at home to objectives abroad. Much will depend on his willingness and ability to take bold action to rebuild broad popular support for internationalism from the ground up. Success would significantly reduce the chances that the president who follows Biden, even if he or she is a Republican, would return to Trump’s self-defeating foreign policy. Such future-proofing is critical to restoring international confidence in the United States. In light of the dysfunction and polarization plaguing U.S. politics, leaders and people around the world are justifiably questioning whether Biden represents a new normal or just a fleeting reprieve from “America first.”

### !: War

#### Rising inequality drives diversionary nationalism and sparks international conflict

Solt, 11 -- Southern Illinois University political science and sociology professor

[Frederick, “Diversionary Nationalism: Economic Inequality and the Formation of National Pride,” The Journal of Politics, Vol. 73, No. 3 (Aug. 3, 2011), pp. 821-830, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1017/s002238161100048x?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents>, accessed 6-27-21]

One of the oldest theories of nationalism is that states instill the nationalist myth in their citizens to divert their attention from great economic inequality and so forestall pervasive unrest. Because the very concept of nationalism obscures the extent of inequality and is a potent tool for delegitimizing calls for redistribution, it is a perfect diversion, and states should be expected to engage in more nationalist mythmaking when inequality increases. The evidence presented by this study supports this theory: across the countries and over time, where economic inequality is greater, nationalist sentiments are substantially more widespread.

This result adds considerably to our understanding of nationalism. To date, many scholars have focused on the international environment as the principal source of threats that prompt states to generate nationalism; the importance of the domestic threat posed by economic inequality has been largely overlooked. However, at least in recent years, domestic inequality is a far more important stimulus for the generation of nationalist sentiments than the international context. Given that nuclear weapons—either their own or their allies’—rather than the mass army now serve as the primary defense of many countries against being overrun by their enemies, perhaps this is not surprising: nationalism-inspired mass mobilization is simply no longer as necessary for protection as it once was (see Mearsheimer 1990, 21; Posen 1993, 122-24).

Another important implication of the analyses presented above is that growing economic inequality may increase ethnic conflict. States may foment national pride to stem discontent with increasing inequality, but this pride can also lead to more hostility towards immigrants and minorities. Though pride in the nation is distinct from chauvinism and outgroup hostility, it is nevertheless closely related to these phenomena, and recent experimental research has shown that members of majority groups who express high levels of national pride can be nudged into intolerant and xenophobic responses quite easily (Li and Brewer 2004). This finding suggests that, by leading to the creation of more national pride, higher levels of inequality produce environments favorable to those who would inflame ethnic animosities.

Another and perhaps even more worrisome implication regards the likelihood of war. Nationalism is frequently suggested as a cause of war, and more national pride has been found to result in a much greater demand for national security even at the expense of civil liberties (Davis and Silver 2004, 36-37) as well as preferences for “a more militaristic foreign affairs posture and a more interventionist role in world politics” (Conover and Feldman 1987, 3). To the extent that these preferences influence policymaking, the growth in economic inequality over the last quarter century should be expected to lead to more aggressive foreign policies and more international conflict. If economic inequality prompts states to generate diversionary nationalism as the results presented above suggest, then rising inequality could make for a more dangerous world.

The results of this work also contribute to our still limited knowledge of the relationship between economic inequality and democratic politics. In particular, it helps explain the fact that, contrary to median-voter models of redistribution (e.g., Meltzer and Richard 1981), democracies with higher levels of inequality do not consistently respond with more redistribution (e.g., Benabou 1996). Rather than allowing redistribution to be decided through the democratic process suggested by such models, this work suggests that states often respond to higher levels of inequality with more nationalism. Nationalism then works to divert attention from inequality, so many citizens neither realize the extent of inequality nor demand redistributive policies. By prompting states to promote nationalism, greater economic inequality removes the issue of redistribution from debate and therefore narrows the scope of democratic politics.

**Inequality drives conflict escalation through various political and economic channels**

**Stein 15** – Rachel Stein, Assistant Professor of Political Science at George Washington University, Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University (“War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies,” *American Political Science Review*, Volume 109, Issue 3, pgs. 556-573, Available to Subscribing Institutions)

Greater income inequality is positively correlated with retention (Jacobs and Carmichael 2002; Kent 2010). **More unequal countries also tend to have stronger nationalism** (Solt 2011), which is frequently cited as a **cause of international conflict** (Van Evera 1994). Unequal democracies also tend to build **capital-intensive militaries**, which lowers the cost of war for the median voter and decreases the **political risk of initiation** (Caverley 2014). I measure Income inequality as a Gini coefficient based on household market (pretax, pretransfer) income, which ranges from 0 to 100. These data are available for 153 countries starting in 1960 (Solt 2009).

### !: Gridlock

#### Income inequality spurs gridlock- makes their impacts inevitable and causes extinction

**Cribb, 17** -- Australian National University Emeritus Faculty

[Julian, Fellow, Australian Academy of Technology, Science and Engineering, *Surviving The 21st Century: Humanity’s Ten Great Challenges and How We Can Overcome Them*, Switzerland: Springer International, 2017, p. 166-167, accessed 2017]

The argument that income inequality leads to **legislative stalemate** and **government indecision** was advanced by Mian and colleagues in a study of the political outcomes of the 2008–2009 Global Economic Recession (Mian et al. 2012 ), stating “…politically countries become more polarized and fractionalized following financial crises. This results in legislative stalemate, making it less likely that crises lead to meaningful macroeconomic reforms.” It also affects intergenerational cohesion, explains Nobel economics laureate Joseph Stiglitz: “These three realities – social injustice on an unprecedented scale, massive inequities, and a loss of trust in elites – define our political moment, and rightly so…. But we won’t be able to fix the problem if we don’t recognize it. Our young do. They perceive the absence of intergenerational justice, and they are right to be angry” (Stiglitz 2016). From the perspective of the survival of civilization and the human species, financial inequality does not represent a direct threat—indeed most societies have long managed with varying degrees of income disparity. Where it is of concern to a human race, whose numbers and demands have already exceeded the finite boundaries of its shared planet, is in the capacity of inequality to wreck social cohesion and hence, to **undermine** the prospects for a **collaborative effort** by the whole of humanity to tackle the **multiple existential threats** we face. Rich-against-poor is a good way to divert the argument and so de-rail climate action, disarmament, planetary clean-up or food security, for instance. Disunity spells electoral loss in politics, rifts between commanders and their troops breed military defeat, lack of team spirit yields failure in sport, disharmony means a poor orchestra or business performance, family disagreements often lead to dysfunction and violence. These lessons are well-known and attested, from every walk of life. Yet humans persistently overlook the cost of socioeconomic disunity and grievances when it comes to dealing with our common perils as a species. For civilisation and **our species to survive** and prosper sustainably in the long run, common understandings and co-operation are essential, across all the gulfs that divide us—political, ethnic, religious and economic. A sustainable world, and a viable human species, will not be possible unless the poverty and inequity gaps can be reduced, if not closed. This is not a matter of politics or ideology, as many may argue: it is the same lesson in collective wisdom and collaboration which those earliest humans first learned on the African savannah a million and a half years ago: together we stand, divided we fall. It is purely an issue of co-existence and co-survival. Neither rich nor poor are advantaged by a state of civilisation in collapse. An unsustainable world will kill the affluent as surely as the deprived.

#### Overcoming gridlock solves every impact- the alt is serial policy failure. Government is the key intervening actor- solves the case

Amy, 17 -- Mount Holyoke College politics professor

[Douglas J., "Government is Good," 2017, governmentisgood.com, accessed 3-11-18]

Why a website defending government? Because for decades conservatives have been demonizing and attacking government and not enough has been done to defend it. We need to recognize that despite its problems, government plays an essential role in promoting the good life for all Americans. When we recklessly reduce and underfund this institution, we are hampering our ability to improve people’s lives and to effectively address our pressing social, economic, and environmental problems. To see what is at stake in this battle over government, we need only consider how efforts to limit government in this country have caused us to fall behind many other advanced democracies in providing important public services. Most western European countries, for instance, have larger public sectors and do much better in a wide variety of areas, including retirement security, poverty reduction, child care availability, affordable higher education, pollution control, limiting workplace injuries, affordable housing, crime control, infrastructure investment, healthcare access, and much more. A 2014 study found that among similar countries, the U.S. ranks 31st in personal safety, 34th in access to water and sanitation, 39th in basic education, 69th in ecosystem sustainability, and 70th in health. Most Americans are aware of the crucial role that government plays in addressing these kinds of issues. Polls consistently show a majority wants the federal government to do more to aid education, protect the environment, strengthen Social Security, and improve access to medical care. And yet Republicans continue to insist that what we need is even less government, and they persist in waging a relentless political war against this institution. GOP politicians have been joined in this anti-government crusade by libertarian thinkers, right-wing media pundits, billionaire political activists, and wealthy corporate lobbies. Make no mistake: the goal of this anti-government movement is not merely to eliminate waste or make the government more efficient. The ultimate aim is to undermine many of the most important and successful government programs that have been in place since the New Deal and the Great Society. They want to slash spending on vital safety net programs like Medicare, Medicaid, Food Stamps, and Social Security. They would like to roll back key regulations protecting consumers, workers, and the environment. And they want to reduce taxes so drastically that many crucial programs and agencies would be starved of funds. A Congressional Budget Office analysis of Rep. Paul Ryan’s budget proposal found that by 2050, there would no money left for any federal programs except Social Security, Medicare, and defense spending. Virtually everything else the federal government does would come to a halt. Few Republican leaders seem bothered by this, perhaps because many have already called for the wholesale dismantling of entire federal agencies, including the Environmental Protection Agency and the Departments of Energy, Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, Interior, and Education. During the Obama administration, Republicans were blocked from enacting these extreme cuts in government programs and services. But with the election of Donald Trump and the GOP control over both houses of Congress, this radical anti-government agenda has a much better chance of becoming a reality. The attack on Obamacare was simply the opening salvo. Also on tap are other parts of the Republicans' government-destroying wish list: large tax cuts and assaults on basic social safety net programs. Another top priority is wide scale deregulation. Trump has promised corporate leaders that he will eliminate 75% of business regulations. And he appointed heads of federal agencies who actually oppose the basic missions of those agencies. This includes installing a climate change denier to lead the EPA; a man who previously sued the EPA to stop regulations on carbon dioxide, ozone, and mercury, Clean Water rules, and more. Chief White House strategist Stephen Bannon made it clear early on that one of the main goals of the Trump administration was the "deconstruction of the administrative state" -- meaning the deliberate sabotaging of the administrative system that runs our social programs and implements regulations, and that is an essential part of modern democratic government. Note that much of the material on this site was originally written during the Obama years, so some of the examples used may seem a bit dated. But the basic principles and arguments remain valid. The agenda of the anti-government movement remains the same, as does its tactics. For example, I detail here how President George W. Bush promoted deregulation by cutting administrative budgets and appointing administrators who were ideological enemies of their own agencies. This same blueprint is being followed by President Trump, albeit with more vigor. This website is a response to this increasingly extreme anti-government movement and its distorted depiction of government. It makes the case that government – despite its flaws – plays a valuable and indispensable role in promoting the public good. In reality, most government programs are working well and are actually improving the lives of all Americans in innumerable ways. Our democratic government is a unique institution that allows us to pool our resources and to act collectively to address the serious social, economic, and environmental problems that we are unable to deal with as individuals. The public sector is also how we provide for essential human needs that are neglected by the market – such as clean air and water, safe workplaces, and economic security. What’s more, government serves as an important instrument of moral action – a way for us to rectify injustices, eliminate suffering, and care for each other. In short, democratic government is one of the main ways we work together to pursue the common good and make the world a better place. If we want an America that is prosperous, healthy, secure, well-educated, just, compassionate, and unpolluted, we need a strong, active, and well-funded public sector.

### !: SPF

**Inequality makes their impacts inevitable- collapses decision-making and leads to serial policy failure**

**Rolf, 16** -- formerly served as international vice president of SEIU

[David, founder of the Fair Work Center, The Fight for Fifteen: The Right Wage for a Working America, 2016, xviii, accessed 2-16-19]

Fifteen years into the new millennium, our nation has reached a strategic inflection point. Most Americans are no longer getting ahead. Jobs are changing for the worse. Inequality—the percentage difference in income and wealth between the wealthiest and the rest of us—is approaching Third World levels. This vast inequality **distorts** the **decisions** our nation makes, tilting the playing field ever more toward the very rich. **A solid middle class can build a civic life, participate in politics, and think about the future. A nation of struggling poor people cannot**. By every measure we are not a poor nation—we are the richest in the world. And yet our middle class is shrinking, our wages are flat, and more and more of our nation’s families are falling behind rather than getting ahead.

### T/ Econ

**Economic inequality thumps the economy- try or die neg**

**Ramus 13** – Professor of Economics @ St. Mary’s

(Jack, “Growth of Income Inequality Blocks Recovery,” <http://portside.org/2013-02-26/growth-income-inequality-blocks-recovery>)

**The dominant characteristic of the US economy** today—and a fundamental cause of the faltering, stop-go economic recovery in the U.S. since 2009—**is the long term and continuing growth of income inequality in America**.¶ Income inequality in the US is not only growing, but growing at an accelerating rate. What follows is a detailed accounting of the dimensions of the growing income inequality in the US, and some of the more important reasons for that continuing, and now accelerating, income shift. **Growing income inequality**—approaching now obscene levels—is not simply a ‘moral outrage’. It not only represents a gross violation of historically held American values or reasonable equality for all. It **is a condition that has served**, and continues to serve**, as a major cause of the lack of sustained economic recovery** in the US now for five years—**as well as a major factor in explaining why the US continues today to drift toward another ‘double dip’ recession**.

**Inequality kills growth- destroys resiliency**

**Rolf, 16** -- formerly served as international vice president of SEIU

[David, founder of the Fair Work Center, The Fight for Fifteen: The Right Wage for a Working America, 2016, 12-13, accessed 2-16-19]

Inequality has impacts that reach far beyond the bank account—high levels of inequality are correlated with a multitude of social problems, from poor mental and physical health to diminished class mobility, reduced participation in civic and democratic life, and eroding social cohesion. Inequality also threatens economic growth. Even financial institutions such as Standard & Poor’s (occasionally) get it: “Inequality may heighten the susceptibility of an economy to booms and busts” and “may also spur political instability—thus discouraging investment. The affluent may exercise disproportionate influence on the political process, or the needs of the less affluent may grow so severe as to make additional cuts to fiscal stabilizers that operate automatically in a downturn politically unviable.”34

### AT Automation Alt Cause

**No automation crisis- 5 countervailing forces**

**Martinelli, 17** -- University of Bath Institute for Policy Research research associate

[Luke, "Assessing the Case for a Universal Basic Income in the UK," IPR Policy Brief, Sept 2017, https://www.bath.ac.uk/publications/assessing-the-case-for-a-universal-basic-income-in-the-uk/attachments/basic\_income\_policy\_brief.pdf, accessed 1-16-20]

On the other hand, recovery from the effects of the 'Great Recession' has occurred much more slowly than in comparison to previous recessions. One possible cause may be that longterm structural factors - including but perhaps not limited to automation - have exacerbated the effects of a recession that was, initially at least, largely cyclical in nature (Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2012). In any case, it seems difficult to conclude with any certainty that automation has exhibited any negative causal effect on employment levels. This is especially true in the UK, which has maintained very high levels of employment even through the recession (Gregg et al., 2014), albeit subject to low levels of productivity and wage growth.

Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, of course. But the data raise the question: why does technological unemployment seem not to have transpired? As Hughes (2014) notes, the danger of technological unemployment was first raised by Keynes (1930). Keynes' explanation for the danger referred to the "discovery of means of economising the use of labour outrunning the pace at which we can find new uses for labour"; in this way, the spectre of technological unemployment is explicitly related to demand deficiency in goods and services markets which lead to excess labour supply.

In the event, new labour-saving technologies did not lead inexorably towards increasingly severe levels of unemployment. As Vivarelli and Pianta (2000) document, there are five compensatory employment effects that counteract technological unemployment:

New machines and products require workers to build and service them.

Price decreases triggered by more efficient production processes stimulate demand for other products.

New investments are instigated by the higher returns on capital that arise from more efficient production.

Higher wages in activities and sectors that complement technology can stimulate demand.

Lower wages in activities and sectors that substitute for technology can help labour markets to clear.

**No automation crisis- history proves**

**Matthews, 19** -- Vox senior correspondent

[Dylan, "Basic income can’t do enough to help workers displaced by technology," Vox, 10-18-19, https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/10/18/20919322/basic-income-freedom-dividend-andrew-yang-automation, accessed 1-16-20]

And despite the predictions of leftist optimists like Srnicek and Williams, and the gloomy warnings of more mainstream commentators like Stern, there’s little reason to think these dynamics have changed in the early 21st century. We have gone through large automation shocks before; are self-driving trucks really a bigger step than, well, trucks were? And if trucks and washing machines and all the other labor-saving inventions of the 20th century didn’t put anyone permanently out of work, but instead shifted the kind of work that was being done, why would we think matters would be any different in the 21st century? Why could the laundry workers of the 1940s find new jobs but the truck drivers of the 2020s can’t?

Indeed, as my colleague Matthew Yglesias is fond of pointing out, technological productivity growth is actually well below historical averages. These are days of miracle and wonder, but our grandparents seem to have lived through even more miraculous times and did not see work disappear in the process.

The real automation problem

It’s certainly true that automation could cause and has caused temporary dislocation and unemployment for certain specific workers. Recent research by MIT’s Daron Acemoglu and Yale’s Pascual Restrepo estimated that industrial robots caused a sizable decline in employment and wages for laborers in routine jobs from 1990 to 2007.

But these findings hardly indicate that robotics will lead to mass joblessness in the future. Instead, they should encourage us to think of ways to help workers adjust to this kind of dislocation. Indeed, this dislocation is not too different from the kind resulting from plant closures following trade deals.

## UNIONS

### IL: Inequality

#### Strong unions key to solve income inequality

Blumgart, 15 -- Next City contributing writer

[Jake, "How a Win for Unions Can Be a Win for Everyone," Next City, 4-14-15, https://nextcity.org/features/view/are-labor-unions-still-powerful-cities-new-union-strategies, accessed 4-16-18]

The problem for urban progressives is that the political victories recently won in Seattle are, in large part, dependent upon unions. There are, quite simply, no other political actors with the resources and longevity to win significant policy battles. Activist upsurges like Occupy Wall Street are good at riveting the public’s attention and changing the terms of debate, but the tents come down eventually. Community groups often have a dedicated membership, but rarely have the money to make politically influential donations or mount a citywide get-out-the-vote effort. Likewise, people who work in low-wage jobs like fast-food service are not taken seriously as a political force without the kind of major organizing effort that is all but impossible to pull off without some kind of budget. Unions have the resources to spend on lobbyists, door-knocking campaigns, actions and candidates. SEIU and the Teamsters spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on the campaign to win the $15 minimum wage ballot measure in SeaTac — a city with 12,000 registered voters that’s home to the airport. The SEIU PAC spent $5.2 million on the 2014 federal elections, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. In the 2012 elections, which included the presidential race between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, the union spent $19.6 million, most of it on opposition to Romney and other Republican candidates. A litany of major studies and books in recent years — the latest from a couple of International Monetary Fund economists — have traced the sharp rise in inequality to the decline of unions. Having a left-leaning political culture matters too, but international political scientist Vincent Mahler recently found that victorious leftist parties were much less strongly associated with income redistribution than the presence of a strong union movement. That’s because organized labor’s contribution to equitable economic outcomes doesn’t only stem from the wage and benefit premium they provide their members.

### T/ Econ

#### Strong unions solve the economy- multiplier effect, wages, public services

Weingarten, 16 -- American Federation of Teachers president

[Randi, "What a strong labor movement has done — and can do again," The Hill, 9-5-16, thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/labor/294363-what-a-strong-labor-movement-has-done-and-can-do-again, accessed 4-15-18]

Conversely, robust unions help everyone – not just members, and a growing body of research demonstrates that. There’s a multiplier effect. Unions lift up communities, strengthen the economy and deepen our democracy. Last week, the Economic Policy Institute released a study showing that when union membership falls, wages fall for everyone. If unions were as strong today as in 1979, non-union men with a high-school diploma would earn an average of $3,016 more a year. And the Center for American Progress finds that kids who live in communities where unions are strong have a better chance to get ahead. You see it in our advocacy as well. When the Great Recession devastated the construction sector and put millions of Americans out of work, the American labor movement came together with the goal of raising $10 billion to repair the nation’s crumbling infrastructure. Five years later, our pension funds reallocated $16 billion for infrastructure investments putting 100,000 rehabilitating NYC's LaGuardia Airport—turning it into a travel hub befitting a great modern city. For those in unions, the advantage is even clearer. Collective bargaining leads to higher wages, economic growth, equality under the law, better public services and a strong public education system—all essential to leveling the playing field for working families. Workers in unions earn, on average, 27 percent more than non-union counterparts. The National Women’s Law Center has found unions close the pay gap for women, and the Center for Economic Policy Research finds black workers see outsized gains from union representation. It’s a powerful reminder of the link between organized labor and economic success. In the classroom, unions are critical partners in giving kids the chance to succeed. A 2016 study from National Bureau of Economic Research finds where teachers’ unions are strong, districts have a better track record of building the quality of our teaching force- keeping stronger teachers and dismissing those who are not making the grade. Unions fight for the tools, time and trust that educators need to tailor instruction to the needs of our children, to help them dream and achieve their dreams.

## CLIMATE

### IL: Movements

#### Building grassroots organizing is key to climate activism- empirically works

Leber, 16 -- Mother Jones reporter; former news editor at Grist

[Rebecca, "Inside the climate movement’s Trump-fighting strategy," Grist, 11-17-16, grist.org/politics/climate-movement-trump-strategy/, accessed 8-14-17]

Strategy 1: Apply public pressure

At a sober press conference the day after the election, Kevin Curtis, president of the Natural Resources Defense Council Action Fund (the political affiliate of the larger national group), made a weak joke about how many of his fellow speakers had gray hair. His point: Many of them have faced these battles before, specifically when Republicans controlled Congress in 1980, 1994, and 2004, and promised to handicap the Environmental Protection Agency, just as Trump has. “The environmental community experienced this 16 years ago with President George W. Bush,” echoed Erich Pica, president of Friends of the Earth, in a separate interview. “We used the courts to protect rules. We went after political appointees, personnel policy.” Each time a Republican president took office over the past few decades, environmentalists saw protections and oversight rolled back or delayed, resulting in loose standards for air pollutants and loopholes in fracking regulations. We’re still seeing ramifications of those changes today. But advocates also successfully fought many proposals that could have permanently handicapped the Clean Air Act and environmental enforcement. “When Newt Gingrich came in, as the public realized what he was actually intending to do, the public became very active in voicing concern, as did media and others,” said David Goldston, NRDC’s government affairs director. “There was a level of attention and criticism that made Gingrich and his allies realize they were expending too much political capital on an anti-environmental agenda that was not successful.” Another such fight involved Bush’s Energy Policy Act of 2005. Now infamous for the “Halliburton loophole” that prevents federal oversight of hydraulic fracturing, environmentalists who were fighting many of the act’s provisions at the time remember it for its potential to do far worse. “It was a laundry list for polluters, and really nothing that was going to benefit America and move us toward a clean energy future,” Environment America’s D.C. Director Anna Aurilio said. “We fought hard against that bill for five years.” Filibustering blocked, among other things, the opening of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and kept many public lands off limits to drilling. Environmentalists mobilized their supporters to call on Senate leaders to block the worst of the fossil fuel wishlist. Another tactic that seemed to work, Friends of the Earth’s Pica noted, was exposing the many ties between the fossil fuel industry and the Cheney energy task force that recommended changes in the law and regulations. The parallels between the second Bush administration and today aren’t exact. The GOP held less extreme positions on climate change than it does today, and even then enviros lost on many fronts. It is unclear whether Democrats will even have the filibuster, which allows the minority party in the Senate to block legislation, at their disposal this time around. There are other differences that offer a bit of hope, though. “The stakes on climate are far higher, and this time the urgency is greater,” NRDC’s Goldston said. “I think the prominence of where the issue starts is more prominent than where pollution was when the Reagan, Bush, and Gingrich fights took place.” Strategy 2: Thanks, Obama Obama’s lame-duck period won’t be boring, that’s for sure. Before the president leaves office in January, enviros expect their most powerful current ally to push through a series of finalized regulations and public-lands protections, setting up obstacles to a Republican polluter-free-for-all. Activists are pressuring the administration to deny the permits that would allow completion of the final leg of the Dakota Access Pipeline under the Missouri River. They are pressuring Obama to take the Atlantic coast and Arctic Ocean off the table in his five-year drilling plan. (Less realistically, they hope to see the Gulf off-limits for more drilling, too). There’s also a push to declare the area around the Grand Canyon off-limits to uranium mining. And enviros are asking Obama’s EPA to finalize as many anti-pollution regulations as possible. The problem is that whatever Obama can do by executive action can be undone just as easily by executive action, or by Congress. Republicans are already eyeing reigning in one of the presidency’s greatest environmental powers of the last century — the ability to designate national monuments. Even if Obama fulfills every last item on environmentalists’ wish list, it doesn’t mean his actions will withstand the test of time. That’s not the point, argues one of the groups pushing the administration to do more. “Even if these things are busted up after the Obama administration,” said 350.org Communications Director Jamie Henn, “at least it forces Trump to actively break them, instead of letting him charge ahead.” Strategy 3: Sue the bastards Environmental groups weren’t ready to comment in detail about their legal strategy in a Trump era. They already have their hands full with the legal defense of the Clean Power Plan (Obama’s regulations to reduce carbon emissions from power plants) and other Obama-era regulatory cases that are threading through the courts. They have the law — at least for now — on their side. The Supreme Court has upheld the EPA’s ability to regulate pollution, and has also determined that, technically, the government must address greenhouse gases, if the best science says they’re a threat to public health (they are). Under Obama, the EPA already issued these so-called endangerment findings, confirming the science underpinning the health threats of climate change, and a president can’t simply reverse those with the stroke of a pen. Environmental groups could be expected to go on the offense and not just play defense, maintaining that — by law — the government has to address climate change. Although court battles sometimes work, they can’t perform magic. A Trump administration will still be governed by anti-science personnel and strategy, and one of the easiest solutions from them to stall environmental action would be to cut funding to agencies’ most important work. Lawsuits are also contingent on judges who go by precedent and rule for the environmental side, while many lower courts are staffed by more conservative justices. “Legal strategies are end-of-the-pipe solutions,” activist and Environment Action policy director Anthony Rogers-Wright said — meaning they are the last line of defense. Strategy 4: Win in the states Much of the progress on climate change over the past decade has occurred at the state and local level, and that will be even more true in a Trump era. Large environmental and progressive groups have reported record fundraising in the days after the election. Community-based groups have also seen an outpouring of support. Elizabeth Yeampierre, who runs UPROSE, a group focused on environmental justice in Brooklyn, said that this week alone she has seen a flood of interest from community members interested in volunteering. “It took us by surprise,” she said. “People are looking for community anchors, spaces they can organize, spaces they can preserve our rights, and move the dial forward on climate change.” “What I find most promising and most exciting is the level of concern and interest in supporting organizations like ours.” One of UPROSE’s main focuses in the upcoming year will be turning the industrial waterfront off Brooklyn’s Sunset Park into a hub for sustainable development and offshore wind. “It’s interesting,” Yeampierre said. “People say that’s very local, very parochial, but areas like those are well-positioned to serve regional and local needs at the same time.” It’s those kinds of efforts in which progress on sustainability could continue during the Trump years. Bold Nebraska’s Jane Kleeb, for her part, is ready to organize against a renewed push to approve the Keystone XL pipeline. (Builder TransCanada has already announced plans to reapply for a permit under the Trump administration.) “We will start to really hit Republicans on the eminent domain issue,” Kleeb said. Forcing landowners to turn over their property for pipelines, which allows private companies to profit, is unpopular with both Democrats and Republicans. “We’ll continue to fight pipelines around property rights, water, and sovereignty issues,” Kleeb added. “We’ll be fighting for public lands and water.” Whether it’s blocking a coal-export terminal in Seattle or California passing ambitious climate legislation, those local fights will grow even more important as Trump tries to move the country in the opposite direction. Republicans will have the least control over trends in state and local clean energy development, which have been dictated more by economic factors than political ones. Of course federal policy still helps shape those trends, especially in the remote possibility that Congress zaps clean-energy tax breaks. Nevertheless, for at least the next four years, progressive states will continue to take the lead in climate policy in the United States. While some states get cleaner, Republican-dominated states could very well go in the opposite direction as the federal government lowers the bar they’re required to meet. Strategy 5: Expand the movement The climate movement has a tool at its disposal that no election can take away — the movement itself, which has changed dramatically over the past few years and now includes a much larger coalition of faces and groups. That new mix was on display two years ago at the 311,000-strong People’s Climate March in New York City, as frontline communities and environmental justice advocates led the way. Advocates agreed that **to succeed, environmentalists** are going to **have to lean** even **harder into a broad-based strategy that engages more people and new allies** in the climate fight. Yong Jung Cho, a former organizer with 350.org who is a cofounder of the new progressive group All Of Us, notes that although single-issue organizing is important, “we need movements” that push a broader set of priorities from the outside. All Of Us will be less concerned with organizing against the GOP’s racist agenda than with pressuring Democratic politicians to hold the line, Cho said. This week, the group organized a sit-in at the office of Sen. Chuck Schumer, expected to be the next Senate Minority Leader. To organize effectively in a Trump era, Rogers-Wright said “our local organizing prowess is going to have to improve and increase tenfold**.** We’ve seen some amazing things happen at the local level that have had a lot of profound change.” Just look at the rallies across the country this week calling on Obama to do whatever he can to permanently stop construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline in North Dakota before he leaves office. What began as a legal battle between the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and the pipeline owner, Energy Transfer Partners, has become a national rallying cry for indigenous rights and protecting clean water, resonating as few environmental battles have in recent years. Tens of thousands of people have now taken action in solidarity with what began as a local fight. Similarly, Sierra Club Executive Director Michael Brune says he finds hope in the growth of a different kind of coalition that has emerged as clean energy has become competitive economically. “When it comes to climate and clean energy, there is an alliance between the market and our movement that we never had before,” Brune said. “Clean energy now is cheaper than coal and gas in most parts of the country, and it creates more jobs than fossil fuels. Investors are increasingly moving away at least from coal — investors and corporate leaders that we didn’t have in the Bush administration.” Whereas a strong progressive movement would apply pressure to Democrats and more moderate Republicans, business leaders might carry a bit more weight among conservatives. The pressure has already started, as more than 360 businesses have called on Trump to stick with the Paris climate deal. At first glance, these two goals — shoring up a wider progressive base of climate voters and appealing to business interests — might seem in conflict. But that’s not necessarily true. “The way that movements work and are most effective is not that everyone does the same thing, or that everyone adopts the same messaging,” said 350.org’s Henn. “It’s about having a diversity of approaches that work together — an ecosystem, if you will — that are somewhat in concert with one another.” Key to this strategy, Henn said, is not forgetting the larger stakes of the fight. “It’s important to remind people that that there’s something fundamentally awful about what he’s doing. It’s going to be important to not normalize the Trump agenda. … The climate community is going to need to keep doing that. If we fight this as a policy fight, we’re going to lose.”

#### Creates a political tipping point for congressional and global follow-on

Kerrigon, 14 – Kerrigon Konsulting principal; citing University of Denver political science professor Erica Chenoweth

[David, "11 Million Americans Can Save the Climate," Truth-out, 1-30-17, www.truth-out.org/speakout/item/21554-11-million-americans-can-save-the-climate, accessed 8-14-17]

11 Million Americans Can **Save the Climate** A vigorous US citizen movement can force Congress to pass strong climate laws. Then, the rest of the world will fall in line. Such a US movement can be built to a politically-effective size within 24 to 36 months. US action within 36 months is a “necessary but insufficient condition” to bring about a relatively-benign 2C/3.6F (average surface temperature rise) scenario, avoiding a disastrous 4 to 6C / 7.2 to 10.8F scenario. Once Congress passes strong laws, there will be plenty of additional work for the movement, whose members will lead implementation efforts to achieve the 2050 Kyoto objective (cut GHG emissions to 20% of 1990). University of Denver Professor Erica Chenoweth’s EMPIRICAL dataset of past international citizen movements shows that when 3.5% of a country’s population (11 million pro-climate Americans) is actively involved in a movement, 80% of those movements achieve their objectives. The argument below contrasts California and national politics, concluding that US congress will not pass strong climate laws without a citizen movement. Once the argument is made, a summary of effective citizen movement tactics is provided. Following the tactical discussion, a survey of other strategies is provided. 1. California has adopted the world’s most effective and comprehensive set of laws/regulations to protect the climate (AB32 – 2006 Global Warming Solutions Act, Cap & Trade, vehicle GHG standard, low carbon fuel standard, Governor’s executive orders, renewables, solar roofs, efficiency, regional transport, recycle, reduce waste, water, agriculture, forests.) This represents an historic government accomplishment featuring startling cross-departmental state staff collaboration and visionary legislative leadership. A few additional states and Canadian provinces are also doing great work. 2. In contrast, the US CONGRESS IS GRIDLOCKED for the foreseeable future. Citizens United allows the fossil fuel industry to control US climate policy despite majority voter "mild support" for climate protection. Many hope that a pro-climate Congress (similar to California, with both chambers and the executive aligned for the climate) will be elected in 2014, but this UNREALISTIC. (Republicans control more state legislatures than democrats, and republicans gerrymander federal district boundaries to advantage Republicans in federal Congressional races. See articles such as this.) What is realistic, if difficult, is for a bottom-up movement to develop more political power than the opposition. At best, US congress can enact incremental legislation when it benefits powerful economic actors. Obamacare is an example of incrementalism, where insurers, hospitals, and Big Pharma helped to write the law and saw their stocks increase when it passed. Universal Medicare was impossible to pass, but would have represented game-changing legislation that would have reduced profits of powerful economic actors. Strong climate legislation is similarly game-changing and not incremental, adversely impacting many powerful economic actors. There are $20 trillion of known fossil fuel reserves in the ground. 66% of these need to be kept in the ground. To maximize profits, the fossil industry will strive to extract all 100% of those reserves and will make large political expenditures to secure Congress's continuing compliance. 3. Applying Chenoweth’s “3.5% rule:” If 3.5% (11 million Americans) participate in a vigorous citizen movement, then there is an 80% chance of achieving game-changing federal climate laws/regulations akin to those in California. And there is then a further argument that the end of US foot-dragging will immediately spur pro-climate policies in the rest of the world.

#### Sub-national action solves perception of meeting Paris- maintaining is key

Gustin, 17 -- Inside Climate reporter

[Georgina, "Over 1,400 U.S. Cities, States and Businesses Vow to Meet Paris Climate Commitments," Inside Climate News, 6-6-17, https://insideclimatenews.org/news/05062017/paris-climate-agreement-trump-bloomberg-cities-states-businesses, accessed 8-15-17]

Over 1,400 U.S. Cities, States and Businesses Vow to Meet Paris Climate Commitments

As soon as Trump announced he was abandoning the Paris climate agreement, mayors and governors started stepping up. Trump may be out, but America isn't, they say.

President Donald Trump may be yanking the United States from the Paris climate agreement, but states, cities and businesses are filling the vacuum by making their own commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions—and the numbers are mounting. On Monday, more than 1,000 companies and institutions, including more than a dozen Fortune 500 businesses, signed onto a statement—"We Are Still In"—saying they're committed to meeting the Paris targets. The statement calls Trump's decision "a grave mistake that endangers the American public and hurts America's economic security and diplomatic reputation." By Tuesday, the coalition's numbers had climbed past 1,400. A dozen states that together represent the world's third-largest economy and more than 200 cities had also committed to the Paris accord through various coalitions. In the wake of Trump's decision to leave the Paris climate agreement, the world's biggest economies denounced the move and insisted they would remain in the pact. While the president claimed he would contemplate a renegotiation of a deal that "puts America first," the UN and several U.S. allies said renegotation isn't in the cards. Many Americans are not wavering, either. Immediately after the announcement, a loud and adamant chorus—with a diverse array of members, from the CEO of Disney to the state of Delaware—began announcing or reaffirming their own emissions-related and clean energy goals. Like the Paris accord itself, these pledges are mostly non-binding. It's also unclear whether these commitments can compensate for the absence of strong action at a national level. But climate experts say these efforts could keep some momentum going, even as Trump attempts to remove the U.S. from the deal. A Sierra Club analysis, released in March, determined that the U.S. could meet 60 percent of its Paris commitment through efforts by cities, states and business. "This space is moving so fast. That makes coming up with specific numbers attached to these a fluid target," said Nicholas Bianco, of the World Resources Institute. "But it's clear the response to President Trump's announcement has been very swift and has been very widespread." States Launch Climate Alliance Trump and members of his administration have said they favor shifting power to the states, particularly when it comes to environmental protections. This may not be what they had in mind, though. Following Trump's announcement last week, three states—California, New York and Washington—launched the United States Climate Alliance. By midday Monday, the total number of governors in the alliance had swelled to 13, including Puerto Rico's. [Colorado's governor joined the coalition in July, raising the total to 14.] Two of the states in the alliance—Massachusetts and Vermont—are headed by Republican governors. The alliance's members, who represent more than a third of the country's Gross Domestic Product and together make up the third-largest economy behind the U.S and China, say they will commit to the U.S. goal under the Paris agreement to reduce emissions 26 to 28 percent from 2005 levels by 2025 "As the federal government turns its back on the environment, New York and states across the country are picking up the mantle of climate leadership and showing the world it's possible to address climate change while also creating good-paying careers," New York Governor Andrew M. Cuomo said in a statement Monday. Cities: Pittsburgh Leads the Way "I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris," Trump said Thursday, in an attempted nod to Rust Belt voters who helped put him into office. Pittsburgh's Democratic mayor, Bill Peduto, quickly fired back on Twitter: "Fact: Hillary Clinton received 80% of the vote in Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh stands with the world & will follow Paris Agreement." More cities quickly followed. As of Monday, more than 200 mayors had signed onto an agreement to "adopt, honor and uphold" the Paris agreement. Among them are the mayors of the country's largest cities. (Globally, urban areas account for three-quarters of carbon dioxide emissions.) The expanding mayoral group wrote in a post on Monday: "Please note that we are receiving a significant amount of interest from U.S. cities in joining Climate Mayors, and we may be delayed in responding to you." Bloomberg Spearheads UN Effort Former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg on Thursday announced what he called a "parallel" pledge to meeting the Paris goals — one that would be led by cities, states and business, rather than the federal government. "Americans are not walking away from the Paris climate agreement," Bloomberg said in a statement. "Just the opposite." Bloomberg Philanthropies is also committing up to $15 million to the UN's climate secretariat—the amount it stands to lose because of Trump's decisions. Bloomberg told The New York Times that the group would submit its own pledge to the United Nations. Christiana Figueres, the former executive secretary for the UN's Framework Convention on Climate Change told the Times there's currently no mechanism in place for that to occur. In a call with reporters on Tuesday, Daniel Firger, who works on clean energy programs at Bloomberg Philanthropies, clarified how the We Are Still In pledge could be incorporated into the UNFCCC process. "The UNFCCC has included, for some time, subnational and non-state actors," he said. "We're waiting to see how America's pledge can be pulled together, and we will work with the UN and other relevant authorities to determine the best format for such a submission." Firger said the primary role for the coalition, in the near-term, is to determine how much of an impact it can make. "We will not be calling on any governor, any CEO, any mayor or any university to participate in the Paris process in any formal way," he said, explaining the role of the entities that signed the pledge. "What we will do is aggregate the climate impacts of these subnational actors and share that with the world." Among those committed to Bloomberg's effort are 120 universities, whose presidents signed on to an early version of the "We Are Still In" pledge on Friday. Businesses Object to Paris Withdrawal Before Trump announced the withdrawal from the Paris agreement, more than 1,100 business and 280 institutional investors had signed on to a letter asking him to remain in the agreement. At least two dozen Fortune 500 companies, with more than $1.2 trillion in assets, were among those who signed on. Signatures came from a spectrum of business leaders, including the heads of Ford, Mars, Goldman Sachs and GE. After Trump's announcement last week, Elon Musk of Tesla and Bob Iger of Disney announced they would leave the president's business advisory council in protest. On Monday, the business world continued to sound its protest. More than 1,000 companies, investors, academic institutions added their names to the growing Paris commitment. Now it's up to them to follow through. "At the end of the day, which companies, which cities, which states are going to be taking action?" WRI's Bianco asked. "The initiative has been tremendous. These are actors that have considerable control over their future and can significantly reduce emissions." "Many people are going to be looking toward this in the weeks and months that follow to see how all these actors meet their commitments," Bianco added. "In many ways, this is the start of a process—of seeing what we could do."

#### That solves- creates a virtuous cycle of emission reductions

Freeman, 16 -- Archibald Cox Professor of Law at Harvard University

(Jody, “Obama’s Climate Challenge”, 3/16/16, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-03-16/obama-s-climate-challenge)

Although the fight over the Clean Power Plan is domestic, the consequences of the decision will be global. At the 21st climate conference in Paris, 195 countries signed a landmark agreement to limit global temperature increases to “well below” two degrees Celsius, a cap that scientists say if breached, could lead to increasingly extreme weather, drought, and other serious climatic disruptions. These nations made voluntary pledges to mitigate their greenhouse gas emissions through a variety of domestic policies and agreed to revisit these initial targets every five years. For instance, India has pledged to decrease its emissions intensity by 33–35 percent by 2030 compared to 2005 levels, and to ensure that 40 percent of its electricity capacity comes from non-fossil sources by 2030. China has pledged to achieve a peak in carbon dioxide emissions by 2030, with “best efforts” to peak earlier, as well as to produce 20 percent of its energy from low-carbon sources by 2030. And the European Union has pledged to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40 percent below 1990 levels by 2030, in part, through an emissions trading scheme. The United States’ pledge to cut emissions by 26 percent below 2005 levels by 2025, and to make “best efforts” to reach 28 percent, relies on a number of domestic measures, not just the Clean Power Plan. These include reducing the use of ozone-damaging hydrofluorocarbons (used in refrigeration, air conditioning, and aerosols); regulating methane from new and existing oil and gas processing facilities; issuing more stringent appliance efficiency standards; and enforcing new vehicle emission standards that are projected to double the fuel efficiency of passenger cars and trucks by 2025. But by far the most important policy underpinning the U.S. pledge is the Clean Power Plan. Although the U.S. State Department has not specified exactly how much of its pledge relies on the plan, independent estimates suggest that it represents between 30 to 40 percent of the emissions that the government hopes to reduce as part of its international commitment. (There are a number of ways to calculate this estimate, but regardless of the methodology, the Clean Power Plan is an indisputably significant underpinning of the U.S. pledge.) If the Supreme Court strikes down Obama’s plan, Washington would face hard questions about what it proposes to do instead. The Clean Power Plan is also an important foundation for continued bilateral and multi-lateral climate negotiations. Everyone agrees that further action will be necessary to augment the Paris Agreement, in order to close the gap between the pledges made thus far and the stated goal of preventing a global temperature rise of more than two degrees Celsius. U.S. credibility will be important to driving such efforts forward, and particularly, to sustaining the pivotal U.S. partnership with China. Since a joint announcement in 2014 that they would lead the international process on climate change together, the United States and China have engaged in what scholar Kelly Sims Gallagher, calls a “virtuous cycle” of domestic policymaking aimed at reducing emissions, which could turn into a “vicious cycle” of mutual default unless U.S. promises pan out. Of course, China could retreat from its commitments anyway, as could other countries—the pledges made in Paris were nonbinding, after all. But it would be unfortunate if, at this early juncture, the Clean Power Plan’s demise gave China a convenient excuse to backslide on its commitments.

### !: Extinction

#### Climate change causes extinction- collapses key ecosystems like reefs, the Amazon and the Arctic- risks are underestimated- that’s Ahmed.

#### Yes extinction- tipping points

Ferreira, 19 -- Vice science writer

[Becky, "We're About to Cross 9 Critical Climate Tipping Points, Scientists Say," Vice, 11-27-19, https://www.vice.com/en\_us/article/xwen83/were-about-to-cross-9-critical-climate-tipping-points-scientists-saya, accessed 5-5-20]

We're About to Cross 9 Critical Climate Tipping Points, Scientists Say

These tipping points are now "active," scientists warn, and the rapid melting of polar ice and the loss of critical habitats could trigger an irreversible “global tipping point.”

Nine crucial tipping points in Earth’s climate are now “active” and in danger of being crossed thanks to warming global temperatures caused by human activity, warn scientists in a commentary published on Wednesday in Nature.

These climate thresholds, such as the decline of ice sheets and loss of biodiverse habitats, could cumulatively trigger a global tipping point that would be “an existential threat to civilization,” cautioned the authors of the article.

“Evidence is mounting that these events could be more likely than was thought, have high impacts, and are interconnected across different biophysical systems, potentially committing the world to longterm irreversible changes,” said corresponding author Tim Lenton, director of the Global Systems Institute at the University of Exeter, in an email.

The nine tipping points that Lenton and his colleagues emphasize fall into two main categories: the loss of the planet’s icy cryosphere and key parts of its living biosphere. The cryosphere thresholds include the melting of Arctic sea ice, the Greenland ice sheet, the West Antarctic ice sheet, and regions of East Antarctica. The biosphere tipping points involve the devastation of boreal forests, the Amazon rainforest, warm-water coral reefs, and the thawing of frozen soil known as permafrost.

The most dangerous tipping point, in Lenton’s view, is the potential collapse of the Atlantic Meridional Overturning Circulation (AMOC), which is its own category of catastrophe.

This critical flow of ocean currents “has large direct effects on climate in heavily populated regions like western Europe, and also it couples together lots of other tipping points,” Lenton explained. “For example, weakening of the AMOC in the past was linked to serious disruption of the West African monsoon and the monsoons in India and South America.”

#### Yes extinction- scientific consensus

Ross, 19 -- Oregon Public Broadcasting researcher

[Erin, "More Than 11,000 Scientists Say Climate Change Threatens 'Fate Of Humanity," OPB, https://www.opb.org/news/article/climate-change-scientists-say-threatens-humanity/, accessed 5-5-20]

More Than 11,000 Scientists Say Climate Change Threatens 'Fate Of Humanity'

It’s rare for scientists to call something a clear and unequivocal fact. But that’s exactly what a group of 11,258 scientists from around the globe are saying in a new paper.

“Earth is facing a climate emergency,” they wrote, “and scientists have a moral obligation to clearly warn humanity of any catastrophic threat.”

It’s the first time such a large group of scientists has made such stark warnings.

The statement, spearheaded by Oregon State University scientists William J Ripple and Christopher Wolf, was published Tuesday in the journal BioScience, 40 years to the day after the first World Climate Conference in Geneva in 1979. They argue that scientists have been warning about climate change ever since, but greenhouse gas emissions are still rising.

“Climate change has arrived and is accelerating faster than many scientists expected,” Ripple said in a press release.

To make the threat of climate change clear, Ripple and Wolf looked at more than just global surface temperature. They mapped tree loss over the globe and in the Amazon. They looked at population growth, fertility rates, and an increase in greenhouse-gas producing agriculture.

Climate change, the authors say in the paper, is “more severe than anticipated, threatening natural ecosystems and the fate of humanity.” But there are steps we can take to mitigate it.

#### Risks are under-estimated and ignore feedback loops

Spratt, 19 -- Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration research director

[David, and Ian Dunlop, "Existential climate-related security risk: A scenario approach," May 2019, https://52a87f3e-7945-4bb1-abbf-9aa66cd4e93e.filesusr.com/ugd/148cb0\_90dc2a2637f348edae45943a88da04d4.pdf, accessed 5-5-20]

SCIENTIFIC RETICENCE

Climate scientists may err on the side of ‘least drama’, whose causes may include adherence to the scientific norms of restraint, objectivity and skepticism, and may underpredict or down-play future climate changes.2 In 2007. security analysts warned that in the two previous decades, scientific predictions in the climate-change arena had consistently underestimated the severity of what actually transpired.3

This problem persists, notably in the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). whose Assessment Reports exhibit a one-sided reliance on general climate models, which incorporate important climate processes, but do not include all of the processes that can contribute to system feedbacks, compound extreme events, and abrupt and/or irreversible changes.4

Other forms of knowledge are downplayed, including paleoclimatology, expert advice, and semi-empirical models. IPCC reports present detailed, quantified, complex modelling results, but then briefly note more severe, non- linear, system-change possibilities in a descriptive, non-quantified form. Because policymakers and the media are often drawn to headline numbers, this approach results in less attention being given to the most devastating, difficult-to-quantify outcomes.

In one example, the IPCC’s Fifth Assessment Report in 2014 projected a sea-level rise of 0.55-0.82 metre by 2100. but said “levels above the likely range cannot be reliably evaluated'. By way of comparison, the higher of two US Department of Defence scenarios is a two-metre rise by 2100. and the ’extreme’ scenario developed by a number of US government agencies is 2.5 metres by 2100.5

Another example is the recent IPCC 1.5‘C report, which projected that warming would continue at the current rate of -0.2\*C per decade and reach the 1.5‘C mark around 2040. However the 1.5'C boundary is likely to be passed in half that time, around 2030. and the 2’C boundary around 2045. due to accelerating anthropogenic emissions, decreased aerosol loading and changing ocean circulation conditions.6

### !: Insects

#### Climate change destroys insect biodiversity- extinction

Laurance, 19 -- James Cook University distinguished research professor

[Bill, "Climate change is killing off Earth’s little creatures," The Conversation, 2-11-19, https://theconversation.com/climate-change-is-killing-off-earths-little-creatures-109719, accessed 5-6-20]

The natural world depends on insects to function, but they may be the next casualty of climate change

But a global review of insect research has found another casualty: 40% of insect species are declining and a third are endangered. It confirms what many have been suspecting: in Australia and around the world, arthropods – which include insects, spiders, centipedes and the like — appear to be in trouble.

The global review comes hard on the heels of research published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences USA that suggests a potent link between intensifying heat waves and stunning declines in the abundance of arthropods.

If that study’s findings are broadly valid – something still far from certain – it has chilling implications for global biodiversity.

Arthropod Armageddon

In the mid-1970s, researchers on the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico conducted a large-scale study to measure the total biomass (living mass) of insects and other arthropods in the island’s intact rainforests, using sweep nets and sticky-traps.

Four decades later, another research team returned to the island and repeated the study using identical methods and the same locations. To their surprise, they found that arthropod biomass was just one-eighth to one-sixtieth of that in the 1970s – a shocking collapse overall.

And the carnage didn’t end there. The team found that a bevy of arthropod-eating lizards, birds and frogs had fallen sharply in abundance as well.

In the minds of many ecologists, a widespread collapse of arthropods could be downright apocalyptic. Arthropods pollinate some of our most important food crops and thousands of wild plant species, disperse seeds, recycle nutrients and form key links in food chains that sustain entire webs of life.

This ecological ubiquity arises because arthropods are so abundant and diverse, comprising at least two-thirds of all known species on Earth. In the 1940s, evolutionary biologist J. B. S. Haldane quipped that “God has an inordinate fondness for beetles.” Humans might think we rule the world, but the planet really belongs to arthropods.

### !: Internet

#### Climate change collapses the internet

Lozano, 19 -- The Nation associate editor

[Kevin, "Can the Internet Survive Climate Change?" New Republic, 12-18-19, https://newrepublic.com/article/155993/can-internet-survive-climate-change, accessed 5-5-20]

How the internet adapts to the pressures of the climate crisis will change daily life as we know it, from high-speed trading to shit-posting, from email to aircraft control. It’s an open question whether the internet of the future will be as reliable as it is today. In fact, it’s likely that internet access will be among the many scarce resources that future generations will fight over, and that this unequal distribution could create two different internets: one for the poor and another for the rich.

Everything is going to change, and quickly. Sites like Low-Tech offer one possible future, but generally speaking, the internet is likely to face changes to its basic infrastructure that will be both sweeping and hard to predict. In the last few months, I’ve talked to dozens of people—web designers and futurists, computer scientists and activists—who are all increasingly concerned about the internet’s own climate impact and its operational vulnerability in a fast-warming planet. What follows, pieced together from their observations, is a provisional picture of the internet’s future in the age of global warming.

The internet is inextricably tied to the coming horrors of the climate crisis. It is both a major force behind that crisis and one of its likely casualties.

It is the largest coal-fired machine on the entire planet, accounting for 10 percent of global electricity demand. And the internet’s climate impact is only going to get worse: Around half of the world has yet to log on—a presently disconnected population of more than three billion people eager to begin streaming videos and updating Facebook accounts. The internet’s cut of the world’s electricity demand will likely rise to 20 percent or more by 2030, at which point it will produce more carbon than any country except China, India, and the United States.

As the world gets hotter, as the forests burn and cities flood, our devices will start to fail, too. In data centers around the world, where the vast majority of the internet is stored, cooling and energy costs will rise exponentially. The electromagnetic frequency that Wi-Fi travels along will be disrupted, mangled by the increased intensity of ultraviolet rays from the sun. In the next 15 years, the coastal tubes and wires (4,067 miles of fiber conduit, to be exact) that transmit Americans’ data will drown under salt water. The materials that prop up the web, such as rare earth minerals, will become harder and harder to come by.

**Extinction**

**Eagleman 10**

[David Eagleman is a neuroscientist at Baylor College of Medicine, where he directs the Laboratory for Perception and Action and the Initiative on Neuroscience and Law and author of Sum (Canongate). Nov. 9, 2010, “ Six ways the internet will save civilization,”  
 http://www.wired.co.uk/magazine/archive/2010/12/start/apocalypse-no]

Many great civilisations have fallen, leaving nothing but cracked ruins and scattered genetics. Usually this results from: natural disasters, resource depletion, economic meltdown, disease, poor information flow and corruption. But we’re luckier than our predecessors because we command a technology that no one else possessed: a rapid communication network that finds its highest expression in the internet. I propose that there are six ways in which the net has vastly reduced the threat of societal collapse. Epidemics can be deflected by telepresence One of our more dire prospects for collapse is an infectious-disease epidemic. Viral and bacterial epidemics precipitated the fall of the Golden Age of Athens, the Roman Empire and most of the empires of the Native Americans. The internet can be our key to survival because the ability to work telepresently can inhibit microbial transmission by reducing human-to-human contact. In the face of an otherwise devastating epidemic, businesses can keep supply chains running with the maximum number of employees working from home. This can reduce host density below the tipping point required for an epidemic. If we are well prepared when an epidemic arrives, we can fluidly shift into a self-quarantined society in which microbes fail due to host scarcity. Whatever the social ills of isolation, they are worse for the microbes than for us. The internet will predict natural disasters We are witnessing the downfall of slow central control in the media: news stories are increasingly becoming user-generated nets of up-to-the-minute information. During the recent California wildfires, locals went to the TV stations to learn whether their neighbourhoods were in danger. But the news stations appeared most concerned with the fate of celebrity mansions, so Californians changed their tack: they uploaded geotagged mobile-phone pictures, updated Facebook statuses and tweeted. The balance tipped: the internet carried news about the fire more quickly and accurately than any news station could. In this grass-roots, decentralised scheme, there were embedded reporters on every block, and the news shockwave kept ahead of the fire. This head start could provide the extra hours that save us. If the Pompeiians had had the internet in 79AD, they could have easily marched 10km to safety, well ahead of the pyroclastic flow from Mount Vesuvius. If the Indian Ocean had the Pacific’s networked tsunami-warning system, South-East Asia would look quite different today. Discoveries are retained and shared Historically, critical information has required constant rediscovery. Collections of learning -- from the library at Alexandria to the entire Minoan civilisation -- have fallen to the bonfires of invaders or the wrecking ball of natural disaster. Knowledge is hard won but easily lost. And information that survives often does not spread. Consider smallpox inoculation: this was under way in India, China and Africa centuries before it made its way to Europe. By the time the idea reached North America, native civilisations who needed it had already collapsed. The net solved the problem. New discoveries catch on immediately; information spreads widely. In this way, societies can optimally ratchet up, using the latest bricks of knowledge in their fortification against risk. Tyranny is mitigated Censorship of ideas was a familiar spectre in the last century, with state-approved news outlets ruling the press, airwaves and copying machines in the USSR, Romania, Cuba, China, Iraq and elsewhere. In many cases, such as Lysenko’s agricultural despotism in the USSR, it directly contributed to the collapse of the nation. Historically, a more successful strategy has been to confront free speech with free speech -- and the internet allows this in a natural way. It democratises the flow of information by offering access to the newspapers of the world, the photographers of every nation, the bloggers of every political stripe. Some posts are full of doctoring and dishonesty whereas others strive for independence and impartiality -- but all are available to us to sift through. Given the attempts by some governments to build firewalls, it’s clear that this benefit of the net requires constant vigilance. Human capital is vastly increased **Crowdsourcing** brings people together to **solve problems**. Yet far fewer than one per cent of the world’s population is involved. We need expand human capital. Most of the world not have access to the education afforded a small minority. For every Albert Einstein, Yo-Yo Ma or Barack Obama who has educational opportunities, uncountable others do not. This **squandering of talent** translates into reduced economic output and a **smaller pool of problem solvers**. The net opens the gates education to anyone with a computer. A motivated teen anywhere on the planet can walk through the world’s knowledge -- from the webs of Wikipedia to the curriculum of MIT’s OpenCourseWare. The new human capital will serve us well when we confront **existential threats we’ve never imagined** before. Energy expenditure is reduced Societal collapse can often be understood in terms of an energy budget: when energy spend outweighs energy return, collapse ensues. This has taken the form of deforestation or soil erosion; currently, the worry involves fossil-fuel depletion. The internet addresses the energy problem with a natural ease. Consider the massive energy savings inherent in the shift from paper to electrons -- as seen in the transition from the post to email. Ecommerce reduces the need to drive long distances to purchase products. Delivery trucks are more eco-friendly than individuals driving around, not least because of tight packaging and optimisation algorithms for driving routes. Of course, there are energy costs to the banks of computers that underpin the internet -- but these costs are less than the wood, coal and oil that would be expended for the same quantity of information flow. The tangle of events that triggers societal collapse can be complex, and there are several threats the net does not address. But vast, networked communication can be an antidote to several of the most deadly diseases threatening civilisation. The next time your coworker laments internet addiction, the banality of tweeting or the decline of face-to-face conversation, you may want to suggest that the net may just be the technology that saves us.

### !: Oceans

#### Climate change wrecks the oceans

Speer, 19 -- NRDC International Oceans program director

[Lisa, "Climate Change Is Wreaking Havoc on Our Oceans. Here’s How We Save Them," NRDC, 9-25-19, https://www.nrdc.org/experts/lisa-speer/climate-change-wreaking-havoc-our-oceans-heres-how-we-save-them, accessed 5-5-20]

Climate Change Is Wreaking Havoc on Our Oceans. Here’s How We Save Them.

It comes down to conserving marine areas and urgently reducing our emissions.

The fate of our oceans and climate are inextricably linked. That’s now clearer than ever with the release of the latest report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), titled The Oceans and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate.

The word cryosphere comes from the Greek kryos, or “cold.” The term includes all of earth’s ice, including snow, glaciers, sea ice, permafrost, and ice sheets. This latest report compiles the best scientific information available on the current and future likely effects of global warming on both the ocean and the cryosphere.

Like the IPCC’s previous reports on climate change and land use, as well as the recent U.N. report on biodiversity, The Oceans and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate paints a grim picture of the future. I participated in the three-day IPCC meeting to finalize the report, an exercise that turned out to be alternatingly fascinating, tedious, and very depressing.

Though I have long been familiar with the science of climate change, it was the totality of the report—and the sheer number and magnitude of the impacts documented in it—that left me feeling profoundly shocked. Sitting through the line-by-line review of the report brought home the gravity of what we are facing in a way nothing had before.

Press coverage will likely focus on top-line newsworthy elements like the expected dramatic rise in sea levels and the loss of glaciers, permafrost, and sea ice. These are indeed alarming and unsettling. But for me, the real message was how many different aspects of climate change threaten our ocean and our planet—and how they interact in unexpected ways.

For example, melting ice in glaciers, the Arctic Ocean, and the ice sheets doesn’t just spell doom for unique, faraway ecosystems. The melt also means more fresh water will flow into the ocean. Fresh water, which is less dense than sea water, floats on top of the sea, creating a kind of lid. This freshwater layer forms a barrier between the sea water below and the atmosphere above. As a result, oxygen in the lower, denser sea water isn’t replenished. This, when combined with the fact that warmer water holds less oxygen—just like warm soda holds less fizz than cold soda—means the ocean is losing oxygen on which virtually all marine life depends.

#### Extinction

**Rogers, 11** -- et al, University of Oxford conservation biology professor

[Alex,Ph.D. in marine invertebrate systematics and genetics, International Programme on State of the Ocean scientific director; Charles Sheppard, University of Warwick School of Life Sciences professor; Kristina M. Gjerde, IUCN Global Marine Programme high seas policy advisor; Jelle Bijma, Alfred Wegener Institute for Polar and Marine Research Germany biogeosciences professor; Chris Yesson, Zoological Society of London Institute of Zoology postdoctoral research assistant; Kelly Rigg, Global Campaign for Climate Action executive director; Tony Pitcher, University of British Columbia Aquatic Ecosystems Research Laboratory professor, Matthew Gianni, Deep Sea Conservation Coalition policy advisor, et al, "Implementing the Global State of the Oceans Report," IPSO, June 2011, http://www.stateoftheocean.org/pdfs/ipso\_report\_051208web.pdf, accessed 2-16-13]

Every stretch of sea and ocean on the planet serves as part of the wider, global ocean. This network of marine life is linked by the great ocean conveyor, which comprises the currents that work together to form one of the **key operating systems** of our planet – what scientists describe as the earth System – and which in turn works to **keep the planet habitable**. The ocean creates more than half our oxygen; provides vital sources of protein, energy and minerals; drives weather systems and natural flows of energy and nutrients around the world; moderates the climate; modulates the chemical composition of the atmosphere; and transports water masses many times greater than all the rivers on land combined. Yet at the earth System level the ocean is poorly understood and rarely considered. Without a better understanding we cannot understand the true value of ocean services to humankind – nor the full consequences of permitting widespread degradation to our ocean’s health. On the brink As with terrestrial ecosystems, humankind has been expending the natural capitol of the ocean with little restraint. Although concealed beneath the waves, the evidence of wholesale degradation and destruction of the marine realm is clear, made manifest by the collapse of entire fisheries and the growth of deoxygenated dead zones, for example. **The** cumulative **result** of our actions **is a serial decline in** the ocean’s health and **resilience**; it is becoming demonstrably less able to survive the pressures exerted upon it, and this will become even more evident as the added pressures of climate change exacerbate the situation. Without significant changes in the policies that influence human interactions with the marine environment, the current rate of ecosystem change and collapse will accelerate and direct consequences will be felt by all societies. Without decisive and effective action, no region or country will be immune from the socioeconomic upheaval and environmental catastrophe that will take place – possibly with the span of the current generation and certainl by the end of the century. It is likely to be a disaster that challenges human civilisation. A narrow window Humankind faces an **immediate** and pressing choice between exerting ecological restraint and allowing **global** ecological **catastrophe**. The belief among scientists is that **the window of opportunity** to take action **is narrow.** There is little time left in which we can still act to prevent irreversible, catastrophic changes to marine ecosystems as we see them today. Failure to do so will cause such large-scale changes to the ocean, and to **the** overall **planetary system it supports**, that we may soon find ourselves without the natural capital and ecosystem services necessary to maintain sustainable economies and societies as we know them, even in affluent countries. **New scientific methods** are emerging that enable us to understand the ocean in ways we have **never done before**, from individual ecosystems to planet-wide functions and services. Critically, we can now undertake an entire earth System assessment of the state of the ocean and the impact of individual activities or policy decisions upon it. We are able to open up a **new understanding** of how humankind impacts on the ocean, how the stresses exerted upon it can be alleviated to restore ocean health, and the consequences of a failure to do so.

### AT Adaption

#### COVID-19 proves adaption is a fantasy

Spratt, 20 -- Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration research director

[David, and Alia Armistead, Breakthrough research coordinator, "COVID-19 climate lessons: Unprepared for a pandemic, can the world learn how to manage the bigger threat of climate disruption?," Breakthrough, May 2020, https://52a87f3e-7945-4bb1-abbf-9aa66cd4e93e.filesusr.com/ugd/148cb0\_44afa5f748604b71a6527b670b0a2cc2.pdf, accessed 5-5-20]

Pandemics and climate disruption are catastrophic, and potentially existential, risks. Climate disruption now manifests as an emergency because the climate system is close to tipping points that could drive it to a “point of no return", where further warming would become self-sustaining. Existential threats require a particular approach to risk management. The COVID-19 pandemic provides an opportunity to understand the world's preparedness for such a risk, and how and why the world's response, by and large, was grossly inadequate. This failure has important lessons for the preparedness of human society to respond to the much greater threat posed by human-induced climate disruption. There are also important, positive lessons in the pandemic response about the capacity of society to move quickly into emergency mode.

INTRODUCTION

The climate problem has been deferred, at least bureaucratically. In an unfortunate turn of phrase, Secretary-General Antbnio Guterres announced in mid-March 2020 that C19 is now the world's top priority and that “climate change will have to be put on the back-burner, for now". The next large international policymaking conference, COP26 in Glasgow, has been postponed till 2021, though the importance of these conferences in driving future national ambition is doubtful. At the same time, Guterres recognised the wider challenge of crisis preparedness: "We simply cannot return to where we were before Covid-19 struck, with societies unnecessarily vulnerable to crisis."1

Despite multiple warnings of the risk in making short-term decisions that increase carbon emissions and continue to degrade nature in the long term,2 stimulus packages in response to the pandemic-triggered economic slowdown so far are ignoring such pleas, and preserving industries and services as they are. Unless recovery stimulus has a specific climate focus, the danger is that industries will spring back to their high-polluting worst when C19 recedes. For example, although it has been recognised that C19 has been beneficial in reducing global emissions and pollution, in the fastest-growing sector of emissions — air travel — companies are being nationalised or bailed out to guarantee their future.

Variations on a Green New Deal theme are a mainstay of after-the-pandemic advocacy. The end of neoliberalism, and of capitalism, are prophesied, even though the course of the pandemic and exit strategies remain unclear, and the consequences remain largely a matter of speculation, including the short-term state of the global economy and the financial system. The pandemic’s impact will be profound and long-lasting. Conservative politics and corporates are shocked that government intervention and leadership has become the saviour of business, not its nemesis. Other questions abound, around the persistence of emergency powers, the advance of the surveillance state, globalisation versus nationalist isolation, the future of redistributive politics, the fate of just-nationalised industries, the value of the public sector, the future of travel and tourism, multilateralism, and much else. As Thomas Homer Dixon asks: “Will multiple social systems flip simultaneously to a distinctly new, and better, state?"3

This essay has a narrower focus. Climate disruption remains the greatest threat to human civilisation. The C19 response is necessarily reactive, of relatively short duration, and requires a very different set of policy responses to the climate crisis. However, important parallels can be drawn.

Here we focus on three issues: the emergency response of governments to the pandemic and its relevance to the growing recognition that the world faces a climate emergency; what may be gleaned from the failure of risk management and preparedness by most nations in facing the current pandemic threat; and whether there is the danger of repeating these failures on a grander scale with climate disruption.

With both C19 and climate disruption, there has been a generalised failure to recognise the real risks and be prepared. Modern society has been quite good at dealing with frequent, low-impact disruptions, but bad at managing infrequent, high-impact threats. The pandemic response has displayed a fundamental breakdown in public administration, leadership incapacity, a science policy failure, and attempts to put the economy above the lives of the people.

#### Climate change guts systems key to adapt- global systems death spiral

Dembicki, 19 -- Vice investigative reporter

[Geoff, "This Guy Studies the 'Global Systems Death Spiral' That Might End Humanity," Vice, 11-13-19, vice.com/en\_us/article/ne8amk/four-ways-the-climate-crisis-could-trigger-a-2008-style-economic-crash, accessed 5-5-20]

This Guy Studies the 'Global Systems Death Spiral' That Might End Humanity

Could climate change get so bad that it leads to our extinction? A few researchers are trying to answer that question.

Simon Beard has a career that most people would consider depressing and terrifying. He is part of a team of researchers trying to figure out if, how, and when climate change could cause the human species to go extinct. The stakes of his research—a potential annihilation of 7.7 billion humans and all the unborn people who come after them—couldn’t be any higher.

The idea that a heating planet will doom humanity is the subject of a lot of public speculation and anxiety, yet there are very few experts studying the existential impacts of climate change with any sort of academic rigor. Beard, who does this work at the Cambridge Center for the Study of Existential Risk, described it as “a field with next to no data” and a lot of unsupported hypotheses. “Under what circumstances could climate change cause a collapse of global civilization?” he said. “When you start asking that question, then your already quite-limited literature gets even more scarce.”

By bringing scientific precision to the doomsday scenario that wipes us off the planet, Beard hopes to convince world leaders to actually do something about it. “That’s really what we’re aiming for at the moment,” he said. “I think this could be genuinely transformative—firstly for the science but also by implication for the policy and the way that these things are discussed in society.”

The starting point for Beard’s research is that humans are incredibly resilient: We have found a way to survive in tropical rainforests, blistering deserts, icy tundra, and even for a brief time on the moon. But that says more about our collective strength than our skills as individuals. Shut down the grocery stores, turn off the taps, disband the government and very few of us, perhaps apart from a small number of rugged survivalists, would be able to stay alive for long.

“And so every one of us as an individual, I think, is very vulnerable, and relies upon these massive global systems that we’ve set up, these massive global institutions, to provide this support and to make us this wonderfully adaptable generalist species,” Beard recalled earlier this year on the Future of Life Institute podcast,

Those systems—the ones that put broccoli and frozen pizzas in our fridges and keep our streets from becoming Mad Max war zones—are themselves way more vulnerable and interconnected than we appreciate. The greenhouse gas emissions that humans are pumping into the atmosphere at record levels are changing the climate in ways that make it harder for us to grow and distribute food. This also increases pressure on our political system—as we saw with drought and crop failures in the lead-up to the Syrian civil war.

At some point—potentially sooner than we think, Beard fears—the stress could become too much. A collapse in one human or natural system could cascade into the others, potentially setting off a “global systems death spiral” that accelerates and amplifies the damage beyond our ability to control it. “That forms a feedback loop,” Beard said. “You basically get food security collapsing, political systems collapsing [and then] rising levels of environmental destruction. With this many people, that could be genuinely devastating for all of humanity.”

#### Warming impacts overwhelm- nations collapse

Spratt, 19 -- Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration in Australia research director

[David, interviewed by Luke Darby, "Human Civilization Isn't Prepared to Survive Climate Change," 6-17-19, https://www.gq.com/story/climate-change-david-spratt, accessed 5-5-20]

David Spratt: Let's take, for example, the agreement made in Paris in 2015, where various countries made commitments to reduce their emissions. In fact, they're tracking a little bit worse than their commitments at the moment, but the commitments that have already been made will be consistent with the world warming by three degrees. And with long term impact, the Paris path may in fact be a path of four degrees or more warming. So, our policy paper, just drawing on the peer reviewed scientific literature, was to draw a snapshot of what the world would look like at three degrees warming and a half meter sea level rise, and then drew some conclusions from it. And at three degrees warming, you see loss of lands to desertification, you see a declining crop yields, and, because of the heat, you get a decline in the nutrition content of food, and chronic water shortages. Now, those physical conditions then have social consequences.

And what were some of those consequences?

We actually relied on Age of Consequences, which is a report published in the United States in 2007. And it was put together by a group of Washington national security analyst insiders, together with a former director of the CIA. So this was a very Washington view. And back in 2007, they asked what would happen if the world warmed by three degrees and we simply reprinted this scenario. It said that there would be what they called massive, nonlinear societal events, that is social breakdown. They said nations around the world will be overwhelmed by the scale of the challenge, and the internal cohesion of nations will be under great stress, including the United States, in their words, as a result of dramatic rise in migration, and changes in agricultural patterns and water availability. So there is American national security, CIA insiders saying the social cohesion in the United States will break down. The social consequences range from increased religious fervor to outright chaos, and climate change will cause a permanent shift in the relationship of humans to nature. The consequence is the breakdown of states and the breakdown of relationships between states on a global scale.

The idea being that because of mass migration and food scarcity, there will be more wars?

I mean, look, for example, in Syria we have had a war which has gone on for 11 years and displaced 11 million people, internally and externally. Some of the causes of that war are climate related: A huge drought and desertification event in Syria, which displaced more than a million people, and the advent of the Arab Spring, which was triggered, more than anything else, by a rapid increase in grain prices as a consequence of climate events in Russia and China at the same time. And that war has had the devastating consequences.

But no one studying climate change or national security necessarily saw the Syrian civil war coming as a result of those climate events.

And that, that's the issue. What we're talking about is, can we think about the consequences of a three degrees warmer world now, and not wait until we’re saying, “Oh, my God, we've got a world that is so chaotic and broken down, that no political, social or military system can cope with it." If we get to to our scenario, it is too late.

#### Even if we can adapt to individual consequences, we can’t adapt to interactions- global systems death spiral overwhelms

Beard, 19 -- Cambridge Centre for the Study of Existential Risk postdoctoral researcher

[Simon, "The Climate Crisis as an Existential Threat with Simon Beard and Haydn Belfield," Future of Life, 8-1-19, https://futureoflife.org/2019/08/01/the-climate-crisis-as-an-existential-threat-with-simon-beard-and-haydn-belfield/, accessed 5-5-20]

As Hayden said, everything kind of also works in the other direction, most likely. And also, there are many, many more global systems that interact in different ways. Another trio that we’re very interested in looking at in the future is the connection between the biosphere and the political system, but this time, also, with some of the health systems, the emergence of new diseases, the ability to respond to public health emergencies, and especially when these things are looked at in kind of one health perspective, where plant health and animal health and human health are all actually very closely interacting with one another.

And then you kind of see this pattern where, yes, we could survive six degrees plus, and we could survive famine, and we could survive x, y, and z. But once these things start interacting, it just drives you to a situation where really everything that we take for granted at the moment up to and including the survival of the species — they’re all on the table, they’re all up for grabs once you start to get this destructive cycle between changes in the environment and changes in how human society interacts with the environment. It’s the very dangerous, potentially very self-perpetuating feedback loop, and that’s why we refer to it as a global systems death spiral: because we really can’t predict at this point in time where it will end. But it looks very, very bleak, and very, very hard to see how once you enter into this situation, you could then kind of dial it back and return to a safe operating environment for humanity and the systems that we rely on.

### AT Locked-in

#### Worst consequences can still be avoided- change makes adaption possible

Clarke, 19 -- ITV science editor citing the latest IPCC report

[Tom, "Climate change: Outlook gloomy but it's not too late to slow our destruction of the planet," ITV, 9-25-19, https://www.itv.com/news/2019-09-25/climate-change-outlook-gloomy-but-it-s-not-too-late-to-slow-down-our-destruction-of-the-planet/, accessed 5-6-20]

Climate change now inevitable but worst can be avoided, report says

Retreating mountain glaciers will directly affect people dependent on them for water for both drinking and agriculture.

Glaciers in the European Alps will have disappeared in a century or two, whether we make cuts to emissions now or not.

Melting permafrost in the polar regions could emit more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, exacerbating the warming already being driven by human activities.

While some of the impacts described in the report are now inevitable. The very worst of them can still be avoided.

"If we reduce emissions sharply, consequences for people and their livelihoods will still be challenging, but potentially more manageable for those who are most vulnerable," said Hoesung Lee, Chair of the IPCC said.

"We increase our ability to build resilience and there will be more benefits for sustainable development."

The outlook for the planet might be getting gloomier, but the logic remains the same: We know what we have to do to prevent climate change becoming very expensive and very dangerous.

#### Best IPCC data proves

Gohd, 19 – Space.com writer

[Chelsea, "New Climate Report is Sobering but Strangely Hopeful," Space.com, 9-27-19, https://www.space.com/ipcc-2019-climate-report-sobering-hopeful.html, accessed 5-6-20]

New Climate Report is Sobering but Strangely Hopeful

The 2019 IPCC special report is out.

Yesterday (Sept. 25), a stark new climate report came out that showed climate change is progressing much faster than anticipated, but it's not too late for humans to make changes.

The report, written and released by the United Nations-led Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), and formally known as the IPCC Special Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate, details the most up-to-date understanding of climate change, its causes, how it will continue to impact us on Earth and what we can do about it. The report looks to 2100 to see both where we will be if we continue on as we currently are, or if major changes are made to mitigate contributing factors like carbon dioxide emissions.

The main takeaway from the report? "We're seeing that climate change impacts are already happening, were seeing that they're happening at a faster pace than before," Ben Orlove, a professor of public policy at Columbia University and a lead author on the report, said to Space.com at an Explorer's Club event in New York on Sept. 25, where scientists, including authors of the report, discussed the report and its implications.

This harsh reality is "true in the oceans, sea levels are rising, the oceans are turning more acid[ic], they're losing the oxygen that's required to support life. We're seeing glaciers melting on every continent of the world. Antarctica and Greenland [are] also losing their ice. These are serious problems," Orlove added. "We've been able to look ahead to 2100 and to distinguish what happens if we cut back on greenhouse gases soon or if we do not. And there's an enormous difference. It'd be much easier to cope with the changes that will come by 2100 if they're smaller."

"This report is built on the science we need to guide us in adapting to a changing environment and, most importantly, to avert a planetary disaster … The findings of the new IPCC report need to be known and not only known but understood by me and all of my colleagues in government and politics around the world," Katrín Jakobsdóttir, the prime minister of Iceland, said at the event.

The report was clear in showing how, if we continue behaving in a "business-as-usual" fashion, climate change and its consequences will continue to grow to unprecedented extremes. "The report does not prescribe telling anyone what to do. But we can show the consequences of those actions," Orlove said.

Tropical storms becoming both more severe and more frequent will be just one of many realities that we will face. It is apparent in the report that, seeing as we are already experiencing the consequences of climate change, there is no way to avoid its effects.

However, while this might seem like a "doomsday" report to some, the authors were surprisingly optimistic in showing that, while the details of progressing climate change are sobering, we can do something about it. In the report, there is a figure, pictured above, which shows graphs with a red line and a blue line.

The red line shows the progression of climate change if we don't change anything, and it goes sharply up in all cases (except for ocean acidification because in that graph the pH is dropping). But the blue line is where there is hope. This line, which doesn't increase sharply and instead looks almost straight, shows what will happen is we make major changes to human activity as it relates to climate change.

"You don't turn the ice sheets around in decades or even centuries. But you can see it's a much, much rosier picture with perhaps less than a meter of sea level rise even centuries out into the future, and that's something that I think we can all probably deal with and tolerate," Robert DeCanto, a lead author on the polar regions chapter of the report, said about the possibility to change our future with dramatic mitigation of human activity affecting climate change.

So, while this report is a sobering reminder that we are causing climate change, which will continue to threaten and take human lives around the world, the report's authors say we can do something about it.

## DEMOCRACY

### IL: Empirics

#### Strikes key to democracy- Poland and South Africa prove

Pope, 18 -- Rutgers Law School law professor

[James Gray, "Labor’s right to strike is essential," PSC-CUNY, Sept 2018, https://www.psc-cuny.org/clarion/september-2018/labor’s-right-strike-essential, accessed 11-3-21]

A DEMOCRATIC NEED

The recent teacher strikes underscore another, equally vital function of the strike: political democracy. It is no accident that strikers often serve as midwives of democracy. Examples include Poland in the 1970s, where shipyard strikers brought down the dictatorship, and South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, where strikers were central to the defeat of apartheid. Even in relatively democratic countries like the United States, workers often find it necessary to withhold their labor in order to offset the disproportionate power of wealthy interests and racial elites. During the 1930s, for example, it took mass strikes to overcome judicial resistance to progressive economic regulation. Today, workers confront a political system that has been warped by voter suppression, gerrymandering and the judicial protection of corporate political expenditures as “freedom of speech.” With corporate lackeys holding a majority of seats on the Supreme Court, workers may soon need strikes to clear the way for progressive legislation just as they did in the 1930s.

### IL: Education

#### Strikes key to democracy- vital to education

Medearis, 20 – UC Riverside political science professor

[John, "On the Strike and Democratic Protest," in Protest and Dissent, ed. by Melissa Schwartzberg, 2020, University Press Scholarship Online, accessed 11-3-21]

As a wave of audacious teachers’ strikes spread west across the United States in early 2018, at least one observer was quite certain of the political principle at stake, calling the struggle “a fight over the future of American democracy.”1 After walkouts in West Virginia and Oklahoma had ended, but before new ones had erupted in Colorado and Arizona, the writer attributed a crucial but largely instrumental role for the strikes in supporting democratic life. He argued: Strong public education supported by ample funding is essential for democracy; the strikes were part of a movement to resist austerity budgets that imperil such education; and so the strikes represented a crucial front of democratic struggle. Strikes and other collective action by workers do have profoundly important instrumental or indirect democratic benefits, especially ones resulting from their effect on inequality—economic and political—and on the attitudes and allegiances of workers. For some people, these effects alone would be enough to establish the strike’s democratic credentials. But I aim in this chapter to advance two additional and arguably stronger claims: that strikes are in themselves democratically valuable forms of collective action, and that they are illustrative, even exemplary, of important things we should remember about all forms of democratic protest, characteristics integral to how we should assess it.

### !: Emerging Tech

#### Global de-democratization prevents effective regulation of emerging tech.

Daron Acemoglu 21, Professor, Economics, MIT, "The Right Way to Worry," Project Syndicate, 05/14/2021, https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/how-to-think-about-existential-and-immediate-risks-by-daron-acemoglu-2021-05.

But there are also anthropogenic – human-created – existential risks. As the University of Oxford philosopher Toby Ord argues in his thought-provoking new book, The Precipice: Existential Risk and the Future of Humanity, it is these risks that should most concern us now and in the coming century.

RISK AND REWARD

Ord recognizes that science and technology are humankind’s most potent tools for solving problems and achieving prosperity. But he reminds us that there are always dangers associated with such power, particularly when it is placed in the wrong hands or wielded without concern for long-term and unintended consequences.

More to the point, Ord argues that anthropogenic existential risk has reached an alarmingly high level, because we have developed tools capable of destroying humanity without the accompanying wisdom needed to recognize the danger we are in. He notes that the eminent twentieth-century astronomer Carl Sagan issued a similar warning in his 1994 book, Pale Blue Dot, writing:

“Many of the dangers we face indeed arise from science and technology – but, more fundamentally, because we have become powerful without becoming commensurately wise. The world-altering powers that technology has delivered into our heads now require a degree of consideration and foresight that has never before been asked of us.”

For Ord, this gap between power and wisdom could decide humanity’s future. On one hand, we could disappear entirely or suffer a collapse that wipes out most of the hallmarks of civilization (from vaccines and antibiotics to art and writing). But, on the other hand, Ord sees in humankind the potential for long-term flourishing on a cosmic scale: with both wisdom and technological ingenuity, humans could well outlive this planet and launch new civilizations across space.

This far-reaching vision of flourishing weighs heavily in Ord’s reckoning, because he recognizes that there may not be any other intelligent life forms in the universe. If we are indeed alone, a mass-extinction event that wiped out everyone on this planet would also eliminate all of the potential for intelligent, purposeful existence everywhere.

Based on this reasoning, Ord arrives at what mathematicians and economists would call a “lexicographic preference ordering.” In a situation where we care about multiple criteria, a lexicographic order assigns overwhelming importance to one criterion in order to provide clarity when two options are being compared. For example, in a lexicographic order between food and shelter, one would always prefer whichever option offers more food, regardless of how much more shelter the other option offers.

Ord’s philosophical stance is equivalent to a lexicographic order because it implies that we should minimize existential risk, whatever the costs. A future in which existential risk has been minimized trumps any future in which it has not been minimized, regardless of any other considerations. After establishing this basic hierarchy, Ord then proceeds with an expert overview of different types of anthropogenic existential risk, concluding that the greatest threat comes from an artificial superintelligence that has evolved beyond our control.

WHEN PROGRESS ISN’T PROGRESS

One can date science-driven existential risk at least to the controlled nuclear chain reactions that enabled atomic weapons. Ord is probably right that our (social) wisdom has not increased since this fateful development, with its earlier culmination in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Though we have established some institutions, regulatory tools, norms, and other internalization mechanisms to ensure that we do not misuse science, nobody would argue that these are sufficient.

Ord suggests that today’s inadequate institutional framework may be a temporary phenomenon that could be addressed in due time, so long as we survive the next century or so. “For we stand at a crucial moment in the history of our species,” he writes. “Fueled by technological progress, our power has grown so great that for the first time in humanity’s long history, we have the capacity to destroy ourselves…” And, in fact, in writing his book, Ord “aspires to start closing the gap between our wisdom and power, allowing humanity a clear view of what is at stake, so that we will make the choices necessary to safeguard our future.”

However, I see no evidence that this is really feasible. Nor is there any sign that our society and leaders have shown any wisdom when it comes to reining in the destructive power of technology.

To be sure, one could argue in favor of Ord’s optimism on the basis of what the German sociologist Norbert Elias famously called the “civilizing process.” According to Elias, the process of economic development and the emergence of state institutions for resolving conflicts and controlling violence since the Middle Ages have led to the adoption of manners and behaviors conducive to coexistence in mass societies. Elias’s nuanced case for why people in advanced economies have become less violent and more tolerant was popularized recently by the Harvard University cognitive psychologist and linguist Steven Pinker in his bestselling book The Better Angels of Our Nature: The Decline of Violence in History and Its Causes. Both authors offer arguments for why we should continue to expect a strengthening of the norms and institutions needed to control the misuses of science and technology.

But even if such a civilizing process is acting on individual behavioral norms and social intercourse more broadly, it doesn’t seem to have affected many political leaders or scientists and technologists. The civilizing process should have been in full swing by the first half of the twentieth century; and yet the Nobel Prize-winning chemist Fritz Haber enthusiastically used his scientific knowledge to invent and then peddle chemical weapons to the German Army in World War I.

Nor was the impact of the civilizing process much in evidence in the thinking of the American leaders who ordered the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or in the attitudes of other political leaders who eagerly embraced nuclear weapons after World War II. Some may find hope in the fact that we haven’t had a repeat of WWI or WWII over the past 75 years. But this sanguine view ignores many near misses, not least the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 (the episode with which Ord opens his book).

One can identify many more examples contradicting the idea that we are becoming more “civilized,” let alone better at controlling anthropogenic risks or cultivating collective wisdom. If anything, controlling our bad behavior and adapting to the constant changes wrought by scientific discovery and technological innovation will remain a constant struggle.

This raises problems for the rest of Ord’s argument. Why should trying to eliminate future existential risks be given a superordinate priority over all other efforts to ameliorate the ills and suffering that our current choices are generating now and in the near term?

For the sake of argument, suppose we could significantly reduce the probability of our own extinction by enslaving the majority of humankind for the next several centuries. Under Ord’s lexicographic ordering, we would have to choose this option, because it minimizes existential risk while still preserving humanity’s potential to flourish fully at some point in the distant future.

Not everybody will be convinced by this argument. Count me among the unpersuaded.

THE AGE OF DEMONIC MACHINES?

To clarify the choice further, consider the main existential risk that Ord focuses on: the potential misuse of artificial intelligence. Ord estimates that there is a one in ten chance that humanity will fall prey to an evil superintelligence (which he calls, euphemistically, “unaligned AI”) in the next 100 years. By contrast, his estimated existential risk to humanity from climate change is one in 1,000, and one in a million in the case of collisions with asteroids or comets.

Even if many other experts would not assign quite so high a probability to the threat of superintelligence, Ord is not alone in worrying about the long-term implications of AI research. In fact, such concerns have become commonplace among many technology luminaries, from Stuart Russell of the University of California, Berkeley, to Microsoft founder Bill Gates and Tesla founder Elon Musk.

These figures all believe that, notwithstanding the existential risks, AI will bring many net benefits. But while Ord is well enough informed about these debates to know that even this last proposition is actually rather shaky, his lexicographic stance leads him to ignore most of the non-existential risks associated with AI.

But if one accepts that our scope of attention is finite, this weighing of priorities is problematic. My own assessment is that the likelihood of superintelligence emerging anytime soon is low, and that the risk of an evil superintelligence destroying our civilization is lower still. As such, I would prefer that the public debate focus much more on the problems that AI is already creating for humanity, rather than on intriguing but improbable tail risks.2

BACK TO NOW

As I have argued here and elsewhere, the current trajectory of AI design and deployment is leading us astray, causing a wide range of immediate (albeit prosaic) problems. Far from being inevitable or reflecting some inherent logic of the technology, these problems reflect choices being made (and imposed on us) by large tech companies – and specifically by a small group of executives, scientists, and technologists within these companies (or within their orbit).

One of the most visible problems that AI is causing is incessant automation, which is displacing workers, boosting inequality, and raising the specter of future joblessness for large swaths of the labor force. Worse, the obsession with automation has come at the expense of productivity growth, because it has led executives and scientists to overlook more fruitful, human-complementing uses of innovative technology.

AI is also being designed and used in other problematic ways, none of which inspire hope for humanity’s moral progress. Democratic politics has been defiled not just by an explosion of algorithmically amplified misinformation, but also by new AI technologies that have empowered governments and companies to monitor and manipulate the behaviors of billions of people.

This development represents a double whammy. Democratic politics is the primary means by which a society can rein in misbehavior by political and economic elites, yet it is precisely this process that is being undermined. If we cannot hold elites accountable for the damage they are causing because democracy itself has been impaired, how can we possibly escape our current predicament?

#### Unregulated tech causes extinction.

Nathan A. Sears 21, PhD, Political Science, University of Toronto, "Great Powers, Polarity, and Existential Threats to Humanity: An Analysis of the Distribution of the Forces of Total Destruction in International Security," International Studies Association, Annual Conference, Conference Paper, March/April 2021, ResearchGate.

Humanity also faces existential risks from the increasing power of technology and danger of losing control over a singularly powerful technology (Danzig 2018), such as biotechnology (Doudna & Sternberg 2017), nanotechnology (Drexler 2006), or artificial intelligence (Bostrom 2014). Artificial intelligence (AI) best captures the existential risk of humanity’s loss-of-control over technology. The term artificial intelligence is used broadly to refer to digital technologies “that are capable of performing tasks commonly thought to require intelligence” (Brundage et al. 2018, 9). The current wave of progress in AI is driven by a combination of gains in hardware (e.g., the exponential growth in computing power described by “Moore’s Law”), software (e.g., “machine learning” algorithms and techniques, such as “neural networks” and “deep learning”), and data (e.g., the abundance of digital information on the Internet). Today’s AI remain “narrow” systems, which means that they can only achieve or surpass human-level intelligence in specific domains, such as AlphaGo’s 2017 victory over the world champion, Ke Jie, at the strategy game “Go.” However, the idea that computers could one day possess human-level “general” intelligence (AGI) was first suggested by Alan Turing (1950), who described a test—the “Turing Test”—in which a computer would seek to persuade a human being that it too is human. Since then, AI experts have frequently expressed the concern that AI could one day far surpass human beings in general intelligence (Good 1966; Moravec 1988; Vinge 1993; Kurzweil 2006; Bostrom 2014; Shanahan 2015; Tegmark 2018; Russell 2019).

How could artificial “superintelligence” (ASI) threaten the survival of humanity? In one scenario (“takeover”), the ASI determines humanity to be a threat to achieving its fundamental goal, and “eliminates the human species and any automatic systems humans have created that could offer intelligent opposition to the execution of the AI’s plans” (Bostrom 2014, 95–7). In another scenario (“perverse instantiation”), the ASI pursues some seemingly benign goal—e.g., maximizing paperclip production—in a way that threatens human survival—e.g., by converting the biosphere into paperclips, humans included (Bostrom 2014, 119–24). While humans should not “anthropomorphize” the goals and motivations of artificial intelligence (Bostrom 2014; Pinker 2018; Russell 2019), this may be immaterial to whether or not it constitutes an existential threat to humanity. If AI is “goal-oriented,” then an ASI could pursue instrumental objectives— e.g., survival, self-improvement, and resource acquisition—that threaten human survival in pursuit of its fundamental goal (Omohundro 2008; Bostrom 2014). If humanity achieves superintelligence but fails to solve the “control problem”—i.e., the proper “alignment” or “compatibility” of AI with humanity—then human extinction could be the “default outcome” (Bostrom 2014, 115).

# DA ANSWERS

## CORE

### No Strikes

**No DAs- a credible threat to strike causes employers to cave before a strike actually happens- empirics prove**

**Bradbury, 19** – Labor Notes editor

[Alexandra, et al, “Why Strikes Matter,” Labor Notes, 10-17-19, https://www.labornotes.org/2019/10/why-strikes-matter, accessed 10-10-21]

Why Strikes Matter

Strikes are where our power is. Without a **credible** strike threat, workers are at the boss's mercy.

“Why do you rob banks?” a reporter once asked Willie Sutton. “Because that’s where the money is,” the infamous thief replied.

Why go on strike? Because that’s where our power is.

Teachers in West Virginia showed it in 2018 when they walked out, in a strike that bubbled up from below, surprising even their statewide union leaders.

No one seemed concerned that public sector strikes were unlawful in West Virginia. “What are they going to do, fire us all?” said Jay O’Neal, treasurer for the Kanawha County local. “Who would they get to replace us?” Already the state had 700 teaching vacancies, thanks to the rock-bottom pay the strikers were protesting.

After 13 days out, the teachers declared victory and returned to their classrooms with a 5 percent raise. They had also backed off corporate education “reformers” on a host of other issues.

The biggest lesson: “Our labor is ours first,” West Virginia teacher Nicole McCormick told the crowd at the Labor Notes Conference that spring. “It is up to us to give our labor, or to withhold it.”

That’s the fundamental truth on which the labor movement was built.

Strikes by unorganized workers led to the founding of unions. Strikes won the first union contracts. Strikes over the years won bigger paychecks, vacations, seniority rights, and the right to tell the foreman “that’s not my job.” Without strikes we would have no labor movement, no unions, no contracts, and a far worse working and living situation.

In short, strikes are the strongest tool in workers’ toolbox—our power not just to ask, but to force our employers to concede something.

DISCOVER YOUR POWER

The key word is “force.” A strike is not just a symbolic protest. It works because we withhold something that the employer needs—its production, its good public image, its profits, and above all its control over us.

As one union slogan has it, “this university works because we do”—or this company, or this city. A strike reveals something that employers would prefer we not notice: they need us.

Workplaces are typically run as dictatorships. The discovery that your boss does not have absolute power over you—and that in fact, you and your co-workers can exert power over him—is a revelation.

There’s no feeling like it. Going on strike changes you, personally and as a union.

“Walking into work the first day back chanting ‘one day longer, one day stronger’ was the best morning I’ve ever had at Verizon,” said Pam Galpern, a field tech and mobilizer with Communication Workers Local 1101, after workers beat the corporate giant in a 45-day strike in 2016.

“There was such a tremendous feeling of accomplishment. People were smiling and happy. It was like a complete 180-degree difference from before the strike,” when supervisors had been micromanaging and writing workers up for the smallest infractions.

In a good strike, everyone has a meaningful role. Strikers develop new skills and a deeper sense that they own and run their union. New leaders emerge from the ranks and go on to become stewards.

New friendships are formed; workers who didn’t know or trust one another before forge bonds of solidarity. A few stubborn co-workers finally see why the union matters and sign on as members.

Allies from faith groups, neighborhood groups, or other unions adopt your cause. You and your co-workers lose some fear of the boss—and the boss gains some fear of you.

In all these ways and more—not to mention the contract gains you may win—a strike can be a tremendous union-building activity.

JUST THE THREAT

Sometimes coming to the brink of a strike is enough to make your employer **blink**. Workers at an Indiana truck plant in 2016 got as far as hauling burn barrels to work every day to show they were ready to hit the picket lines. The company, Hendrickson International, **averted a strike** by agreeing to phase out two-tier wages and pensions.

The benefits of a humbled employer can last beyond a single contract cycle. After Seattle’s grocery chains in 2013 came within two hours of a strike—the union dramatized the impending deadline with a giant countdown clock—the chains scrambled to avoid a repeat in 2016 by settling a new contract before the old one

### Case T/ DA

#### Income inequality spurs gridlock- makes their impacts inevitable and causes extinction

**Cribb, 17** -- Australian National University Emeritus Faculty

[Julian, Fellow, Australian Academy of Technology, Science and Engineering, *Surviving The 21st Century: Humanity’s Ten Great Challenges and How We Can Overcome Them*, Switzerland: Springer International, 2017, p. 166-167, accessed 2017]

The argument that income inequality leads to **legislative stalemate** and **government indecision** was advanced by Mian and colleagues in a study of the political outcomes of the 2008–2009 Global Economic Recession (Mian et al. 2012 ), stating “…politically countries become more polarized and fractionalized following financial crises. This results in legislative stalemate, making it less likely that crises lead to meaningful macroeconomic reforms.” It also affects intergenerational cohesion, explains Nobel economics laureate Joseph Stiglitz: “These three realities – social injustice on an unprecedented scale, massive inequities, and a loss of trust in elites – define our political moment, and rightly so…. But we won’t be able to fix the problem if we don’t recognize it. Our young do. They perceive the absence of intergenerational justice, and they are right to be angry” (Stiglitz 2016). From the perspective of the survival of civilization and the human species, financial inequality does not represent a direct threat—indeed most societies have long managed with varying degrees of income disparity. Where it is of concern to a human race, whose numbers and demands have already exceeded the finite boundaries of its shared planet, is in the capacity of inequality to wreck social cohesion and hence, to **undermine** the prospects for a **collaborative effort** by the whole of humanity to tackle the **multiple existential threats** we face. Rich-against-poor is a good way to divert the argument and so de-rail climate action, disarmament, planetary clean-up or food security, for instance. Disunity spells electoral loss in politics, rifts between commanders and their troops breed military defeat, lack of team spirit yields failure in sport, disharmony means a poor orchestra or business performance, family disagreements often lead to dysfunction and violence. These lessons are well-known and attested, from every walk of life. Yet humans persistently overlook the cost of socioeconomic disunity and grievances when it comes to dealing with our common perils as a species. For civilisation and **our species to survive** and prosper sustainably in the long run, common understandings and co-operation are essential, across all the gulfs that divide us—political, ethnic, religious and economic. A sustainable world, and a viable human species, will not be possible unless the poverty and inequity gaps can be reduced, if not closed. This is not a matter of politics or ideology, as many may argue: it is the same lesson in collective wisdom and collaboration which those earliest humans first learned on the African savannah a million and a half years ago: together we stand, divided we fall. It is purely an issue of co-existence and co-survival. Neither rich nor poor are advantaged by a state of civilisation in collapse. An unsustainable world will kill the affluent as surely as the deprived.

**Inequality makes their impacts inevitable- collapses decision-making and leads to serial policy failure**

**Rolf, 16** -- formerly served as international vice president of SEIU

[David, founder of the Fair Work Center, The Fight for Fifteen: The Right Wage for a Working America, 2016, xviii, accessed 2-16-19]

Fifteen years into the new millennium, our nation has reached a strategic inflection point. Most Americans are no longer getting ahead. Jobs are changing for the worse. Inequality—the percentage difference in income and wealth between the wealthiest and the rest of us—is approaching Third World levels. This vast inequality **distorts** the **decisions** our nation makes, tilting the playing field ever more toward the very rich. **A solid middle class can build a civic life, participate in politics, and think about the future. A nation of struggling poor people cannot**. By every measure we are not a poor nation—we are the richest in the world. And yet our middle class is shrinking, our wages are flat, and more and more of our nation’s families are falling behind rather than getting ahead.

## CHINA

### China 1AR

#### 1. Hong Kong protests, Trump trade war, and COVID all thump.

#### 2. Turn- strikes are inevitable- crackdowns destabilize the CCP more.

#### 3. Strikes don’t doom CCP- empirics

Elfstrom, 21 – University of British Columbia political science professor

[Manfred, interview with Kaiser Kuo, "Labor unrest and how China balances repression and responsiveness," SupChina, 9-30-2021, https://supchina.com/2021/09/30/labor-unrest-and-how-china-balances-repression-and-responsiveness/, accessed 10-10-2021]

Manfred: So, it’s tricky to compare China to other places because these are of course data sets based on social media, based a little bit on state media, based on dissident sources and there’s no official count from the Chinese government of the number of strikes they have every year. The US, since the Reagan Administration, has tracked strikes involving more than 1000 people, so it stopped tracking smaller strikes. And in the book, I compare the number of incidents that were that size in China, that it’s more than 1000 strikes, according to China Labor Bulletin with the US figure and taking into account China Labor Bulletin’s estimate that they only capture about 10% of all the conflict happening, I estimate that in 2015 for example, China saw maybe 70 times more strikes than the US, even taking into account kind of much, much bigger population, I think that’s a lot more intense.

Kaiser: Yeah, yeah, for sure.

Manfred: Recently, Cornell University’s ILR School has started a strike map to fill in the gap in reporting on the US so this might be something that worth revisiting. Maybe regardless, I think the main takeaway is just that strikes are really common and somewhat normalized in China. So you’ll maybe recall that there was a strike by bus drivers in Singapore from the Chinese Mainland a few years ago. And this was a really big deal in Singapore because there hadn’t been a strike in the country in about 25 years. But when they interviewed the drivers, the drivers didn’t seem to understand what the fuss was all about. They thought it was a natural response to the problems they faced and that’s how they had dealt with things back in China before they came to Singapore.

#### 4. Strikes don’t endanger the CCP- censorship makes them appear isolated

Griffiths, 16 – CNN International senior producer

[James Griffiths, "China on Strike,” CNN, 3-29-2016, https://www.cnn.com/2016/03/28/asia/china-strike-worker-protest-trade-union/index.html, accessed 10-10-2021]

Thanks to concerted censorship of both traditional and social media, many protesting workers "often don't understand they aren't the only ones," says Maya Wang, China researcher at Human Rights Watch.

"They don't recognize that these are systematic failures not local grievances."

Because of this, protests and strikes "do not generate a kind of solidarity and political understanding within the greater population or facilitate a greater political consciousness."

#### 5. Xi is resilient- autocratic safeguards, media control, surveillance, mistrust, and progressive degeneration of leadership

Pei, 18 -- China Leadership Monitor editor

[Minxin, Tom and Margot Pritzker '72 Professor of Government and director of the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies at Claremont McKenna College, non-resident senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, "Xi Jinping’s Dilemma: Back Down or Double Down?," China Leadership Monitor, 12-1-18, https://www.prcleader.org/xi-s-dilemma, accessed 9-8-19]

One can offer several explanations for why the difficulties Xi encountered at mid-year did not result in direct substantial political damage. The institutional dynamics of autocratic regimes make it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to self-correct policy mistakes. The absence of a legalized opposition insulates the rulers from the political pressures that such a force can mobilize. These regimes’ control of the press can suppress the information about policy failure, thus concealing the truth from the population. It is also extremely difficult to coordinate action or conspiracy among disaffected elites because of the pervasive surveillance and mistrust within these regimes. One-party regimes, in particular, seem to have acquired sophisticated coup-proofing techniques (strict civilian control of the military; specialized security forces guarding the top leader; constant surveillance of members of the top leadership; and strict rules on interpersonal communications among leaders) that are effective in preventing any rivals of the top leaders from staging coups. Authoritarian regimes are also bedeviled by problems of adverse selection (autocracies tend to attract opportunists) and a progressive degeneration of the leadership (less competent elites are promoted because they are less threatening). As a result, few top-ranking elites have the political courage at critical junctures to mount an open challenge to the dominant leader.

#### 6. No Chinese diversionary war- empirics, incentives

Weiss, 19 -- Cornell University government professor

[Jessica Chen, editor at the Washington Post Monkey Cage and a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations, "How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at “Rising Nationalism” and Chinese Foreign Policy," Journal of Contemporary China, 3-7-19, accessed 9-8-19]

What the CCP leadership fears is a conflagration - with diffuse attitudes providing the kindling and vocal opinion sparking a torrent of criticism and even collective action. As such, public opinion may matter most during major crises and conflicts. It may also play a role in public deliberations over grand strategy and the allocation of state resources.68 With slowing economic growth and endemic corruption, the Party is struggling to refashion its ruling mandate. Tough discipline and targeted campaigns against lawyers, NGOs, labor, and the media reflect the CCP's lack of confidence in its ability to retain control over an active and diverse society. The looming question is how these domestic strains and the Xi administration's redoubled efforts to consolidate power will affect China's external behavior. A common conjecture is that a troubled economy and slowing growth could lead to growing adventurism to divert attention from problems at home. But a slowing economy could also encourage a renewed focus on domestic problems such as pollution, inequality, jobs, and social welfare. Historically, there is little evidence that economic downturns have prompted Chinese adventurism. In fact, scholars have suggested the opposite: when China has faced internal instability, it has been more likely to compromise internationally, repressing nationalism if need be.69

A leadership that has other alternatives for jump-starting the economy or dealing with a restive public may not want to risk an international conflict. A war over security or trade could backfire -making the leadership look weak and incompetent and opening the door for elite rivals to mount an internal challenge. Ironically, a hawkish public may counsel strategic prudence, lest the Chinese government ignite a fire it cannot immediately put out. The desire for a stronger and more prominent military in China's foreign policy is only one set of policy attitudes that the Chinese government could satisfy; other research has shown that a majority of Chinese support a shared rather than exclusive world leadership role.70 Instead of conflict, the Chinese leadership could choose a less risky and combative route to burnishing its international image, satisfying domestic appetites for world leadership through institutional forms of international 'assertiveness.'

#### 7. No escalation

Carter, 19 -- USC international relations professor

[Erin Baggott, "Diversionary aggression in Chinese foreign policy," Brookings, 1-22-19, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/diversionary-aggression-in-chinese-foreign-policy/, accessed 9-8-19]

Second, China reliably undertakes diplomatic charm offensives after episodes of diversionary aggression. For China, diversionary aggression is risky. The United States might mistake it for a genuine attempt to revise the power balance in East Asia and respond with containment policies. Accordingly, whenever China employs diversionary aggression, it quadruples its diplomacy the following month. Critically, this diplomacy is virtually always private, since Chinese citizens might view more public forms of cooperation with the United States as capitulation to the foreign adversary so recently demonized.

Newly released diplomatic cables provide a unique opportunity to observe this process in action. Between January and July 2010, the SSE lost one-third of its value. A range of evidence suggests that this crisis profoundly shaped Chinese foreign policy towards the United States. In March, U.S. policymakers were subjected to a “lengthy presentation” on China’s rights in the South China Sea, which were described as a “national priority.” Chinese propaganda reported that bilateral relations were “strained” and “at a low point.”

Simultaneously, the editor of the Global Times, the government’s most nationalist state-run newspaper, told U.S. Ambassador John Huntsman “not to be concerned” because China’s belligerence was “necessary to satisfy the Chinese people.” Huntsman reported to Washington that “over the coming months, China would stomp around and carry a small stick.” “This attitude,” he advised, “has more form than substance and is designed to play to Chinese public opinion.”

In July 2010, the SSE stabilized, and the economic interests of Chinese elites recovered. China quickly backpedaled.[4] Chinese officials accepted a longstanding offer for President Hu to visit Washington, agreed to support a U.N. Security Council statement condemning North Korea, reauthorized military exchanges with the United States, said they had not authoritatively called the South China Sea a “core interest,” and told US officials they were “willing to begin expert talks on a code of conduct in the South China Sea.” State Councilor Dai Bingguo even traveled to Pyongyang on a secret mission on behalf of the United States to warn North Korea not to respond to South Korean military exercises.

China ensured that these signals were correctly interpreted by American policymakers. Organization Department Minister Li Yuanchao told National Security Adviser Tom Donilon that China “would not challenge the United States for global leadership” and that “there was no inevitable conflict in their interests.” China’s private behavior during this period offers additional clues that its aggression was diversionary rather than revisionist. Despite headlines proclaiming that China was “incensed” with American “containment,” Beijing agreed to help with an Iran resolution at the United Nations, on one condition: that it could keep its assistance private.

## ECON

### Econ 1AR

#### Delta thumps- COVID has already rocked the economy

#### Strikes aren’t disruptive

Craver, 12 – George Washington University law professor

[Charles, “The Right to Strike and its Possible Conflict with Other Fundamental Rights of the People in the United States,” 2012, <https://scholarship.law.gwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1532&context=faculty_publications>, accessed 10-11-21]

Due to the relatively short duration of most private and public sector work stoppages in the U.S., the inconvenience to the general public is minimal. When specific private sector firms are shut down, consumers are able to obtain similar goods and services from competing companies. Although public sector strikes do inconvenience persons who require government services, they are usually able to get the assistance they need within a few days or, at most, several weeks.

#### Econ decline doesn’t cause war

**Walt 20** [Stephen M. Walt is the Robert and Renée Belfer professor of international relations at Harvard University, “Will a Global Depression Trigger Another World War?” 5-13-20, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/13/coronavirus-pandemic-depression-economy-world-war/]

One familiar argument is the so-called diversionary (or “scapegoat”) theory of war. It suggests that leaders who are worried about their popularity at home will try to divert attention from their failures by provoking a crisis with a foreign power and maybe even using force against it. Drawing on this logic, some Americans now worry that President Donald Trump will decide to attack a country like Iran or Venezuela in the run-up to the presidential election and especially if he thinks he’s likely to lose. This outcome strikes me as unlikely, even if one ignores the logical and empirical flaws in the theory itself. War is always a gamble, and should things go badly—even a little bit—it would hammer the last nail in the coffin of Trump’s declining fortunes. Moreover, none of the countries Trump might consider going after pose an imminent threat to U.S. security, and even his staunchest supporters may wonder why he is wasting time and money going after Iran or Venezuela at a moment when thousands of Americans are dying preventable deaths at home. Even a successful military action won’t put Americans back to work, create the sort of testing-and-tracing regime that competent governments around the world have been able to implement already, or hasten the development of a vaccine. The same logic is likely to guide the decisions of other world leaders too. Another familiar folk theory is “military Keynesianism.” War generates a lot of economic demand, and it can sometimes lift depressed economies out of the doldrums and back toward prosperity and full employment. The obvious case in point here is World War II, which did help the U.S economy finally escape the quicksand of the Great Depression. Those who are convinced that great powers go to war primarily to keep Big Business (or the arms industry) happy are naturally drawn to this sort of argument, and they might worry that governments looking at bleak economic forecasts will try to restart their economies through some sort of military adventure. I doubt it. It takes a really big war to generate a significant stimulus, and it is hard to imagine any country launching a large-scale war—with all its attendant risks—at a moment when debt levels are already soaring. More importantly, there are lots of easier and more direct ways to stimulate the economy—infrastructure spending, unemployment insurance, even “helicopter payments”—and launching a war has to be one of the least efficient methods available. The threat of war usually spooks investors too, which any politician with their eye on the stock market would be loath to do. Economic downturns can encourage war in some special circumstances, especially when a war would enable a country facing severe hardships to capture something of immediate and significant value. Saddam Hussein’s decision to seize Kuwait in 1990 fits this model perfectly: The Iraqi economy was in terrible shape after its long war with Iran; unemployment was threatening Saddam’s domestic position; Kuwait’s vast oil riches were a considerable prize; and seizing the lightly armed emirate was exceedingly easy to do. Iraq also owed Kuwait a lot of money, and a hostile takeover by Baghdad would wipe those debts off the books overnight. In this case, Iraq’s parlous economic condition clearly made war more likely. Yet I cannot think of any country in similar circumstances today. Now is hardly the time for Russia to try to grab more of Ukraine—if it even wanted to—or for China to make a play for Taiwan, because the costs of doing so would clearly outweigh the economic benefits. Even conquering an oil-rich country—the sort of greedy acquisitiveness that Trump occasionally hints at—doesn’t look attractive when there’s a vast glut on the market. I might be worried if some weak and defenseless country somehow came to possess the entire global stock of a successful coronavirus vaccine, but that scenario is not even remotely possible. If one takes a longer-term perspective, however, a sustained economic depression could make war more likely by strengthening fascist or xenophobic political movements, fueling protectionism and hypernationalism, and making it more difficult for countries to reach mutually acceptable bargains with each other. The history of the 1930s shows where such trends can lead, although the economic effects of the Depression are hardly the only reason world politics took such a deadly turn in the 1930s. Nationalism, xenophobia, and authoritarian rule were making a comeback well before COVID-19 struck, but the economic misery now occurring in every corner of the world could intensify these trends and leave us in a more war-prone condition when fear of the virus has diminished. On balance, however, I do not think that even the extraordinary economic conditions we are witnessing today are going to have much impact on the likelihood of war. Why? First of all, if depressions were a powerful cause of war, there would be a lot more of the latter. To take one example, the United States has suffered 40 or more recessions since the country was founded, yet it has fought perhaps 20 interstate wars, most of them unrelated to the state of the economy. To paraphrase the economist Paul Samuelson’s famous quip about the stock market, if recessions were a powerful cause of war, they would have predicted “nine out of the last five (or fewer).” Second, states do not start wars unless they believe they will win a quick and relatively cheap victory. As John Mearsheimer showed in his classic book Conventional Deterrence, national leaders avoid war when they are convinced it will be long, bloody, costly, and uncertain. To choose war, political leaders have to convince themselves they can either win a quick, cheap, and decisive victory or achieve some limited objective at low cost. Europe went to war in 1914 with each side believing it would win a rapid and easy victory, and Nazi Germany developed the strategy of blitzkrieg in order to subdue its foes as quickly and cheaply as possible. Iraq attacked Iran in 1980 because Saddam believed the Islamic Republic was in disarray and would be easy to defeat, and George W. Bush invaded Iraq in 2003 convinced the war would be short, successful, and pay for itself. The fact that each of these leaders miscalculated badly does not alter the main point: No matter what a country’s economic condition might be, its leaders will not go to war unless they think they can do so quickly, cheaply, and with a reasonable probability of success. Third, and most important, the primary motivation for most wars is the desire for security, not economic gain. For this reason, the odds of war increase when states believe the long-term balance of power may be shifting against them, when they are convinced that adversaries are unalterably hostile and cannot be accommodated, and when they are confident they can reverse the unfavorable trends and establish a secure position if they act now. The historian A.J.P. Taylor once observed that “every war between Great Powers [between 1848 and 1918] … started as a preventive war, not as a war of conquest,” and that remains true of most wars fought since then. The bottom line: Economic conditions (i.e., a depression) may affect the broader political environment in which decisions for war or peace are made, but they are only one factor among many and rarely the most significant. Even if the COVID-19 pandemic has large, lasting, and negative effects on the world economy—as seems quite likely—it is not likely to affect the probability of war very much, especially in the short term.

#### Turn- inequality is worse for the economy

**Ramus, 13** -- Professor of Economics @ St. Mary’s

[Jack, “Growth of Income Inequality Blocks Recovery,” <http://portside.org/2013-02-26/growth-income-inequality-blocks-recovery>]

The dominant characteristic of the US economy today—and a fundamental cause of the faltering, stop-go economic recovery in the U.S. since 2009—is the long term and continuing growth of income inequality in America.¶ Income inequality in the US is not only growing, but growing at an accelerating rate. What follows is a detailed accounting of the dimensions of the growing income inequality in the US, and some of the more important reasons for that continuing, and now accelerating, income shift. Growing income inequality—approaching now obscene levels—is not simply a ‘moral outrage’. It not only represents a gross violation of historically held American values or reasonable equality for all. It is a condition that has served, and continues to serve, as a major cause of the lack of sustained economic recovery in the US now for five years—as well as a major factor in explaining why the US continues today to drift toward another ‘double dip’ recession.

#### Strong unions solve the economy- multiplier effect, wages, public services

Weingarten, 16 -- American Federation of Teachers president

[Randi, "What a strong labor movement has done — and can do again," The Hill, 9-5-16, thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/labor/294363-what-a-strong-labor-movement-has-done-and-can-do-again, accessed 4-15-18]

Conversely, robust unions help everyone – not just members, and a growing body of research demonstrates that. There’s a multiplier effect. Unions lift up communities, strengthen the economy and deepen our democracy. Last week, the Economic Policy Institute released a study showing that when union membership falls, wages fall for everyone. If unions were as strong today as in 1979, non-union men with a high-school diploma would earn an average of $3,016 more a year. And the Center for American Progress finds that kids who live in communities where unions are strong have a better chance to get ahead. You see it in our advocacy as well. When the Great Recession devastated the construction sector and put millions of Americans out of work, the American labor movement came together with the goal of raising $10 billion to repair the nation’s crumbling infrastructure. Five years later, our pension funds reallocated $16 billion for infrastructure investments putting 100,000 rehabilitating NYC's LaGuardia Airport—turning it into a travel hub befitting a great modern city. For those in unions, the advantage is even clearer. Collective bargaining leads to higher wages, economic growth, equality under the law, better public services and a strong public education system—all essential to leveling the playing field for working families. Workers in unions earn, on average, 27 percent more than non-union counterparts. The National Women’s Law Center has found unions close the pay gap for women, and the Center for Economic Policy Research finds black workers see outsized gains from union representation. It’s a powerful reminder of the link between organized labor and economic success. In the classroom, unions are critical partners in giving kids the chance to succeed. A 2016 study from National Bureau of Economic Research finds where teachers’ unions are strong, districts have a better track record of building the quality of our teaching force- keeping stronger teachers and dismissing those who are not making the grade. Unions fight for the tools, time and trust that educators need to tailor instruction to the needs of our children, to help them dream and achieve their dreams.

## HEALTHCARE

### Healthcare 1AR

#### Staffing shortages thump the DA- strikes are key to solve

Hwang, 21 -- CalMatters healthcare reporter

[Kristen Hwang, "Hospitals brace for strikes as California workers protest staff shortages," CalMatters, 10-14-2021, https://calmatters.org/health/coronavirus/2021/10/california-hospital-strikes/, accessed 10-16-2021]

This week, nearly a third of all California hospitals reported “critical staffing shortages” to the federal government, with more predicting shortages in the coming week. Hospitals are unable to meet the state’s required staff-to-patient ratios for nurses or schedule adequate numbers of other critical personnel.

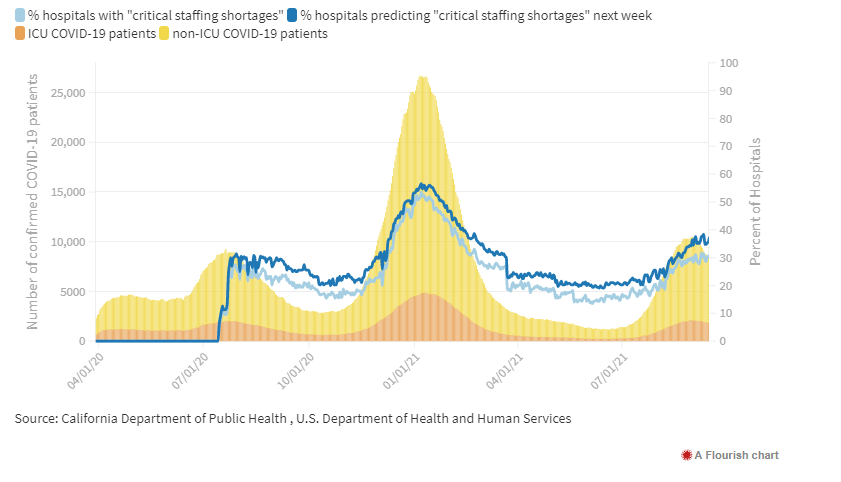
In the Central Valley, the region hit hardest by the Delta surge, National Guard medics have been deployed since September to assist area hospitals.

The reason for the shortages? Record patient volumes at the same time that many workers have been driven away from the bedside by burnout, early retirement and the seemingly unending stress of the pandemic.

Critical staffing shortages at California hospitals

Nearly one-third of state hospitals report severe staffing shortages

As COVID-19 hospitalizations surge, so do the number of hospitals reporting "critical staffing shortages." This graph shows the percent of hospitals struggling to find enough workers—including nurses, physical therapists, technicians, and janitors—compared to the daily number of hospitalized COVID-19 patients.



SEIU-United Healthcare Workers West estimates that about 10% of its members — close to 10,000 people — have retired, left the profession, or taken extended leaves of absence during the pandemic.

“What’s really important is that 10% doesn’t turn into 15%, does not turn into 20%. There’s not enough temporary staff out there to fix what’s going on,” said Dave Regan, president of SEIU-UHW.

The shortages are an untenable scenario, unions say — one that has persisted for many years brought to a boiling point by the pandemic.

Since the pandemic began, union grievances with hospitals are increasingly about inadequate staffing, although bargaining over pay remains a key issue.

Money matters when it comes to holding onto workers, they say, especially because temporary staff brought on for pandemic response often make more than regular employees. In some instances, traveling nurses have been paid $10,000 per week at California hospitals with severe staffing needs.

“You’re paying exorbitant amounts for travelers while the existing workforce makes exactly the same amount (as before the pandemic),” Regan said.

Striking to “stop the bleeding”

Early in the pandemic, Gov. Gavin Newsom announced efforts to expand the health care workforce through a volunteer health corps. Although tens of thousands signed up, most people didn’t have the necessary medical skills, and only 14 volunteers worked out.

The California Department of Public Health also signed a $500 million contract to help hospitals pay for emergency health care workers like traveling nurses. That contract expired in June.

Unions say those efforts are a Band-aid on a larger problem. Instead, they say policymakers should get hospitals to try harder to retain their current employees.

“Right now, hospitals, the health industry, the state of California, you need to do a lot more so that it doesn’t get worse,” Regan said. “We’re doing very little as a state to support this workforce that has been under a really unique set of pressures.”

In an early attempt to stop the churn, SEIU-UHW sponsored a bill that would have provided hazard pay retention bonuses to health workers. Opposed by the hospital association. the bill stalled before it was voted upon by the Assembly and did not make it to the Senate.

Assemblymember Al Muratsuchi, a Democrat from Torrance who introduced the bill, said the hospitals’ claims that they couldn’t afford hazard pay were unfounded since they received billions in federal pandemic funds, some “specifically earmarked for hazard pay and bonuses for frontline workers.”

“The state made a decision that they were not going to provide financial incentives to recognize and retain healthcare workers, and we think that’s shortsighted,” Regan said.

Over the summer, hundreds of nurses at hospitals, including USC’s Keck Medicine, San Francisco’s Chinese Hospital and Riverside Community Hospital, staged strikes over inadequate staffing and safety concerns.

Now more than 700 hospital engineers employed by Kaiser Permanente facilities in Northern California have been striking for four weeks, demanding higher wages.

In Antioch, more than 350 workers at Sutter Delta ended a week-long strike over inadequate staffing Friday but have yet to reach a contract agreement with their employer.

In the Victor Valley and Roseville, hundreds of workers staged recent rallies and vigils to highlight what they’re calling a “worker crisis.” Advocates say their upcoming schedules are packed with pickets planned in solidarity with other unions.

And perhaps the strongest flexing of union muscle has come in Southern California, where members of the United Nurses Associations of California/Union of Health Care Professionals, or UNAC/UHCP, voted overwhelmingly to approve a strike against Kaiser Permanente if negotiations remain at a standstill. Should a strike materialize in the coming weeks, more than 24,000 members would walk out of the health care giant’s medical centers and clinics in more than a dozen cities.

Although the dollars and cents of bargaining vary from union to union, the common thread is clear: They want employers to “stop the bleeding” of health care workers fleeing the profession and invest more in recruiting and retaining staff.

The union found 72% of its members — which includes nurses, occupational and physical therapists, midwives and other medical staff — were struggling with anxiety and burnout, and between 42-45% reported depression and insomnia. About 74% said staffing was a primary concern.

How hospitals are responding to shortages

Hospitals say it is not as easy as hiring more employees. With so many people leaving the workforce, there aren’t enough candidates to fill the gap. Even support staff like janitors, cafeteria workers, clerks and assistants are in short supply.

“There is no question there is a shortage of health care workforce. We have far fewer people in the workforce today than we did when the pandemic started,” said Jan Emerson-Shea, spokesperson for the California Hospital Association.

Many hospitals have offered employees shift bonuses, child care subsidies and temporary housing to keep them from spreading the virus to family members while keeping them at patients’ bedside. But it hasn’t been enough.

“I don’t know that it’s anybody’s first choice, but we are in a situation where we have to rely on the travelers (traveling nurses),” Emerson-Shea said. “Hospitals would much rather have their permanent staff, but in this situation, with as long as it has been and the workforce dynamics so complex, we need both.”

The state hospital association has asked state Health and Human Services Secretary Dr. Mark Ghaly to assist hospitals with workforce concerns in part by reinstating funding for traveling workers and making it easier for hospitals to get exemptions from the state’s strict nurse-to-patient ratios. In a written response, Ghaly said the state would continue helping designated surge hospitals pay for extra staff and was working to expedite nursing ratio waivers for heavily impacted regions.

“There’s no resolution yet, but the conversations are occurring, which is important because we are not through the pandemic,” Emerson-Shea said.

Like many industries, hospitals rely on historic averages to predict the need for employees. The average number of patients in a given time period determines how many employees will be scheduled each day. The problem, workers say, is that using the average means frequently they are working with minimal staff.

“There needs to be a massive paradigm shift of how hospitals treat clinicians, and that’s less just-in-time staffing and less just-in-time supplies,” said Gerard Brogan, director of nursing practice at the California Nurses Association and National Nurses United.

Peter Sidhu, a former intensive care nurse at the Kaiser Woodland Hills Medical Center, said the union has filed staffing grievances each year for the past seven years. During the pandemic, the strain has gotten worse. Woodland Hills Medical Center is one of the facilities that may be affected by a strike.

“Between the first surge and second surge, we had several months where there was zero planning. There were no new grad programs, there was no new hiring,” Sidhu said.

“So going into that second surge, which was really bad here in California, we knew we were in trouble,” Sidhu said. With adequate staffing prior to the pandemic and efforts to increase staff levels in between surges, workers would not have burned out so rapidly, he contends.

Bargaining over salaries and benefits between Kaiser and Alliance of Health Care Unions, which includes the Southern California group UNAC/UHCP, stalled at the end of September after five months. The strike authorization is the first of its kind for UNAC/UHCP in the past 26 years, and members say long-standing staffing issues and burnout contributed to employee dissatisfaction.

“The vote to authorize a strike by union members is disappointing, especially because our members and communities are continuing to face the challenges of the ongoing pandemic,” Arlene Peasnall, Kaiser’s senior vice president of human resources, said in a statement. “In the event of any kind of work stoppage, our facilities will be staffed by our physicians along with trained and experienced managers and contingency staff.”

‘Burnout can only be getting worse’

In a recent study by the UC San Francisco Health Workforce Research Center on Long-Term Care, the number of nurses aged 55 to 64 planning on quitting or retiring in the next two years jumped nearly 14% between 2018 and 2020, setting up the field for a five-year shortage.

Joanne Spetz, the center’s associate director of research and lead study author, said new graduates before the pandemic sometimes struggled to find employment while employers frequently complained about not being able to find enough experienced nurses to hire. But the overall number of nurses in the workforce was enough then.

Now, with nurses reducing their hours or quitting, the state is in a more tenuous position. About 7% fewer nurses reported working full-time in 2020 compared to 2018, and sharp declines in employment were seen among nurses 55 years and older, according to the study.

“We’re looking at having a shortage in the short term,” she said. “The wild card is, with the pandemic lasting this long, burnout can only be getting worse. What if we have a bunch of 30 to 35 year-old nurses who say ‘screw this,’ then we’re losing a lot of years of working life from these nurses.”

Sidhu is one of those experienced nurses who found himself reeling from the dual forces of COVID-19’s brutal emotional toll and short staffing.

He had volunteered to work with the first COVID-19 patient that arrived at his ICU in March 2020. That first patient quickly turned into dozens each day, with many dying.

“One day you walk in and your unit is full, and two days later you walk in and a large portion of those patients have passed away. You’re double-stacking body bags,” Sidhu said.

He struggled with anxiety, anger and insomnia before his shifts, knowing there would be more patients than nurses could care for, and that they would have no time for breaks. He said he was told that under the state’s temporary emergency waiver of nurse-to-patient ratios he would have to take on more patients.

A year into the pandemic, Sidhu called it quits and now works as the union’s treasurer. Of the eight members in his original ICU nursing team, only two remain working, he said.

“I’m 42, and I was planning on working at the bedside until I turn 60,” Sidhu said. “And then after COVID, I said ‘I am done.’ I was super-done.”

#### Doctors strike because patients need them to- the link turn outweighs the link

Chima, 13 -- University of Kwazulu-Natal public health professor

[Sylvester, Programme of Bio & Research Ethics and Medical Law head, former Professor of Pathology and Medical Law at the International American Medical University, "Global medicine: Is it ethical or morally justifiable for doctors and other healthcare workers to go on strike?," BMC Medical Ethics, 12-19-2013, https://bmcmedethics.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5, accessed 10-16-2021]

The quest for improved healthcare for delivery for all

It must be recognized that doctors and HCWs are ethically obliged to provide the best possible care for their patients. The Hippocratic Oath to which doctors are required to adhere carries injunction: "the health of my patient will be my first consideration" [61]. Therefore in the circumstances where the health of the patient is threatened; for example where there is a failure to provide adequate drugs or proper facilities for patient care. Doctors may feel ethically and morally obliged to intervene on behalf of their patients and this intervention may ultimately result in a strike action or withdrawal of services, in an effort to improve conditions for patient care [7, 12, 20, 22, 27, 28]. One can argue that the resulting improvement in overall quality of healthcare services when negotiated changes are implemented mitigates any immediate harm of strike actions [2]. Therefore indirectly, strike actions by HCWs may ultimately result in better healthcare for patients and the public in general.

#### Right to strike solves without actual strikes- labor wins before any costs

Bradbury, 14 -- Labor Notes editor

[Alexandra, "The Logic of Short Hospital Strikes," Labor Notes, 12-8-2014, https://labornotes.org/2014/12/logic-short-hospital-strikes, accessed 10-16-2021]

First, let’s talk about the money. Even a one-day strike costs the employer. That’s part of what makes it work as a pressure tactic, though it’s not the whole picture.

Health care workers are expensive to replace. Many jobs require certification or licenses, so finding enough qualified scabs means bringing people from out of town, maybe even out of state.

Hospitals commonly contract with agencies to recruit and supply replacement workers. When you add up the hourly rate scabs get, the agency’s cut, and travel and hotel expenses, this day is going to cost the employer a lot more than a regular day.

On top of these expenses there’s loss of revenue. Doctors don’t want to work with scabs, and they’ll often postpone non-urgent procedures. In a recent three-day strike at Oregon’s McKenzie-Willamette Medical Center, “all the doctors except for one canceled all their surgeries,” said Service Employees Local 49 Political Director Felisa Hagins.

Hospitals also sometimes transfer away what patients they can—even as they publicly claim everything’s fine. They want to minimize the risks while the hospital is full of newbies. That means lost revenue, too.

So, to avoid the strike’s big price tag, the employer may blink and settle. There’s typically a forced decision point a few days after you give your 10-day notice, when the scab agency requires a commitment, said Bill Cruice, executive director of the Pennsylvania Association of Staff Nurses and Allied Professionals.

In his experience, “that’s the most common way it plays out,” Cruice said. “Settlement occurs between when you give the notice and day six, when they have to write a check to the scab agency.”

#### Multiple checks on strikes damaging healthcare- empirics prove- meta-studies, guaranteed provision of emergency care, doctors strike in name only- don’t actually withhold services, senior doctors replace junior staff, cancelling elective surgeries opens space for more urgent operations, doctors better rested

Metcalfe, 15 -- University of Oxford Clinical Lecturer and Specialty Registrar in Emergency Medicine

[David, and Ritham Chowdury, Harvard University research associate; and Ali Salim, Embu University College surgery professor, "What are the consequences when doctors strike?," BMJ Clinical Research, November 2015, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284729449\_What\_are\_the\_consequences\_when\_doctors\_strike, accessed 10-16-2021]

A recent systematic review reported mortality data from five doctor strikes, all of which saw patient mortality remain the same or fall during industrial action (tabled).15 Two further studies have been published since that review.1617 In 1976, between 25% and 50% of physicians in Los Angeles County, California withheld care for all but emergency cases over five weeks. Three studies used a range of approaches to examine the consequences of this strike, and all found that mortality fell during the strike period.18'20 In 1983, 73% of doctors in Jerusalem refused to treat patients inside hospitals over a salary dispute. During this four month action, emergency departments were staffed as on weekends and many doctors provided care for ambulatory patients in tents outside hospitals for a fee. A subsequent analysis of death certificates found no excess mortality during the strike.21 A second action in Jerusalem, in 2000, led to the cancellation of all elective hospital admissions. There were fewer funerals held in Jerusalem during these three months than during the same period in the preceding year.23

Junior doctors in Spain went on strike for nine non-consecutive days in 1999. A study from one emergency department (in which all resident doctors ceased treating patients) reported no mortality difference between strike and non-strike periods.22 National mortality data have been studied for only two countrywide doctor strikes.17 24 In 2003, most doctors in Croatia went on strike for four weeks, during which they provided only emergency care and at the level usually available at weekends. A study that analysed both total and cause specific mortality found no significant association between the industrial action and patient deaths.24

In 2012, the BMA organised a single “day of action’' as a response to government pension reforms. The aim was to boycott non-urgent care but many doctors continued working as normal; the government estimated that only 8% of the medical workforce participated.25 There were fewer in-hospital deaths on this day, both among elective and emergency populations, although neither difference was significant.17

The only report of increased mortality associated with strike action comes from South Africa. In 2010, all the doctors in one province ceased to provide any treatment to their patients for 20 consecutive days. Only one hospital continued to provide services during this period to an estimated population of 5.5 million people. Although their data are poorly reported, authors from this hospital found that the number of emergency admissions fell during the strike period but that the odds of death for these patients increased by 67%.16 This may be because patients delayed seeking treatment and so were more likely to present in extremis during the strike.

Why don’t patient deaths increase during doctor strikes?

Many explanations have been proposed for why doctor strikes in high income countries have not been found to increase patient mortality. Importantly, all such strikes guaranteed provision of emergency care, at least at the level usually available at weekends. In addition, many were incomplete, with physicians declaring a strike but continuing to provide routine services to patients. This was most apparent during the 2012 UK strike when it was sometimes difficult to determine which doctors were actually taking action.17 Similarly, during the 1983 Jerusalem strike, the provision of care to ambulatory patients may have permitted hospitals to focus on treating the most urgent cases. It was also suggested that many Israeli doctors continued responding to emergencies within hospitals even though they were officially striking.26

Emergency care may even improve during industrial action. For example, during the 1999 strike in Spain, junior doctors in the emergency department were replaced by more senior physicians.22 The cancellation of elective admissions may also increase the number of doctors available to treat emergency patients. This phenomenon was noted after the 1983 strike in Jerusalem, even though medical staffing levels had fallen to 30% of the usual workforce.21

It is likely that temporary reductions in mortality are related to the cancellation of elective surgery.5 615 Death rates increased immediately after the LA County strike, which was attributed to hospitals resuming elective operations.19 20 Other possibilities are that doctors are better rested during strike periods and that the number of staff required to avert patient deaths is comparatively low.21

### 1AR: AT Disease !

#### No disease extinction

**Ord ’20** [Toby Ord is a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Oxford's Future of Humanity Institute, where his work is focused on existential risk, holds a D.Phil. in philosophy from the same university, interview conducted by James Pethokoukis, editor of AEIdeas, “Is humanity prepared to handle catastrophic threats? My long-read Q&A with Toby Ord,” 7-6-20, https://www.aei.org/economics/is-humanity-prepared-to-handle-catastrophic-threats-my-long-read-qa-with-toby-ord/]

But even then, that shows how serious natural pandemics can be, but it is still difficult for the natural ones to do us in, as partly seen by the fact that we have survived 2000 centuries. And in fact, most species survive for something like a million years, despite the risk of being wiped out by pandemics. But look at the rate of improvement in biotechnologies and the things that we’re now able to do. And look at the rate of democratization of biotechnology. So the gap in time between the world’s best scientists hitting and developing a major new technique, such as gene drives or CRISPR, and then it being used by undergraduate students to win science competitions, is about two years.

### HCW Strikes Work

#### Healthcare strikes work- healthcare companies are image-conscious

Bradbury, 14 -- Labor Notes editor

[Alexandra, "The Logic of Short Hospital Strikes," Labor Notes, 12-8-2014, https://labornotes.org/2014/12/logic-short-hospital-strikes, accessed 10-16-2021]

But that doesn’t mean the company is untouchable. “Striking is effective at Kaiser not because of the money, but because of the ability to move public perception,” Gill said. “Kaiser cares about membership enrolled.”

IMAGE-CONSCIOUS

That’s something health care companies have in common, nonprofits especially: they’re image-conscious. A strike is one of the strongest ways to get your message out to the public.

“If you have a rally or a picket, sometimes the media attention is spotty,” said Colleen Fewer, a Local 5 organizer, “but workers on strike, people pay attention.”

“Inevitably when there’s a strike, the attention focuses on executives… They generally are loathe to have that light shined on them,” Cruice said. “You find out the CEO of my local hospital is making literally $1.7 million a year—what’s going on there? That doesn’t seem right.”

And in an industry where determined caregivers are always battling management over short staffing, “strikes allow us to bring great public attention to the problem,” said Sal Rosselli, president of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW).

He can’t remember a single health care strike that didn’t have the staffing issue at its center.

“It’s a different kind of worker. Almost all go into this work to care for patients,” Rosselli said. “Organized health care workers really are the last line of defense to employers thinking about the bottom line instead of quality care.”

## WILDCAT STRIKES

### AT Wildcat Strikes Bad

#### Wildcat strikes are crucial to real change- West Virginia teacher and Virginia coal miner strikes prove

Weber, 18 -- written for Upworthy, Liberals Unite, Big Think, and Good.Is magazine, mostly on economics, labor union history, and working people. He was author of Class War, USA: Dispatches from Workers’ Struggles in American History, from Haymarket Books

[Brandon Weber, "When Workers Say ‘No!’: A Whirlwind Tour of Wildcat Strikes," Progressive.org, 8-31-18, https://progressive.org/latest/when-workers-say-no180831/, accessed 11-5-21]

After the National Labor Relations Act became law in 1935, working people lost control over one very powerful and effective tool to protect their rights—striking. The act was put in place to encourage collective bargaining, avoid “industrial strife” and “promote the flow of commerce.” Striking became illegal as long as an employer contract was in place. In exchange, workers were granted the right to join a union and to use it to adjudicate any grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

Workers could still go on strike, but only after an official strike vote from the respective union involved—and even then, only at contract termination. Union members could no longer walk off the job in protest without risking being fired. The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act and the Labor Management Disclosure and Reporting Act of 1959 went even further; the former required a sixty-day official notice of an impending strike, and the latter determined that if the union supported the strike of another union (“secondary strike”), it could be held liable for damages. And strikes by public employees are generally illegal because their services are deemed critical to the functioning of the government.

These restrictions on when and how workers can strike may bar them from influencing any real change—that’s where “wildcat strikes” come in. Union members throw the rules right out the window during a wildcat strike, walking off the job and and protesting without the permission of their respective union. They are highly illegal, yet can be highly effective.

Teachers and school support staff in West Virginia who struck in February and March were supposed to return to work after union leaders negotiated a solution five days into the protest. But the union members were not happy with the contract their leaders negotiated, which gave school staff a pay increase but only gave a nod to their health insurance frustrations by sticking a task force on the issue. Strikers stayed out of the schools for another four days until the state yielded and offered a 5 percent pay increase and some solid language that meant a hold on increasing healthcare costs.

During a 1989 wildcat strike in Virginia, hundreds of coal miners formed roadblocks intended to slow their companies’ shipment rates. The unions involved were fined millions of dollars, and more than 2,000 members were thrown in jail as a consequence. (Three union leaders were sent to jail as well, the court deciding that the leadership had actually supported the wildcat strikers behind the scenes.)

Right-to-work laws in many states, and the shrinking of union power, means we may see a lot more of these wildcat strikes in the future. Looking back at past wildcat strikes provides a sense of the context out of which wildcat strikes happen, their role in the fight for workers rights, as well as the serious consequences for businesses, unions, and individuals who lost their lives. Here are stories of some of the more famous and effective wildcat strikes in the last fifty years in the United States.

The Memphis Sanitation Workers

The Memphis Sanitation Workers’ strike in April 1968 ignited after two sanitation workers, Echol Cole and Robert Walker, were crushed to death by a malfunctioning truck. The tragedy occurred after workers had complained about many challenges they faced on the job, including similar safety issues, no overtime pay, working for such low wages that many had to get food stamps, no paid sick leave, and blatant racism by the city and mayor.

The strikers had the support of many in the civil rights and religious communities, as well as white high school and college students. Martin Luther King Jr. traveled to Memphis to support the strikers, and on March 18, a few weeks before he was assassinated, stated, “You are reminding not only Memphis, but you are reminding the nation that it is a crime for people to live in this rich nation and receive starvation wages.”

The mayor of Memphis, Henry Loeb III, refused to recognize the union or the strike from the start, saying, “Public employees cannot strike against your employer.”

With Loeb’s authority given, militarized police attacked the crowds; one sixteen-year-old African American man, Larry Payne, was killed, after a police officer accused him of looting during the protests. Payne was actually waiting for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to arrive in Memphis to speak when the looting occured. Loeb called for 4,000 National Guard troops and declared martial law soon after. Yet more than 200 sanitation workers refused to back down, and walked the pickets, beginning the “I Am a Man” marches, demanding the same dignity and courtesy as any other Memphis resident.

It was at this point that President Lyndon B. Johnson decided to get involved, and ordered his Undersecretary of Labor, James Reynolds, to try to negotiate a settlement.

Meanwhile, just four days after King’s death in Memphis, his wife Coretta Scott King returned to the city for a remembrance of her husband by continuing his efforts in support of the members of AFSCME Local 1733. Some 42,000 people rallied at that event. Nearly a week after Mrs. King’s march, it was over; the union was recognized and the city promised to raise the wages of black sanitation workers.

The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM)

African American members of the United Auto Workers formed the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) at the Chrysler Corporation Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, Michigan near Detroit in May of 1968. This action took place with the backdrop of the previous summer’s unrest in the city, in which black residents rebelled against poor housing conditions and police brutality.

The Dodge Main plant was made up of more than 60 percent African American workers, yet the leadership of United Auto Workers Local 3, plant management, and lower-level supervision was all white — specifically, Polish Americans, largely descendants of immigrants.

Indeed, the focus of DRUM, was to seek concessions from Chrysler management, but also the union itself. While the union had supported the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not quick to allow African Americans into leadership roles.

In direct response to a 40 percent increase in assembly line speed and tensions exacerbated by management and union intransigence, on July 8, 1968, DRUM led a wildcat strike; it involved nearly 4,000 members lasted nearly three days, preventing production of about 3,000 cars.

It caught fire in other plants around Detroit: there was soon a Ford Revolutionary Union Movement at the massive Ford River Rouge Plant, and a similar movement at the Chrysler Eldon Ridge plant, Eldon Ridge Revolutionary Union Movement, which was partially motivated by a worker being accidentally crushed by a box.

While they didn’t achieve many of their initial goals of racial equality right away, the strikes did eventually create change. All of the nascent movements coalesced into the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the early 1970s aimed at making changes in the world of the Detroit-area African American working class. Its constitution read:

“We must act swiftly to help organize DRUM type organizations wherever there are Black workers, be it in Lynn Townsend's kitchen, the White House, White Castle, Ford Rouge, the Mississippi Delta, the plains of Wyoming, the mines of Bolivia, the rubber plantations of Indonesia, the oil fields of Biafra, or the Chrysler plant in South Africa.”

Some philosophical differences in focus and organizing models led to the League’s eventual dissolution, but it remains a hallmark for addressing the needs of a critical population of underrepresented workers.

The Postal Workers’ Strike of 1970

In 1970, U.S. postal workers suddenly walked off the job—catching the country, the union, and President Nixon by surprise. Congress had voted to give postal workers a 4 percent wage increase, while it gave itself a 41 percent raise. Working conditions at postal centers were abysmal, with workers prohibited from negotiating for pay raises, unable to work overtime, and often needing to find a second job.

The wildcat strike at the U.S. Postal Service began on March 17, 1970, when workers at National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 36 in Manhattan, New York voted to strike against the recommendations of their union leadership.

Over 210,000 workers eventually walked of the job in all parts of the postal service, from the letter carriers to office clerks, demonstrating how the frustrations of regular work life could result in a form of solidarity rarely seen between low wage and other workers.

As the mail system ground to a halt—at a time when everyday needs like the news, bills, and communication depended on the mail—President Nixon immediately went on national television to try to get them back to work. His words, and especially his implied threat to use military forces to deliver mail, only enraged more postal workers, and 671 more locations walked out across the country in response.

The strike not only paralyzed the mail system, but also affected the stock market, which suffered losses as the strike wore on—some even predicted the closure of the stock market entirely if it lasted very long.

On March 23, as post offices went idle in Los Angeles, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other places across the country, Nixon spoke on television once again, this time stating that military troops would fill in for postal workers.

This was accompanied by a proclamation from Nixon known as Proclamation 3972 declaring a national emergency.

Nixon did, indeed, send in National Guard service members to perform basic mail services in seventeen New York post offices, while at the same time negotiating with the wildcat strikers.

After eight days, the strike was over. Not one postal worker lost a job. And very soon, the National Postal Reorganization Act became law, which renamed the entity the U. S. Postal Service and provided collective bargaining rights to the four major postal unions (National Association of Letter Carriers, American Postal Workers Union, National Postal Mail Handlers Union, and the National Rural Letter Carriers Union), including the right to negotiate on wages, benefits, and working conditions.

They had no such rights before the strike began.

The West Virginia Teachers and Support Workers’ Strike of 2018

The teachers’ strikes of 2018 represented a change in the traditional methods of striking, and it was led by West Virginia.

After about five days on strike calling for workplace improvements, a wage increase, lower out-of-pocket costs for health insurance, and maintaining their seniority, the West Virginia teachers and school support workers were presented with a “final offer” by the leadership of the unions involved, negotiated secretly with the state legislature and other government officials. It was an inadequate 4 percent wage increase that didn’t address skyrocketing health insurance costs in the state-run Public Employees Insurance Agency.

Teachers and other school support staff stayed on strike because the requests they made for higher wages and lower healthcare costs weren’t adequately met. The rank-and-file that had formed the basis of the strike unified, county-by-county, in declaring that schools would be closed until they were part of the process and until their demands were met.

It was a risky but necessary move. Teachers and school support workers in Arizona and Kentucky followed suit; both were wildcat strikes and resulted in specific gains in working conditions for teachers and support staff.

It’s looking increasingly likely that teachers and school support workers in states like North Carolina and Florida will strike this fall, some facing the same pushback from government and union leaders that West Virginia teachers and school support workers faced.

Other states may follow. Beyond strikes, in every state that has seen teachers and support workers walk out in 2018, folks are now realizing that their political power has ramifications far beyond schools; some educators are running for office, and others are campaigning for candidates who support public education, knocking out those who oppose it.

When workers have had enough, one of our last remaining tools is to withhold labor via strike, whether “officially” sanctioned or not, and sometimes in spite of established law. Without our labor, after all, the ruling class cannot reap their massive profits.

And without those profits, the machine grinds to a halt.

#### Wildcat strikes lead to overwhelming labor gains- empirics prove

Ovetz, 14 -- Lecturer in Political Science at San Jose State University

[Robert Ovetz, "Review: How Wildcat Strikes Made Public Worker Unions Grow and Thrive," Labor Notes, 11-12-14, https://labornotes.org/blogs/2014/11/review-how-wildcat-strikes-made-public-worker-unions-grow-and-thrive, accessed 11-5-21]

Joe Burns’ latest book examines the little-known wave of wildcat strikes that swept the U.S. (and the world) during the 1960 and ’70s, reshaping the labor movement.

In his previous book, Reviving the Strike, Burns, a former AFSCME negotiator and labor lawyer, made an argument that unions ignore at our peril: we won’t recover our power until we challenge unjust labor laws, abandon unconditional support for the Democrats, and embrace self-organization and the strike.

His extremely accessible new book, Strike Back, shows how unionists did exactly that, right here and not so long ago. From the mid-1950s to the mid-’70s, the number of public workers who belonged to unions grew tenfold, reaching 40 percent of all U.S. public employees.

It was small groups of militant workers who made this explosive growth possible—by defying the law and their union leaders (if they even had a union) to go out on unsanctioned strikes.

THEY JOINED IN DROVES

The changes were quite dramatic. For example, Burns reports, in just over a decade teacher unions went “from a negligible part of the labor movement to among its largest and most powerful organizations.” By the ’70s about 70 percent of all teachers were unionized.

The book is loaded with compelling histories, from the most unlikely places and workplaces. Teachers in Utah and New York, sanitation workers in Memphis, and police in New Orleans and Philadelphia not only risked losing their jobs. They also risked being imprisoned for ignoring court injunctions to return to work, and being banned from ever working in their fields again.

Workers who struck in one agency or department—Florida teachers, for instance—would spark the imaginations of others across their state and the country. After laying the groundwork over years of minority-union organizing, an ungovernable force of workers would flash out and shut down a city: Oklahoma City, for instance.

It was this wave of wildcat strikes—not lobbying or campaign donations—that won for public workers the fruits we’re trying to hold onto today: collective bargaining, living wages, benefits, pensions, workplace grievance process, dues check-off, service fees for non-members, and binding arbitrations.

The take-home lesson is straightforward, persuasive, and impossible to ignore. “It is not conceivable that the labor movement will be revived in any meaningful way,” Burns writes, “without workers violating labor law, as their counterparts half a century ago did.”

STRIKES GOT THE GOODS

Beginning in local workplace committees with a handful of members, often without union representation or a contract, public workers organized around the problems and threats facing their co-workers.

Some developed new tactics to force local, state, and federal governments to respond with either the carrot or the stick, such as during the high profile 1960s New York City teachers’ strikes.

Once they’d built enough support both inside and outside their workplaces, even unsympathetic elected officials would be forced to respond with conciliation, rather than arrests or firings.

Recounting the meteoric rise of PATCO, the air traffic controllers union, Burns concludes that “it was power, not membership numbers, that initially made these unions attractive to other workers, and allowed them to eventually grow into large, national organizations.”

Once they’d proved their mettle, these activists would run for union office. Burns tells how militant members changed the direction of many conservative, Democratic Party-allied unions. One example is the Chicago Teachers Union, which held frequent strikes until the 1980s.

BAD LAWS NO EXCUSE

Burns articulates the analogy between those days and today so succinctly and simply that it’s a wonder few have done so before.

Before the strike wave, the 1960s looked bleak. Public workers faced bans on collective bargaining and striking. They either had conservative union leaders or no unions at all.

As labor arbitrator Arnold Zach put it, the vast gains came about because “the power to strike was of far greater importance than the right to strike.”

So rather than be cowed by the repressive legal environment workers now face, Burns argues, we need to confront it head on, to force a crisis.

We should start by carefully studying the new composition of employer power to identify our strongest allies and employers’ weakest links, in order to devise new tactics and organizational forms.

And we must draw more co-workers into our efforts by starting with small fights, winning victories, and escalating to embrace strikes. The goal is not merely to fight back, but to shift the balance of power.

OVERLOOKED HISTORY

While Burns occasionally refers to the 1930s, he overlooks another analogous period. From the 1880s to 1910s, workers engaged in similarly widespread self-organizing—confronting their own craft unions, the giant industrial trusts, and judicial, police, and military forces.

Their spasmodic eruptions created enough disruption to provoke what today we call the Populist and Progressive Eras. That’s when we got the reforms that banned child labor, created early minimum wages and pensions, temporarily legalized private sector unions and collective bargaining in the midst of World War I, improved public health, and created universal public education and libraries.

None of these reforms would have happened if not for the radical farmers, immigrant anarchists, and socialists who injected their strategies and ideas into the AFL and the Industrial Workers of the World, both of which struck key war industries during WWI.

The IWW eschewed contracts in favor of constant workplace organizing. That’s a lesson the book’s wildcat organizers clearly learned, though Burns doesn’t say so.

Overlooking this earlier period illustrates the book’s limited theoretical depth. Burns takes the position that changes in the organization of production, and employers’ attacks on workers’ gains and power, sparked new waves of militancy. For example, the introduction and expansion of Taylorism and the assembly line provoked the sit-down strikes of the 1930s.

But the truth is, it was the other way around. In the so-called Progressive Era, as Bruno Ramirez illustrated in When Workers Fight, and in the Great Depression, as Martin Glaberman showed in “Union Committeemen and Wildcat Strikes,” employers responded to skilled workers’ control over the labor process by deskilling and rationalizing their work, and to unskilled workers’ self-organizing by accepting temporary collective bargaining with the craft unions. The point was to divide and conquer.

This restored peace to the shop floor and raised productivity, in exchange for higher wages, from the 1920s until the next wave in the early ’30s. In effect, collective bargaining and contracts weren’t forced on employers. Business embraced the legalized union as a tool for disciplining defiant workers.

It’s no wonder that some of the greatest periods of economic expansion followed the Progressive and especially the New Deal reforms, which sought to rein in working-class militancy and coopt unions into promoting profits.

RISKS REQUIRED

Despite these limitations, Burns’ book is an irresistible guide to tipping the balance back in our favor. It should spark debate everywhere.

Clinging to our rapidly shrinking spheres of power, the labor movement tends to fall back on limited issues of wages and hours, ignoring the broader possibilities of what Burns calls social unionism, in which workers address how our work affects those we serve. A reinvigorated workers’ movement could take us a long way toward solving our most pressing problems: environmental collapse, growing wealth and power gaps, and endless war.

The first step is to solve the problem of eroding union power—and that requires taking risks.

# COUNTERPLAN ANSWERS

## PICS CORE

### PICs 1AR

#### 1. Perm do both.

#### 2. Perm do the counterplan.

#### “Unconditional” is treated by courts as decorative language and ignored- doesn’t require certainty

**Adams, 18** – chief content officer of LegalSifter Inc, and a leading authority on contract drafting

[Ken Adams, author of *A Manual of Style for Contract Drafting*, the flagship magazine of the American Bar Association named Ken one of 50 leading innovators in the legal profession, The Legal Writing Institute awarded Ken the Golden Pen Award for 2014, "Absolutely, Unconditionally, and Irrevocably Guarantees," Adams on Contract Drafting, 8-24-8, https://www.adamsdrafting.com/absolutely-unconditionally-and-irrevocably-guarantees/, accessed 10-2-2021]

“Absolutely, Unconditionally, and Irrevocably Guarantees”

In guarantees for payment of debt, the key language of performance—hereby guarantees—is usually supplemented with one or more of the following adverbs: absolutely, unconditionally, and irrevocably. I recommend you omit all three.

I suspect that many who work with guarantees would find that a shocking notion. But to insist on retaining some combination of the three adverbs is to misunderstand the nature of contract language. Absolutely, unconditionally, and irrevocably are **unclear**, they’re unnecessary, and whatever meaning they convey **won’t prevail** over explicit deal terms, so you’re better off stating the deal terms explicitly instead of relying on jargon.

Allow me to explain:

Absolute Guarantee—Meaning

First let’s consider what it means to say that a guarantee is absolute—that’s what use of absolutely with hereby guarantees seeks to accomplish.

Here’s what Restatement (Third) of Suretyship & Guaranty § 8 (1996) says:

An offer to become a secondary obligor [i.e., a guarantor] commonly invites the offeree to accept by advancing money, goods, or services on credit. Notification is not essential to acceptance of such an offer, and often is not necessary at all. … An offer of guaranty that does not require notification is often called an “absolute guaranty.”

The Restatement offers the following illustration of an offer of guarantee that doesn’t require notification:

To induce C to sell goods to D Corporation on credit, S, the president of D Corporation, offers to guarantee payment for the goods. C sells and delivers the goods. C has accepted S’s offer; no notification to S of acceptance is necessary because S has adequate means of learning of C’s performance.

But others have a somewhat different notion of what it means to describe a guarantee as absolute. Here’s what 38 Am. Jur. 2d Guaranty § 15 says:

An absolute guaranty is a contract in which the guarantor promises that if the debtor does not perform the principal obligation, the guarantor will perform some act (such as the payment of money) for the creditor’s benefit, the only condition being the principal’s default. An obligation that is absolute or unconditional becomes fixed when the principal debt matures, and the guarantor of payment is not entitled to require that the creditor first proceed or exhaust remedies against the principal debtor. …

A conditional guaranty requires the happening of some contingent event (other than the default of the principal debtor) or the performance of some act on the part of the creditor before the guarantor will be liable. The usual form of a conditional guaranty is an undertaking that the guarantor is liable for the principal’s default in case the satisfaction of the principal obligation cannot be obtained from the principal with reasonable diligence.

A guaranty of the payment of an obligation, without words of limitation or condition, is construed as an absolute or unconditional guaranty.

So Am. Jur. 2d explains what an absolute guarantee is without referring to notification, the key concept in the Restatement‘s explanation.

Absolute Guarantee—Relevance of Terminology

If you describe a guarantee as an absolute guarantee, or use absolutely in the key language of performance, does that make the guarantee an absolute guarantee? Some commentators say it does. For example, this is from Peter A. Alces, The Efficacy of Guaranty Contracts in Sophisticated Commercial Transactions, 61 N.C. L. Rev. 655, 667 (1983):

If the guaranty is absolute in form, as when the form is labelled ‘Absolute Guaranty’ or merely recites in the text that it is an absolute guaranty, the prevailing view provides that no notice of acceptance is necessary.

This article cites six cases to support this proposition, but in five of the six, the guarantee at issue didn’t use the word absolute or absolutely. And in the sixth case, the court didn’t rely on use of the word absolutely in the guarantee to hold that it was an absolute guarantee. So the proposition is effectively unsupported.

It makes sense that how a guarantee refers to itself shouldn’t be dispositive: generally U.S. **courts are interested in substance, not magic words**. Here again is 38 Am. Jur. 2d Guaranty § 5:

A document that is entitled “Guaranty” and contains clear and unambiguous language that the obligation of the debtor is personally guaranteed is a guaranty. On the other hand, labeling a document or a promise a “guaranty,” or using that word, **does not automatically make it a guaranty in the legal sense**, or a collateral obligation, although the title may be considered along with the rest of the language in the document.

…

Specific language is usually not needed to create a guaranty unless it is required by statute. The nature of the obligation, and not the words used, determines whether a guaranty exists. The instrument’s language should first be considered, and surrounding circumstances should be taken into account only if that language is indefinite or ambiguous. The courts generally attempt to determine whether the words used, in light of the circumstances, would cause the creditor to believe reasonably that the promisor had agreed to answer for a principal obligation on the part of another person. Thus, the word “guaranty” need not appear in the writing to have the contract construed as one of guaranty. Likewise, while the fact that the word “guaranty” or “guarantee” appears in the instrument indicates that the undertaking was probably intended to be a guaranty, such a use of the term is not conclusive of the question since it has sometimes been recognized that the word “guaranty” or “guarantee” is frequently employed in business transactions to describe an intention to be bound by a primary or independent obligation.

By extension, saying hereby absolutely guarantees in a document doesn’t make it an absolute guarantee unless the totality of the circumstances suggest as much.

On the other hand, one can find cases in which the court ascribes significance to use of the word absolute in a guarantee. See, e.g., BNY Fin. Corp. v. Clare, 172 A.D.2d 203, 205, 568 N.Y.S.2d 65, 67 (1991) (“Here, the guaranty specifically provided that it was absolute, unconditional, unlimited”).

But it’s hard to take that seriously, because all that it takes to make a guarantee absolute is to say the guarantor hereby guarantees whatever is being guaranteed and leave it at that. I won’t be convinced that use of the word absolutely matters unless someone shows me a case where the terms suggest that the guarantee isn’t absolute but the court relies on use of absolutely to hold that the guarantee was in fact absolute. And that would be a travesty.

Unconditional—Meaning and Relevance of Terminology

Regarding use of the word unconditionally, here’s the Black’s Law Dictionary definition of conditional guaranty:

– conditional guaranty (1813) A guaranty that requires the performance of some condition by the creditor before the guarantor will become liable.

If you waded through the above discussion of absolutely, you won’t be surprised that one commentator says “The terms ‘absolute’ and ‘unconditional’ are generally deemed to be synonymous.” Raymer McQuiston, Drafting A Enforceable Guaranty in an International Financing Transaction: A Lender’s Perspective, 10 Int’l Tax & Bus. Law. 138, 142–46 (1993) [hereinafter McQuiston].

It follows that for our purposes, the implications of unconditionally are the same as those of absolutely.

Irrevocably—Meaning and Relevance of Terminology

What about irrevocably? Here’s what McQuiston says:

The term “irrevocable” implies that a guaranty may not be rescinded by a guarantor. Its usage in guaranties is thought to be derived from the convention governing letters of credit according to which an agreement was presumed to be revocable unless it specifically stated that it was irrevocable. However, the irrevocable nature of a guaranty is properly linked to the consideration given. If adequate consideration has been given and accepted, the guarantor is bound by the terms of its agreement, barring breach of contract.

So you don’t have to say in a guarantee that it’s irrevocable for it to be irrevocable.

On the other hand, irrevocable doesn’t really mean irrevocable. Again, McQuiston:

Even when a guaranty provides that it is continuing and irrevocable, a guarantor may revoke its guaranty as to future advances not yet lent. Moreover, this right of revocation is generally not waivable.

So as applied to guarantees, the word irrevocably is, like absolutely, inherently unclear.

Furthermore, saying in a guarantee that it’s irrevocable doesn’t make it so. See, e.g., Everts v. Century Supply Corp., 264 Ga. App. 218, 220, 590 S.E.2d 199, 202 (2003) (“Although the guaranty form describes the guaranty as ‘irrevocable,’ all parties to the instrument could terminate it regardless of the irrevocability language.”)

Conclusion

So here’s what I conclude regarding use of the words absolutely, unconditionally, and irrevocably in guarantees:

They’re unclear. Our three adverbs are terms of art. Terms of art are shorthand, and as such they tend to be confusing. That’s the case here. McQuiston says, with respect to absolutely, irrevocably, and a word outside the scope of this post, continuing, “their specific meanings remain obscure and should be carefully defined within the body of the agreement.” And Howard Darmstadter, Hereof, Thereof, and Everywhereof: A Contrarian Guide to Legal Drafting 203 (2d ed. 2008), says, “Phrases like ‘absolute and unconditional’ are the **bane of legal drafting**—they generally **mean nothing**, except when they mean something unexpected.”

They add unnecessary words. Normally the trade-off with terms of art is that although they tend to be confusing, they allow you to be concise. But it’s absence of anything to the contrary that allows a guarantee to be absolute (and unconditional). Similarly, a guarantee is irrevocable (subject to the limit described above), unless you say it isn’t. So in this case, adding our three terms of art just clogs up the works.

They don’t prevail over the deal terms. If you use one of our three adverbs in a contract but it’s inconsistent with the deal terms, a court that pays attention to caselaw on guarantees and the more general caselaw on this sort of inconsistency should hold that the deal terms are what matter.

So although using some combination of absolutely, unconditionally, and irrevocably might **seem** to offer certitude, **they do nothing of the sort**. So instead, just say what the deal is. In that regard, it’s what you don’t say that makes a guarantee absolute, unconditional, and, to a limited extent, irrevocable.

#### Unconditional rights are fundamental rights

Kelley, 10 -- Boston College Third World Law Journal senior articles editor

[Ryan, "Toward an Unconditional Right to Vote for Persons with Mental Disabilities: Reconciling State Law with Constitutional Guarantees," Boston College Third World Law Journal, 30.2, April 2010, https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=twlj, accessed 11-3-21]

Toward an Unconditional Right to Vote for Persons with Mental Disabilities: Reconciling State Law with Constitutional Guarantees

Abstract: Casting a ballot is a primary form of community participation in the United States. This exercise provides citizens with a means to safeguard their legal rights and effectuate change. Nevertheless, some citizens, such as people with mental disabilities, are often denied this fundamental right solely based upon their status. These citizens have faced a long history of pernicious discrimination at the hands of their communities, legislators, and even the courts. Yet, social policy has begun to evolve in light of more nuanced understandings of mental disabilities. This knowledge has also spurred the reform of state and federal law. While the prospect of change looms high, in the context of voting, some states lag behind and recent jurisprudence demands that they reform voter eligibility requirements. This Note calls for all states to ensure that the right to vote is a presumptive right of the mentally disabled, to facilitate its exercise, and to deny it by a clear and fair standard that only excludes the mentally incapacitated when there is a clear lack of understanding of the nature and effect of voting.

#### Fundamental rights can be limited

Achmat, 15 – Master Legum in the Faculty of Law University of Pretoria

[Wardah, “The Right to Strike and its Limitations,” University of Pretoria, 2015, https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/53140/Achmat\_Right\_2015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, accessed 10-11-21]

As demonstrated in this study, although the Conventions of the ILO do not make express reference to the right to strike, it has been inferred from the Conventions. Most countries have therefore implemented national law to give effect to this right or freedom to strike. With reference to the EU, the European Court of Justice in the Viking and Laval matters has recognised that the right to strike is a fundamental right. The courts have cautioned that this right can be limited especially in instances whereby the free movement of the employers’ commercial interest is at stake. Authors such as Hepple and Sciarra criticises the court’s application of the Viking and Laval matter regarding the limitation applied. For example, Hepple notes that no fundamental right of the employer has been infringed, only the employers’ “commercial interest" with which opinion I agree.

#### 3. No solvency- the right to strike needs to be unconditional to prevent snowballing loopholes- any limits become loopholes- lawyers use them to destroy strike actions- that’s Chang, Bornstein, and le Roux.

#### Exemptions become loopholes- they snowball

**FCLB, 20** – Friends of China Labour Bulletin

["Labor Rights in China," 2020, https://friendsclb.org/labor-rights-in-china, accessed 10-10-2021]

Some of the most frequently asked questions about workers in China include: What legal rights do workers have? How is the law enforced? **Is there a right to strike** and to organise**?** Is there collective bargaining in China? What is the role of the official trade union in labour relations?

We answer these questions here by examining the development of labour law in China since the 1990s as well as discussing how these laws and regulations are **enforced** by local governments, arbitration committees and civil courts; how workers take collective action to defend their rights and interests; the failure of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to effectively represent workers; and how civil society labour organizations essentially performed the job of the union prior to a massive crackdown in the mid-2010s.

The development of labour law in China

As China moved from a planned economy to a more market-oriented one during the reform era, the government gradually introduced a broad range of legislation to regulate labour relations and stipulate the rights and obligations of both employers and employees. The aim of much of this legislation was to bring China into line with international standards and facilitate the country’s entry into and participation in global economic entities such as the World Trade Organization.

The first two major pieces of legislation were the 1992 Trade Union Law and 1995 Labour Law, which established the fundamental rights of workers to be paid in full and on time, receive overtime payments and paid leave, and, crucially, to be represented by a trade union.

These basic rights were added to in the 2000s with the introduction of a wide-ranging and comprehensive body of legislation covering work safety, work-related injury insurance, employment contracts, workplace discrimination, labour dispute arbitration and mediation, and the role of enterprise trade unions.

By far the most important, and controversial, new law to be implemented during this period was the 2008 Labour Contract Law. The law specifies that workers are entitled to a detailed written employment contract when they are hired and severance pay (based on length of employment) if they are laid off. Prior to the passage of the Labour Contract Law, domestic and international business communities waged an intense lobbying campaign to water down the bill. After the law was implemented, employers **exploited every loophole possible to avoid compliance**. One such loophole is to hire workers on an agency basis, essentially considering workers as contractors exempt from the provisions of the law, rather than employees who require an employment contract. In fact, many workers were laid off and then immediately rehired on an agency basis after law passed. The failure of employers to abide by the law is further illustrated by the National Bureau of Statistics survey of migrant workers in 2009 which showed that only 42.8 percent of migrant workers had signed a contract with their employer. By 2016, that proportion had dropped to just 35.1 percent. The Labour Contract Law was amended in 2013 in an attempt to fix the loopholes related to the hiring of agency labour, but employers continue to evade their legal responsibilities and lobby the government to relax certain provisions of the law that, they claim, restrict the hiring and firing of employees.

#### 4. PICs are illegit on this topic- infinite strike PICs on top of side bias and the 1AR/2AR crunch makes it impossible to be aff. They get the DAs- that solves neg ground.

# KRITIK ANSWERS

### K 1AR (Generic)

#### 1. Framework- weighing the aff is key to advocacy skills. Fiat is the only incentive for stasis- that’s key to clash, well-prepared opponents, and honing the skills to make the world better- turns their impacts.

#### 2. Perm do both.

#### 3. The alt fails without the aff- the right to strike is a pre-req

Lim, 19 -- Crimson editor

[Woojin Lim, "The Right to Strike," The Harvard Crimson, 12-11-19, https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2019/12/11/lim-right-to-strike/, accessed 10-10-2021]

On April 9, 1969, roughly 500 student activists took over University Hall to protest Harvard’s role in the Vietnam War. City and state police armed with riot gear, clubs, and mace were called to remove all protesters who had vowed nonviolent resistance. In the early morning hours of April 10, over 400 police officers stormed University Hall, between 250 and 300 arrests were made, and 75 students were injured. In response, by April 11, thousands of Harvard students, teaching fellows, and faculty had gathered in Harvard Stadium to strike.

Fifty years later, the Harvard Graduate Students Union-United Automobile Workers declared a strike, fighting for increased compensation, health benefits, and neutral third-party arbitration for sexual harassment and discrimination. On December 3, over 500 demonstrators, wearing on their shoulders large blue-and-white “UAW on Strike” placards, marched routes throughout the Yard. In the strike of 1969, strikers fought for social justice; in the HGSU-UAW strike of 2019, strikers press on the fight for fair wages and working conditions.

The right to strike is a right to resist oppression.

The strike (and the credible threat of a strike) is an indispensable part of the collective bargaining procedure. Collective bargaining (or “agreement-making”) provides workers and employees with the opportunity to influence the establishment of workplace rules that govern a large portion of their lives. The concerted withdrawal of labor allows workers to promote and defend their unprotected economic and social interests from employers’ unilateral decisions, and provide employers with pressure and incentives to make reasonable concessions. Functionally, strikes provide workers with the bargaining power to drive fair and meaningful negotiations, offsetting the inherent inequalities of bargaining power in the employer-employee relationship. The right to strike is essential in preserving and winning rights. Any curtailment of this right involves the risk of weakening the very basis of collective bargaining.

### Cap 1AR

#### 1. Framework- weighing the aff is key to advocacy skills. Fiat is the only incentive for stasis- that’s key to clash, well-prepared opponents, and honing the skills to make the world better- turns their impacts.

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#### 4. Cap is sustainable- degrowth fails

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[Rasmus -; “The Environmental Risks of Incomplete Globalisation”; Globalizations; <https://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/doi/full/10.1080/14747731.2016.1216820>**]**

Yet, despite the remarkable scientific advancements of the last centuries, or even decades, Malthusians tend to reject the very possibility of universal affluence and what they pejoratively refer to as a ‘techno-fix’ (Huesemann & Huesemann, 2011). Instead of uncertain technological innovation, they like to see deep social changes, essentially a **far-reaching** epistemological **homogenisation** by which people everywhere adopt strict regimes of frugality and simplicity. However, just as the solution to the contradictions of capitalism in the 1930s was neither individual moral reform of the capital-owners nor a socialist revolution of society as a whole but rather the institutionalisation of welfare-capitalism and liberal democracy, it seems far wiser to accept the existence of a pluralist society with competing conceptions of the good life and rather focus on applying technology in a conscious way to overcome **environmental determinism**. Obviously, this is also a question of political tactics. While eco-socialist literature tends to think of capitalism in the twenty-first century as a mere elite project, it seems fair to say that the logic of capital accumulation has become almost **universal** today with widely shared material aspirations reaching from home ownership to international travel. Similarly, large groups in the OECD economies either have retired already or will do so in the coming decades with considerable expectations in terms of retirement income. Failure to deliver on these pension expectations would probably create a state of political crisis in which the ‘immigrants’ but also the ‘environment’ would be easy targets. For these, and many other reasons, it is not surprising that political elites remain deeply wedded to the idea of economic growth. Yet, insufficient demand due to rising inequality and a lack of social investments have made it difficult to deliver that growth. In the best of worlds, the need for growth could hypothetically make policy-makers **more** willing to challenge the prevailing supply-side paradigm but also consider the benefits of accelerating globalisation (or at least keeping them away from enacting protectionist measures). While it is obvious that economic growth does not benefit everyone equally, and that it can be source of environmental destruction, the same can be said about the **lack of growth**. A secular stagnation or even degrowth is certainly **no** guarantee for environmental protection or greater equality. If anything, the rich are likely to try to isolate themselves **even more** from the rest of society in case they feel threatened, in particular by moving overseas. It is also not surprising that the literature on degrowth has had almost nothing to say about how such strategies would play out at the international level (including what mechanisms that would be needed to prevent other states from taking military advantage of countries pursuing degrowth) or how exactly economic growth is to be ‘unlearned’ at the micro level. Recognising the difficulties associated with imagining degrowth as an effective way of saving the global environment is not the same as defending ‘status quo’ or **embracing neoliberalism**. As discussed above, it is rather the failure of laissez-faire thinking that has made government intervention necessary to ensure both climate stability and a world with more equal opportunities. One common objection against climate innovation is that the real problem is not about limitations of renewable energy sources but about overcoming the entrenched interests of fossil industries. Yet, the fact that large multinational corporations such as ExxonMobil have vast political influence can also be seen as one of the reasons why technological change must be **disruptive** and go beyond, for instance, the scenarios in the IPCC database. Only by shocking markets through breakthrough innovation does it seem possible to break with the path dependence of existing energy systems in a way that would rapidly displace fossil fuels globally. In terms of strategy, it is also likely that fossil industries will be far more successful in thwarting the deployment of existing inferior technologies than in preventing a more general acceleration of science and technology, which would span multiple fields reaching from nanotechnology to basic physics (Victor, 2011, p. 144) that are not immediately related to energy R&D and as such not subject to the same political economic constraints.

#### 5. Alt fails---capitalism is ingrained. Rejecting reforms leaves power in the hand of Trumpers

Bryant 12—Professor of Philosophy at Collin College (Levi, “We’ll Never Do Better Than a Politician: Climate Change and Purity,” <https://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2012/05/11/well-never-do-better-than-a-politician-climate-change-and-purity/>, dml)

It is quite true that it is the system of global capitalism or the market that has created our climate problems (though, as Jared Diamond shows in Collapse, other systems of production have also produced devastating climate problems). In its insistence on profit and expansion in each economic quarter, markets as currently structured provide no brakes for environmental destructive actions. The system is itself pathological.

However, pointing this out and deriding market based solutions **doesn’t get us very far**. In fact, such a response to proposed market-based solutions is **downright dangerous** and **irresponsible**. The fact of the matter is that 1) we currently live in a market based world, 2) there is not, in the foreseeable future an alternative system on the horizon, and 3), above all, **we need to do something now**. We **can’t afford to reject interventions** simply because they **don’t meet our ideal conceptions** of how things should be. We have to **work with the world that is here**, not the one that we would like to be here. And here it’s crucial to note that pointing this out **does not entail** that we shouldn’t work for producing that other world. It just means that we have to grapple with the world that is **actually there before us**.

It pains me to write this post because I remember, with great bitterness, the diatribes hardcore Obama supporters leveled against legitimate leftist criticisms on the grounds that these critics were completely unrealistic idealists who, in their demand for “purity”, were asking for “ponies and unicorns”. This rejoinder always seemed to ignore that words have power and that Obama, through his profound power of rhetoric, had, at least the power to shift public debates and frames, opening a path to making new forms of policy and new priorities possible. The tragedy was that he didn’t use that power, though he has gotten better.

I do not wish to denounce others and dismiss their claims on these sorts of grounds. As a Marxist anarchists, I do believe that we should fight for the creation of an alternative hominid ecology or social world. I think that the call to commit and fight, to put alternatives on the table, has been one of the most powerful contributions of thinkers like Zizek and Badiou. If we don’t commit and fight for alternatives those alternatives will never appear in the world. Nonetheless, we still have to grapple with the world we find ourselves in. And it is here, in my encounters with some Militant Marxists, that I sometimes find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that they are **unintentionally aiding** and **abetting** the **very things they claim to be fighting**. In their **refusal to become impure**, to **work with situations** or **assemblages** as we find them, to **sully their hands**, they end up **reproducing the very system** they wish to **topple** and **change**. Narcissistically they get to sit there, smug in their superiority and purity, while **everything continues as it did before** because they’ve **refused to become politicians** or engage in the **difficult concrete work** of assembling human and nonhuman actors to **render another world possible**. As a consequence, they occupy the position of Hegel’s beautiful soul that denounces the horrors of the world, celebrate the beauty of their soul, while depending on those horrors of the world to sustain their own position.

To engage in politics is to engage in networks or ecologies of relations between humans and nonhumans. To engage in ecologies is to descend into networks of causal relations and feedback loops that you cannot completely master and that will modify your own commitments and actions. But there’s **no other way**, there’s no way around this, and we **do need to act now**.

#### 6. Palliatives link is backward- progress is a catalyst for radical change. The J-Curve has a better explanation of drives and causality

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[Ryan King, "Does Revolution Breed Radicalism? An Analysis of the Stalled Revolution in Syria and the Radical Forces Since Unleashed," Thesis, 11-3-14, https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6724&context=etd, accessed, 7-4-19]

The **J-Curve** – A **Collective**, **Psychological Trigger for Revolt**

“Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal (Davies 1962).” This concise revelation by James Davies conveyed to the world a more simplified understanding of what causes revolutions, and it has contributed greatly to the study of collective action. The subtle genius of Davie’s theory is that it graphically and conceptually depicts a key variable that reveals **causation** behind revolutions. But it is a counterintuitive point to understand that **revolutions are much more likely to occur after** a period of **progress** rather than perpetual decline or stagnation. People across the globe and across time have endured great hardships, oppression, economic depravity and worse, yet revolutions are a relatively rare social phenomenon. Therefore **things being bad**, as an isolated variable, **cannot be** considered **causal** with regards to collective action or social mobilization. Rather, **the threat of losing something** perceivably **gained**, is often much **more psychologically devastating**; and conversely, the existential hope of forging a better life can even **motivate radical behavior**. As an early scholar of revolutions, Alex de Tocqueville put it; “evils that are patiently endured when they seem inevitable become intolerable once the idea of escape from them is suggested (Tocqueville 1858, 214).” This illusion by Tocqueville was the inspiration for Davies’ theory of revolutionary mobilization. In short, Davis’ perception of quality of life is measured by people’s expectations, which in turn affects their likelihood to revolt. The psychological concept of self-determination means that most people desire to continually improve upon their quality of life. This **instinctual desire** for fulfillment is operationalized as “expected need satisfaction.” A person’s “actual need satisfaction” in many ways is determined by the environment and society where they live. Therefore, as the gap between expected needs and actual needs widens, the potential for unrest becomes greater. According to Davies, revolutions are most likely to occur when the expectation gap is largest and becomes intolerable (1962, 6).

### ~Future Work~

#### Unions good- democracy

<https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2019/09/democracy-dies-when-labor-unions-do.html>

#### Aff healthcare UQ

<https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2021/09/america-prepared-next-pandemic/620238/>

https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2021/01/27/public-health-systems-still-arent-ready-for-the-next-pandemic