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### 1AC: Innovation

#### Advantage 1 is Innovation –

#### The Advantage is Innovation -

#### We are in an innovation crisis – up to 80% of all new patents are not new drugs but old ones.

Feldman 18 [Robin Feldman 18, May your drug price be evergreen, Journal of Law and the Biosciences, Volume 5, Issue 3, December 2018, Pages 590–647, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jlb/lsy022> Arthur J. Goldberg Distinguished Professor of Law, Albert Abramson ’54 Distinguished Professor of Law Chair, and Director of the Center for Innovation Study Notes: Presenting the first comprehensive study of evergreening, this article examines the extent to which evergreening behavior—which can be defined as artificially extending the protection cliff—may contribute to the problem. The author analyses all drugs on the market between 2005 and 2015, combing through 60,000 data points to examine every instance in which a company added a new patent or exclusivity.] sid recut Adam

The study results demonstrate definitively that the pharmaceutical industry has strayed far from the patent system's intended design. The patent system is not functioning as a time-limited opportunity to garner a return, followed by open competition. Rather, companies throughout the industry seek and obtain repeated extensions of their competition-free zones. Moreover, the incidence of such behavior has steadily increased between 2005 and 2015, especially on the patent front and for certain highly valuable exclusivities. Most troubling, the data suggest that the current state of affairs is harming innovation in tangible ways. Rather than creating new medicines—sallying forth into new frontiers for the benefit of society—drug companies are focusing their time and effort extending the patent life of old products. This, of course, is not the innovation one would hope for. The greatest creativity at pharmaceutical companies should be in the lab, not in the legal department.115 The following sections describe the results obtained through our analysis in detail, but below are the key takeaways from the study: Rather than creating new medicines, pharmaceutical companies are recycling and repurposing old ones. In fact, 78% of the drugs associated with new patents in the FDA’s records were not new drugs coming on the market, but existing drugs. In some years, the percentage reached as high as 80%. Adding new patents and exclusivities to extend the protection cliff is particularly pronounced among blockbuster drugs. Of the roughly 100 best-selling drugs, more than 70% extended their protection at least once, with more than 50% extending the protection cliff more than once. Looking at the full group, almost 40% of all drugs available on the market created additional market barriers by having patents or exclusivities added to them. Many of the drugs adding to the Orange Book are ‘serial offenders’—returning to the well repeatedly for new patents and exclusivities. Of the drugs that had an addition to the Orange Book, 80% of those had an addition to the Orange Book on more than one occasion, and almost half of these drugs had additions to the Orange Book on four or more occasions. The number of drugs with a high quantity of added patents in a single year has substantially increased. For example, the number of drugs with three or more patents added to them in one year has doubled. Similarly, the number of drugs with five or more added patents has also doubled. Overall, the quantity of patents added to the Orange Book has more than doubled, increasing from 349 patents added in the year 2005 to 723 in 2015. The number of drugs that had a patent added to them in the Orange Book almost doubled. There were striking increases in certain exclusivities, such as orphan drug exclusivity, new patient population exclusivity, and new product exclusivity. In particular, the number of drugs with an added orphan drug exclusivity tripled. In addition, the number of times a use code was added to a patent more than tripled, suggesting that this has become a new favored game. To provide a broad sense of the types of metrics we are using, some could be characterized as ‘intensity’ measures, which capture the breadth and depth of patent and exclusivity activity in the industry. Another set of our metrics can be characterized as ‘temporal’ measures, which evaluate whether there are any trends in the behavior under examination across time during our 11-year timeframe from 2005 to 2015.

#### The only major study confirms our Internal Link – Evergreening decimates competition by resulting in functional monopolies

Arnold Ventures 20 9-24-2020 "'Evergreening' Stunts Competition, Costs Consumers and Taxpayers" <https://www.arnoldventures.org/stories/evergreening-stunts-competition-costs-consumers-and-taxpayers/> (Arnold Ventures is focused on evidence-based giving in a wide range of categories including: criminal justice, education, health care, and public finance)//Elmer

In 2011, Elsa Dixler was diagnosed with multiple myeloma. That August, she was prescribed Revlimid, a drug that had come on the market six years earlier. By January 2012, she went into full remission, where she has remained since. So long as Revlimid retains its effectiveness, she will take it for the rest of her life. “I was able to go back to work, see my daughter receive her Ph.D, and have a pretty normal life,” said Dixler, a Brooklyn resident who is now 74. “So, on the one hand, I feel enormously grateful.” But Dixler’s normal life has come at a steep financial cost to her family and to taxpayers. Revlimid typically costs nearly $800 per capsule, and Dixler takes one capsule per day for 21 days, then seven days off, and then resumes her daily dose, requiring 273 capsules a year. Since retiring from The New York Times at the end of 2017, she has been on Medicare. Dixler entered the Part D coverage gap (known as the donut hole) “within minutes,” she said. She estimates that adding her deductible, her copayment of $12,000, and what her Part D insurance provider pays totals approximately $197,500 a year. Revlimid should have **been subject to competition** from generic drug makers starting in 2009, bringing down its cost by many orders of magnitude. But by obtaining **27 additional patents**, eight orphan drug exclusivities and 91 total additional protections from the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) since Revlimid’s introduction in 2005, its manufacturer, Celgene, has extended the drug’s **monopoly** **period** **by 18 years** — through March 8, 2028. “I cannot fathom the immorality of a business that relies on **squeezing people with cancer**,” Dixler said, noting her astonishment that Revlimid has obtained orphan drug protections when it treats a disease that is not rare and does not serve a very limited population. She also observed that Revlimid’s underlying drug is thalidomide, which has been around for decades. “They didn’t invent a new drug, rather, they found a new use for it,” she said. “The cost of Revlimid has imposed constraints on our retirement,” Dixler said, “but when I hear other people’s stories, I feel very lucky. A lot of people have been devastated financially.” Revlimid is a case study in a process known as “evergreening” — artificially sustaining a monopoly for years and even decades by manipulating intellectual property laws and regulations. Evergreening is most commonly used with blockbuster drugs generating the highest prices and profits. **Of the roughly 100 best-selling drugs, more than 70 percent have extended their protection** from competition at least once. More than half have extended the protection cliff multiple times. The true scope and cost of evergreening has been brought into sharper focus by a groundbreaking, publicly available, comprehensive database released Thursday by the Center for Innovation at the University of California Hastings College of Law and supported by Arnold Ventures. **The Evergreen Drug Patent Search is the first database to exhaustively track the patent protections filed by pharmaceutical companies**. Using data from 2005 to 2018 on brand-name drugs listed in the FDA’s Orange Book — a listing of relevant patents for brand name, small molecule drugs — it demonstrates the full extent of how evergreening has been used by Big Pharma to prolong patents and delay the entry of generic, lower-cost competition. “Competition is the backbone of the U.S. economy,” said Professor Robin Feldman, Director of the UC Hastings Center for Innovation, who spearheaded the database’s creation. “But it’s not what we’re seeing in the drug industry. “With evergreening, pharmaceutical companies repeatedly make slight, often trivial, modifications to drugs, dosage levels, delivery systems or other aspects to obtain new protections,” she said. “They pile these protections on over and over again — so often that 78 percent of the drugs associated with new patents were not new drugs coming on the market, but existing drugs.” Competition is the backbone of the U.S. economy. But it’s not what we’re **seeing in the drug industry**. Professor Robin Feldman Director of the UC Hastings Center for Innovation In recent decades, evergreening has systematically undermined the Drug Price Competition and Patent Term Restoration Act of 1984, which created the generic drug industry. Commonly known as the Hatch-Waxman Act, it established a new patent and market exclusivity regime in which new drugs are protected from competition for a specified period of time sufficient to allow manufacturers to recoup their investments and earn a reasonable profit. When that protection expires, generic drug makers are incentivized to enter the market through a streamlined regulatory and judicial process. Drug prices typically drop by as much as 20 percent when the first generic enters the market**, and with more than one generic manufacturer, prices can plummet by 80 to 85 percent**. “Hatch-Waxman created an innovation/reward/competition cycle, but it’s been distorted into an innovation/reward/more reward cycle,” Feldman said. “To paraphrase something a former FDA commissioner once said, the greatest creativity in Big Pharma should come from the research and development departments, not from the legal and marketing departments.” Feldman led the development of the Evergreen Drug Patent Search in response to repeated requests from Congressional committees, members of Congress, state regulators and journalists for information about specific drugs and companies. “We want to make it so anyone can have the question about drug protections at their fingertips whenever they want,” Feldman said. “It’s designed to be easy and user-friendly, and to enhance public understanding about how competition may be limited rather than enhanced through the drug patent system.” The **database** was **created through** a painstaking process of **combing** through **160,000 data points** **to examine every instance where a pharmaceutical company added a new drug patent or exclusivity**. “Most of it was done by hand,” Feldman said, “with multiple people reviewing it at every stage. And along the way we repeatedly made conservative choices. **We erred on the side of underrepresenting the evergreen gain** to be sure we were as fair and reasonable as possible.” Among the 2,065 drugs covered in Evergreen Drug Patent Search, there are many examples of the evergreening strategy used by pharma to delay the entry of competition, especially generics, often for widely prescribed drugs, including those used to treat heartburn, chronic pain, and opioid addiction. Nexium Before Nexium, there was Prilosec, a popular drug to treat gastroesophageal reflux disease (GERD). But its patent exclusivity was due to expire in April 2001. In the late 1990s, with a precipitous drop in revenue looming, Prilosec’s manufacturer, AstraZeneca, decided to develop a replacement drug. Using “one-half of the Prilosec molecule — an isomer of it,” the result was Nexium, which received approval in February 2001. Essentially an evergreened version of Prilosec, Nexium’s exclusivity was then extended by more than 15 years, as AstraZeneca received 97 protections stemming from 16 patents. These included revised dosages, compounds, and formulations. Feldman said that tinkering changes such as Nexium’s do not involve the substantial research and development required for a new drug, nor do they constitute true innovations, yet for a decade and a half, patients and taxpayers were forced to pay far more than was warranted for GERD relief. In fact, in 2016 — one year after patent exclusivity expired — Nexium still topped all drugs in Medicare Part D spending, totaling $1.06 billion. Suboxone Use of this combination of buprenorphine and naloxone for treating opioid addiction has exploded in the wake of the opioid epidemic. Since its approval, Suboxone’s manufacturer, Reckitt Benckiser (now operating as Indivior), extended its protection cliff eight times, gaining nearly two extra decades of exclusivity through early 2030. The drug maker gained six patents for creating a film version of the drug — notably around the time protection was expiring for its tablet version. (The therapeutic benefits of the film and tablet are identical.) An earlier version of Suboxone also obtained an orphan drug designation, despite an opioid epidemic that has expanded Suboxone’s customer base to millions of potential customers. Suboxone generates more than $1 billion in annual revenue and ranks among the 40 top-selling drugs in the U.S. Truvada When Truvada, commonly referred to as PrEP, was approved in 2004, this HIV-prevention drug was a breakthrough. But 16 years later — and 14 years after its original exclusivity was to expire — it retains its monopoly status. Truvada’s manufacturer, Gilead, has received 15 patents and 120 protections since it came on the market, extending its exclusivity for more than 17 years, until July 3, 2024. In countries where generic Truvada is available, PrEP costs $100 or less per month, compared to $1,600 to $2,000 in the U.S. As a result, Truvada is unaffordable to many people **who need protection from HIV**. Barred from access, they are left vulnerable to infection. “We’re establishing a precedent that a pharmaceutical company can charge whatever it wants even as it allows an epidemic to continue, and the government refuses to intervene,” said James Krellenstein, co-founder of the group PrEP4All. “That should scare every American. If it’s HIV today, it will be another disease tomorrow.” EpiPen First approved in 1987, the EpiPen has saved the lives of countless numbers of people with deadly allergies. But it is protected from competition until 2025 — 38 years after its introduction — because its owner, Mylan, has filed five patents, four since 2010, all involving tweaks to the automatic injector. The actual medication used, epinephrine, has existed for more than a century — the innovation here is in the delivery device. Because these small changes to the injector have maintained its monopoly for so long, the cost of an EpiPen package (containing two injectors) has risen from $94 when Mylan purchased the device to between $650 and $700 today. For many people, especially parents of children with severe reactions to common allergens like peanuts, EpiPen’s increasing price tag imposes an onerous financial burden. What Can Be Done As the Evergreen Drug Patent Search makes clear, the positive impact of Hatch-Waxman has been steadily and severely eroded by a regulatory system vulnerable to increasingly sophisticated forms of manipulation. “You might say that the patent and regulatory system has been weaponized,” Feldman said. “When billions of dollars are at stake, there’s a lot of money available to look for ways to exploit the legal system. And companies have become adept at this, as our work has found.” There are several key steps that Congress could take to restore the balance between innovation and competition that is the key to a successful prescription drug regulatory process. These may include: Imposing restrictions on the number of patents that prescription drug manufacturers can defend in court to discourage the use of anticompetitive patent thickets. Limiting the patentability of so-called secondary patents — which don’t improve the safety or efficacy of a drug — through patent and exclusivity reform. Reforming the 180-day generic exclusivity, which can currently be abused to block other competitive therapies. “**The Evergreen Drug Patent Search provides the publicly available, evidence-based foundation that defines the extent of the problem**, and it can be used to develop policies that solve the problem of anti-competitive patent abuses,” said Kristi Martin, VP of Drug Pricing at Arnold Ventures. “Our incentives have gotten out of whack,” Martin said. “The luxury of monopoly protection should only be provided to innovations that provide meaningful benefits in saving lives, curing illnesses, or improving the quality of people’s lives. It should not be provided to those gaming the system. If we can change that, we can save consumers, employers, and taxpayers many billions of dollars while increasing the incentives for pharmaceutical companies to achieve breakthroughs."

#### Reject Negative Turns – they’re pharmaceutical lies – the Plan isn’t anti-Patent, just pro-innovation – breaking down secondary patents is key.

* AT Advantage CPs to solve Drug Prices

Radhakrishnan 16 Priti Radhakrishnan 6-14-2016 "Pharma’s secret weapon to keep drug prices high" <https://www.statnews.com/2016/06/14/secondary-patent-gilead-sovaldi-harvoni/> (Priti Radhakrishnan is cofounder and director of the Initiative for Medicines, Access & Knowledge (I-MAK), a US-based nonprofit group of scientists and lawyers working globally to get people lifesaving medicines. Before founding I-MAK, she worked as a health attorney in the US, Switzerland, and India.)//Elmer

Skyrocketing drug prices are forcing states to take **unprecedented measures** to rein in health care spending. Vermont just became the nation’s first state to require prescription drug pricing transparency. The New York and Massachusetts attorneys general have launched investigations into major pharmaceutical companies’ and insurers’ drug pricing policies and strategies. These **are important steps**. **But** they **ignore a key driver of the problem: secondary patents**. Familiar to only a few people inside the insular world of intellectual property law, secondary patents work like this: Companies file for additional, defensive patents to thicken the protection around their original base patents. These additional patents **rarely represent anything new in terms of science**. Instead, their **purpose is to** **prolong** **a** company’s **monopoly** and, along with that, its ability to charge high prices for its drugs. Some drugs have dozens of secondary patents. Abbott Labs, for example, has over 108 patents on its HIV drug Kaletra. Take the case of Sovaldi, a treatment for hepatitis C developed by Gilead Sciences. In the United States, Gilead prices Sovaldi at up to $1,000 a pill, or about $84,000 for a complete course of treatment. This pricing strategy helped Gilead clear $18 billion in profits last year, while taxpayer-funded Medicaid programs, state health programs, and patients have trouble affording this astronomically priced drug. Sovaldi is comprised of a base compound — sofosbuvir — for which the pharma giant has filed three patents. On top of that, Gilead has pursued an additional 24 patents, with more likely to come. My organization, the Initiative for Medicines, Access & Knowledge (I-MAK), aims to ensure that people with hepatitis C and HIV around the world get the medicines they need to survive and lead healthy lives. We have evaluated Gilead’s patent portfolio and found that, based on US and international patent law, Gilead does not deserve any of its 27 patents for Sovaldi. Both the base and secondary patents for the drug are based on old science and commonly known techniques. Yet because of its defensive patenting strategy, Gilead will maintain an iron lock on its market share and charge exorbitantly high prices to Americans with hepatitis C until well into the 2030s. Harvoni, another medication that treats hepatitis C, combines sofosbuvir and a drug called ledipasvir. Currently, Harvoni has 27 secondary patents. If these were removed, people in the US could access far cheaper versions of the same drug as soon as 10 years earlier. Based on I-MAK’s conservative estimates, this could open access to treatment for millions of people in the US, saving patients and payers like Medicare and Medicaid $5 billion over an eight-year period. In the US, Harvoni is priced at $94,000 for a course of treatment. In middle-income, high-population countries like Argentina, Brazil, and China, people are forced to pay thousands of dollars for sofosbuvir. Stripping away unmerited patents would reduce drug costs and increase access for millions of people in the US and around the world. **Pharmaceutical companies love to claim that winnowing** their armada of pate**nts would be a disincentive to innovation** and would limit research into new drugs. **Don’t believe it**. **The industry devotes shockingly little funding to research and development**. Companies **spend** roughly **one-third** of their revenues **on marketing** **and only half as much on research** and development, while spending big on armies of lawyers to devise and defend secondary patents and other so-called “life cycle management” strategies. Drug **research funding** has been **declining for more than a decade**, **while** strategies of **secondary patenting have steadily increased.** We support patents — just not those that are unmerited and that unjustly prolong companies’ market power and prevent legitimate competition.

#### Only innovation now solves AMR super-bugs -- timeframe’s key.

Sobti 19 [Dr. Navjot Kaur Sobti is an internal medicine resident physician at Dartmouth-Hitchcock-Medical Center/Dartmouth School of Medicine and a member of the ABC News Medical Unit. May 1, 2019. “Amid superbug crisis, scientists urge innovation”. <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/amidst-superbug-crisis-scientists-urge-innovation/story?id=62763415>] Dhruv

[The United Nations](https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/amal-clooney-angelina-jolie-speak-us-weighed-vetoing/story?id=62574726) has called antimicrobial resistance a “global crisis.” With the [rise in superbugs](https://abcnews.go.com/Health/superbug-fungus-global-health-threat-600-us-infected/story?id=62297532) across the globe, common infections are becoming harder to treat, and lifesaving procedures riskier to perform. Drug-resistant infections result in about 700,000 deaths per year, with at least 230,000 of those deaths due to multidrug resistant tuberculosis, [according to a groundbreaking report from the World Health Organization (WHO).](https://www.who.int/antimicrobial-resistance/interagency-coordination-group/IACG_final_report_EN.pdf?ua=1) Given that antibiotic resistance is present in every country, antimicrobial resistance (AMR) now represents a global health crisis, according to the UN, which has urged immediate, coordinated and global action to prevent a potentially devastating health and financial crisis. With the rising rates of AMR -- including antivirals, antibiotics, and antifungals -- estimates from the WHO show that AMR may cause 10 million deaths every year by 2050, send 24 million people into extreme poverty by 2030, and lead to a financial crisis as severe as the on the U.S. experienced in 2008. Antimicrobial resistance develops when germs like bacteria and fungi are able to “defeat the drugs designed to kill them,” according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Through a biologic “survival of the fittest,” germs that are not killed by antimicrobials and continue to grow. WHO explains that “poor infection control, inadequate sanitary conditions and inappropriate food handling encourage the spread” of AMR, which can lead to “superbugs.” Those superbugs require powerful and oftentimes more expensive antimicrobials to treat. Examples of superbugs are far and wide, and can range from drug-resistant bacteria like Pseudomonas aeruginosa and Staphylococcus aureus to fungi like Candida. These bugs can cause illnesses that range from pneumonia to urinary tract and sexually transmitted infections. According to the WHO, AMR has caused complications for nearly 500,000 people with tuberculosis, and a number of people with HIV and malaria. The people at the [highest risk for AMR](https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/27-02-2017-who-publishes-list-of-bacteria-for-which-new-antibiotics-are-urgently-needed) are those with chronic diseases, people living in nursing homes, hospitalized in the ICU or undergoing life-saving treatments such as organ transplantation and cancer therapy. These people often develop infections, which can become antimicrobial-resistant, rendering them difficult, if not impossible, to treat. [(MORE: Melissa Rivers talks about her father's suicide with Dr. Jennifer Ashton)](https://abcnews.go.com/Health/melissa-rivers-talks-fathers-suicide-dr-jennifer-ashton/story?id=62733179&cid=clicksource_26_null_headlines_hed) The CDC notes that “antibiotic resistance has the potential to affect people at any stage of life,” including the “healthcare, veterinary, and agriculture industries, making it one of the world’s most urgent public health problems." AMR can cause prolonged hospital stays, billions of dollars in healthcare costs, disability, and potentially, death. “The most important thing is to understand and embrace the interconnectedness of all of this,” said Dr. Robert Redfield, director of the CDC, in a recent interview with ABC News’ Dr. Jennifer Ashton. It’s not just our countries that are connected.” Research has shown that superbugs like Candida auris “came from multiple places, at the same time. It wasn’t just one organism that [evolved]” in a single location, Redfield added. Given longstanding concerns about antimicrobial misuse leading to AMR, physicians have embraced a medical approach called antibiotic stewardship. This encourages physicians to carefully evaluate which antibiotic is most appropriate for their patient, and discontinue it once it is no longer medically needed. WHO has also highlighted that the inappropriate use of antimicrobials in agriculture -- such as on farms and in animals -- may be an underappreciated cause of AMR. Noting these trends, the WHO has urged for “coordinated action...to minimize the emergence and spread of antimicrobial resistance.” It urges all countries to make national action plans, with a focus on the development of new antimicrobial medications, vaccines, and careful antimicrobial use. Redfield emphasized the importance of vaccination during the global superbug crisis, stating that “the only way we have to eliminate an infection is vaccination.” He added that investing in innovation is key to solving the crisis. While WHO continues to advocate for superbug awareness, they warn that AMR has reversed “a century of progress in health.” The WHO added that “the challenges of antimicrobial resistance” are “not insurmountable,” and that coordinated action will “help to save millions of lives, preserve antimicrobials for generations to come and secure the future from drug-resistant diseases.”

#### Extinction - generic defense doesn’t apply.

Srivatsa 17 Kadiyali Srivatsa 1-12-2017 “Superbug Pandemics and How to Prevent Them” <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/01/12/superbug-pandemics-and-how-to-prevent-them/> (doctor, inventor, and publisher. He worked in acute and intensive pediatric care in British hospitals)//Elmer

It is by now no secret that the human species is locked in a race of its own making with “**superbugs**.” Indeed, if popular science fiction is a measure of awareness, the theme has pervaded English-language literature from Michael Crichton’s 1969 Andromeda Strain all the way to Emily St. John Mandel’s 2014 Station Eleven and beyond. By a combination of massive inadvertence and what can only be called stupidity, we must now invent new and effective antibiotics faster than deadly bacteria evolve—and regrettably, they are rapidly doing so with our help. I do not exclude the possibility that bad actors might deliberately engineer deadly superbugs.1 But even if that does not happen, humanity faces an existential threat largely of its own making in the absence of malign intentions. As threats go, this one is entirely predictable. The concept of a “black swan,” Nassim Nicholas Taleb’s term for low-probability but high-impact events, has become widely known in recent years. Taleb did not invent the concept; he only gave it a catchy name to help mainly business executives who know little of statistics or probability. Many have embraced the “black swan” label the way children embrace holiday gifts, which are often bobbles of little value, except to them. But the threat of inadvertent pandemics is not a “black swan” because its probability is not low. If one likes catchy labels, it better fits the term “gray rhino,” which, explains Michele Wucker, is a high-probability, high-impact event that people manage to ignore anyway for a raft of social-psychological reasons.2 A pandemic is a quintessential gray rhino, for it is no longer a matter of if but of when it will challenge us—and of how prepared we are to deal with it when it happens. We have certainly been warned. The curse we have created was understood as a possibility from the very outset, when seventy years ago Sir Alexander Fleming, the discoverer of penicillin, predicted antibiotic resistance. When interviewed for a 2015 article, “The Most Predictable Disaster in the History of the Human Race, ” Bill Gates pointed out that one of the costliest disasters of the 20th century, worse even than World War I, was the Spanish Flu pandemic of 1918-19. As the author of the article, Ezra Klein, put it: “No one can say we weren’t warned. And warned. And warned. A pandemic disease is the most predictable catastrophe in the history of the human race, if only because it has happened to the human race so many, many times before.”3 Even with effective new medicines, if we can devise them, we must contain outbreaks of bacterial disease fast, lest they get out of control. In other words, we have a social-organizational challenge before us as well as a strictly medical one. That means getting sufficient amounts of medicine into the right hands and in the right places, but it also means educating people and enabling them to communicate with each other to prevent any outbreak from spreading widely. Responsible governments and cooperative organizations have options in that regard, but even individuals can contribute something. To that end, as a medical doctor I have created a computer app that promises to be useful in that regard—of which more in a moment. But first let us review the situation, for while it has become well known to many people, there is a general resistance to acknowledging the severity and imminence of the danger. What Are the Problems? Bacteria are among the oldest living things on the planet. They are masters of survival and can be found everywhere. Billions of them live on and in every one of us, many of them helping our bodies to run smoothly and stay healthy. Most bacteria that are not helpful to us are at least harmless, but some are not. They invade our cells, spread quickly, and cause havoc that we refer to generically as disease. Millions of people used to die every year as a result of bacterial infections, until we developed antibiotics. These wonder drugs revolutionized medicine, but one can have too much of a good thing. Doctors have used antibiotics recklessly, prescribing them for just about everything, and in the process helped to create strains of bacteria that are resistant to the medicines we have. We even give antibiotics to cattle that are not sick and use them to fatten chickens. Companies large and small still mindlessly market antimicrobial products for hands and home, claiming that they kill bacteria and viruses. They do more harm than good because the low concentrations of antimicrobials that these products contain tend to kill friendly bacteria (not viruses at all), and so clear the way for the mass multiplication of surviving unfriendly bacteria. Perhaps even worse, hospitals have deployed antimicrobial products on an industrial scale for a long time now, the result being a sharp rise in iatrogenic bacterial illnesses. Overuse of antibiotics and commercial products containing them has helped superbugs to evolve. We now increasingly face microorganisms that cannot be killed by antibiotics, antifungals, antivirals, or any other chemical weapon we throw at them. Pandemics are the major risk we run as a result, but it is not the only one. Overuse of antibiotics by doctors, homemakers, and hospital managers could mean that, in the not-too-distant future, something as simple as a minor cut could again become life-threatening if it becomes infected. Few non-medical professionals are aware that antibiotics are the foundation on which nearly all of modern medicine rests. Cancer therapy, organ transplants, surgeries minor and major, and even childbirth all rely on antibiotics to prevent infections. If infections become untreatable we stand to lose most of the medical advances we have made over the past fifty years. And the problem is already here. In the summer of 2011, a 43-year-old woman with complications from a lung transplant was transferred from a New York City hospital to the Clinical Center at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), in Bethesda, Maryland. She had a highly resistant superbug known as Klebsiella pneumoniae carbapenemase (KPC). The patient was treated and eventually discharged after doctors concluded that they had contained the infection. A few weeks later, a 34-year-old man with a tumor and no known link to the woman contracted KPC while at the hospital. During the course of the next few months, several more NIH patients presented with KPC. Doctors attacked the outbreak with combinations of antibiotics, including a supposedly powerful experimental drug. A separate intensive care unit for KPC patients was set up and robots disinfected empty rooms, but the infection still spread beyond the intensive care area. Several patients died and then suddenly all was silent on the KPC front, with doctors convinced they had seen the last of the dangerous bacterium. They couldn’t have been more mistaken. A year later, a young man with complications from a bone marrow transplant arrived at NIH. He became infected with KPC and died. This superbug is now present in hospitals in most, if not all U.S. states. This is not good. This past year an outbreak of CRE (carbapenem-resistant enterobacteriaceae) linked to contaminated medical equipment infected 11 patients and killed two in Los Angeles area hospitals. This family of bacteria has evolved resistance to all antibiotics, including the powerful carbapenem antibiotics that are often used as a last resort against serious infections. They are now so resilient that it is virtually impossible to remove them from medical tools such as catheters and breathing tubes placed into the body, even after cleaning. Then we have gonorrhea, chlamydia, and other sexually transmitted diseases that we cannot treat and that are spreading all over the world. Anyone who has sex can catch these infections, and because most people may not exhibit any symptoms they spread infections without anyone knowing about it. Sexually transmitted diseases used to be treatable with antibiotics, but in recent years we have witnessed the rise of multi-drug resistant STDs. Untreated gonorrhea can lead to infertility in men and women and blindness and other congenital defect in babies. As is well known, too, we have witnessed many cases of drug-resistant pneumonia. These problems have arisen in part because of simple mistakes healthcare professionals repeatedly make. Let me explain. Neither superbugs nor common bacterial infections produce any special symptoms indicative of their cause. Rashes, fevers, sneezing, runny noses, ear pain, diarrhea, vomiting, coughing, fatigue, and weakness are signs of common and minor illnesses as well as uncommonly deadly ones. Therefore, the major problem for clinicians is to identify a common symptom that may potentially be an early sign of a major infection that could result in an epidemic. We know that dangerous infections in any given geographical area do not start at the same time. They start with one victim and gradually spread. But that victim is only one among hundreds of patients a doctor will typically see, so many doctors will miss patients presenting with infections that are serious. They will probably identify diseases that kill fast, but slow-spreading infections such as skin infections that can lead to septicemia are rarely diagnosed early. In addition, I have seen doctors treating eczema with antibiotic cream, even though they know that bacteria are resistant to the majority of these drugs. This sort of action encourages simple infections to spread locally, because patients are therefore not instructed to take other, more useful precautions. On top of that, some people are frivolous about infections and assume doctors are exaggerating the threat. And some people are selfish. Once I was called to see a passenger during a flight who had symptoms consistent with infection. He boarded the plane with these symptoms, but began to feel much worse during the flight. I was scared, knowing how infections such as Ebola can spread. This made me think about a way to screen passengers before they board a flight. Airlines could refund a traveler’s ticket, or issue a replacement, in case of sickness—which is not the policy now. We currently have no method to block infectious travelers from boarding flights, and there are no changes in the incentive system to enable conscientious passengers to avoid losing their money if they responsibly miss a flight because of illness. Speaking of selfishness, I once saw a mother drop her daughter off at school with a serious bout of impetigo on her face. When I asked her why she had brought her daughter to school with a contagious infection, she said she could not spare the time to keep her at home or take her to the doctor. By allowing this child to contact other children, a simple infection can become a major threat. Fortunately, I could see the rash on the girl’s face, but other kids in schools may have rashes we cannot see. Incorrect diagnosis of skin problems and mistaken use of antibiotics to treat them is common all over the world, and so we are continually creating superbugs in our communities. Similarly, chest infections, sore throats, and illnesses diagnosed as colds that unnecessarily treated with antibiotics are also a major threat. By prescribing antibiotics for viral infections, we are not only helping bacteria develop resistance, but we are also polluting the environment when these drugs are passed in urine and feces. All of this helps resistant bacteria to spread in the community and become an epidemic. Ebola is very difficult to transmit because people who are contagious have visible and unusual symptoms. However, the emerging infections and pandemics of the future may not have visible symptoms, and they could break out in highly populous countries such as India and China that send thousands of travelers all over the world every day. When a person is infected with a contagious disease, he or she can expect to pass the illness on to an average of two people. This is called the “reproduction number.” Two is not that high a number as these things go; some diseases have far greater rates of infection. The SARS virus had a reproduction number of four. Measles has a reproduction number of 18. One person traveling as an airplane passenger and carrying an infection similar to Ebola can infect three to five people sitting nearby, ten if he or she walks to the toilet. The study that highlighted this was published in a medical journal a few years ago, but the airline industry has not implemented any changes or introduced screening to prevent the spread of infections by air travel passengers, a major vehicle for the rapid spread of disease. It is scary to think that nobody knows what will happen when the world faces a lethal disease we’re not used to, perhaps with a reproduction number of five or eight or even ten. What if it starts in a megacity? What if, unlike Ebola, it’s contagious before patients show obvious symptoms? Past experience isn’t comforting. In 2009, H1N1 flu spread around the world before we even knew it existed. The Questions Remains Why do seemingly intelligent people repeatedly do such collectively stupid things? How did we allow this to happen? The answer is disarmingly simple. It is because people are incentivized to prioritize short-term benefits over long-term considerations. It is what social scientists have called a “logic of collective action” problem. Everyone has his or her specialized niche interest: doctors their patients’ approval, business and airline executives their shareholders’ earnings, hospitals their reputations for best-practice hygienics, homemakers their obligation to keep their own families from illness. But no one owns the longer-term consequences for hundreds of millions of people who are irrelevant to satisfying these short-term concerns. Here is an example. At a recent Superbug Super Drug conference in London that I attended, scientists, health agencies, and pharmaceutical companies were vastly more concerned with investing millions of dollars in efforts to invent another antibiotic, claiming that this has to be the way forward. Money was the most pressing issue because, as everyone at the conference knew, for many years pharmaceutical companies have been pulling back from antibiotics research because they can’t see a profit in it. Development costs run into billions of dollars, yet there is no guarantee that any new drug will successfully fight infections. At the same conference Dr. Lloyd Czaplewski spoke about alternatives to antibiotics, in case we cannot come up with new ones fast enough to outrun superbug evolution. But he omitted mention of preventive strategies that use the internet or communication software to help reduce the spread of infections among families, communities, and countries. It is madness that we don’t have a concrete second-best alternative to new antibiotics, because we need them and we need them quickly. Of course, this is why we have governments, which have been known occasionally in the past as commonwealths. Governments are supposed to look out for the wider, common interests of society that niche-interested professionals take no responsibility for, and that includes public health. It is why nearly every nation’s government has an official who is analogous to the U.S. Surgeon General, and nearly every one has a public health service of some kind. Alas, national governments do not always function as they should. Several years ago physician and former Republican Senator Bill Frist submitted a proposal to the Senate for a U.S. Medical Expeditionary Corps. This would have been a specialized organization that could coordinate and execute rapid responses to global health emergencies such as Ebola. Nothing came of it, because Dr. Frist’s fellow politicians were either too shortsighted or too dimwitted to understand why it was a good idea. Or perhaps they simply realized that they could not benefit politically from supporting it. Plenty of mistakes continue to be made. In 2015, a particularly infectious form of bird flu ripped through 14 U.S. states, leading farmers to preventively slaughter nearly 40 million birds. The result of such callous and unnecessary acts is that, instead of exhausting themselves in the host population of birds, the viruses quickly find alternative hosts in which to survive, and could therefore easily mutate into a form that can infect humans. Earlier, during the 1980s, AIDS garnered more public attention because a handful of rich and famous people were infected, and because the campaign to eradicate it dovetailed with and boosted the political campaign on behalf of homosexual rights. Methicillin resistant Staphylococcus aureus (MRSA) in hospitals, by far the bigger threat at the time, was virtually ignored. Some doctors knew that MRSA would bring us to our knees and kill millions of people worldwide, but pharmaceutical companies and device and equipment manufacturers ignored these doctors and the thousands of patients dying in hospitals as a result of MRSA. They prioritized the wrong thing, and government did not correct the error. And that is partly how antibiotic-resistant infection went from an obscure hospital problem to an incipient global pandemic. Politics well outside the United States plays several other roles in the budding problem that we are confronting. Countries often will not admit they have a problem and request help because of the possible financial implications in terms of investment and travel. Guinea did not declare the Ebola epidemic early on and Chinese leaders, worried about trade and tourism, lied for months in 2002 about the presence of the SARS virus. In 2004, when avian influenza first surfaced in Thailand, officials there displayed a similar reluctance to release information. Hospitals in some countries, including India, are managed and often owned by doctors. They refuse to share information about existing infections and often categorically deny they have a problem. Reporting infections to public health authorities is not mandatory, and so hospitals that fail to say anything are not penalized. Even now, the WHO and the CDC do not have accurate and up-to-date information about the spread of E. coli or other infections, and part of the reason is that for-profit hospitals are reluctant to do anything to diminish their bottom line. Syria and Yemen are among those countries that are so weak and fragmented that they cannot effectively coordinate public healthcare. But their governments are also hostile to external organizations that offer relief. Part of the reason is xenophobia, but part is that this makes the government look bad. Relatedly, most poor-nation governments do not trust the efficacy of international institutions, and think that cooperating with them amounts to a re-importation of imperialism. They would rather their own people suffer and die than ask for needed help. That brings us to the level of international public health governance. Alas, sometimes poor-country governments estimate the efficacy of international institutions accurately. The WHO’s Ebola response in 2014-15 was a disaster. The organization was slow to declare a public health emergency even after public warnings from Médecins Sans Frontières, some of whose doctors had already died on the front line. The outbreak killed more than 28,000 people, far more than would have been the case had it been quickly identified. This isn’t just an issue of bureaucratic incompetence. The **WHO is under-resourced for the problems it is meant to solve. Funding comes from voluntary donations, and there is no mechanism by which it can quickly scale up its efforts during an emergency. The result is that its response to the next major disease outbreak is likely to be as inadequate as were its responses to Ebola, H1N1, and SARS**. Stakeholders admit that we need another mechanism, and most experts agree that the world needs some kind of emergency response team for dangerous diseases. But no one knows how to set one up amid the dysfunctional global governance structures that presently exist. Maybe they should turn to Bill Frist, whose basic concept was sound; if the U.S. government will not act, perhaps some other governments will, and use the UN system to do so. But as things stand, we lack a health equivalent of the military reserve. Neither government leaders nor doctors can mobilize a team of experts to contain infections. People who want to volunteer, whether for government or NGO efforts, are not paid and the rules, if any, are sketchy about what we do with them when they return from a mission. Are employers going to take them back? What are the quarantine rules? It is all completely ad hoc, meaning that humanity lacks the tools it needs to protect itself. And note, by the way, the contrast between how governments prepare for facing pandemics and how they prepare for making war. War is not more deadly to the human race than pandemics, but national defense against armed aggression is much better planned for than defense against threats to public health. There is a wealth of rules regarding it, too. Human beings study and plan for war, which kills people both deliberately and accidentally, but they do not invest comparable effort planning for pandemics, which are liable to kill orders of magnitude more people. To the mind of a medical doctor, this is strange. Creating Conditions for Infections to Spread Superbug infections spread for several interlocking reasons. Some are medical-epidemiological. Most of the infections of the past thirty years have started in one place and in one family. As already noted, they spread because many infectious diseases are highly contagious before the onset of symptoms, and because it is difficult to prevent patients who know they are sick from going to hospitals, work, and school, or from traveling further afield. But again, one reason for the problem is political, not medical. Many governments have no strategies in place to prevent pandemics because they are unwilling to tell their people how infections spread. They don’t want to worry people with such talk; it will make them, they fear, unpopular. So governments may have mountains of bureaucracy with great heaps of rules and regulations concerning public health, but they are generally unwilling to trust their own citizens to use common sense on their own behalf. This, too, seems very strange. Until now, no one has come forward to help us develop strategies to educate people how to identify and prevent the spread of infection to their families and communities. The majority of stakeholders have also been oblivious to the use of new technologies to help reduce the spread of these infections. There are some exceptions. In a fun blog post called Preparedness 101: Zombie Apocalypse, the CDC uses the threat of a zombie outbreak as a metaphor to encourage people to prepare for emergencies, including pandemics. It is well meaning and insightful, yet when my colleagues and I try to discuss ways of scaling up the CDC’s example with doctors and nurses, they shut down. Nobody plans for an actual crisis partly because it is too scary and hence paralyzing to think about. But it is also because it is not most health professionals’ job; it is not what they are trained and paid to do. It is always someone else’s job, except that it has turned out to be nobody’s job. Worse, the situation is not static. While we sit paralyzed, superbugs are evolving. Epidemiological models now predict how an algorithmic process of disease spread will move through the modern world. All urban centers around the entire globe can become infected within sixty days because we move around and cross borders much more than our ancestors did, thanks to air travel. A new pandemic could start crossing borders before we even know it exists. A flu-like disease could kill more than 33 million people in 250 days.3

#### Denial of disease deaths is a form of Western geographic privilege.

Campanella 20 Edoardo Campanella 4-10-2020 "The Invisible Killers" <https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/the-invisible-killers-by-edoardo-campanella-2020-04> (an economist at UniCredit Bank, is a fellow at the Center for the Governance of Change at IE University in Madrid)//Elmer

MILAN – **In 1969**, the US **surgeon general**, William H. Stewart, **told** **Congress** that **it was time “to close the books on infectious diseases**” and “declare the war against pestilence won.” Antibiotics, vaccines, and widespread advances in sanitation were making the world healthier than ever. Within a few years, the medical schools at Harvard and Yale actually closed their infectious-disease departments. By then, polio, typhoid, cholera, and even measles had essentially been eradicated, at least in the West. But triumphalism was not only **premature**; it was dangerously foolhardy. The **HIV/AIDS** epidemic broke out in the United States just a decade later, and never has been vanquished. Then, following a short lull in the 1990s, came **SARS**, **MERS**, **Ebola**, Zika, and avian and swine flu, to name just a few of the outbreaks so far this century. Though **most** of these new diseases have primarily **afflicted the poorest parts of the world**, they should have made clear that the war on microbes was far from over. Nonetheless, a **sense of invulnerability** **has prevailed in the West**. It was **assumed** that even if **epidemics** had not been consigned to history, they **posed a risk only to geographically and economically distant societies**. The novel coronavirus that emerged in Wuhan, China in December has shattered this illusion, showing once again that novel pathogens are equal-opportunity killers. After initially deceiving ourselves that COVID-19 would remain just another Asian health crisis, the entire world is now grappling with a runaway pandemic. Suddenly, public-health authorities everywhere are trying to flatten the contagion curve with quarantines, travel bans, and unprecedented society-wide lockdowns, while governments and central banks try desperately to flatten the recession curve with unprecedented stimulus packages.

#### Pharma spills-over – has cascading global impacts that are necessary for human survival.

NAS 8 National Academy of Sciences 12-3-2008 “The Role of the Life Sciences in Transforming America's Future Summary of a Workshop” //Re-cut by Elmer

Fostering Industries to Counter Global Problems The life sciences have applications in areas that range far beyond human health. Life-science based approaches could **contribute to advances in** many industries, from energy production and pollution remediation, to clean manufacturing and the production of new biologically inspired materials. In fact, biological systems could provide the basis for new products, services and industries that we cannot yet imagine. Microbes are already producing biofuels and could, through further research, provide a major component of future energy supplies. Marine and terrestrial organisms extract carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, which suggests that biological systems could be used to help manage climate change. Study of the complex systems encountered in biology is decade, it is really just the beginning.” Advances in the underlying science of plant and animal breeding have been just as dramatic as the advances in genetic can put down a band of fertilizer, come back six months later, and plant seeds exactly on that row, reducing the need for fertilizer, pesticides, and other agricultural inputs. Fraley said that the global agricultural system needs to adopt the goal of doubling the current yield of **crops while reducing key inputs like pesticides, fertilizers, and water** by one third. “It is more important than putting a man on the moon,” he said. Doubling agricultural yields would “change the world.” Another billion people will join the middle class over the next decade just in India and China as economies continue to grow. And all people need and deserve secure access to food supplies. Continued progress will require both basic and applied research, The evolution of life “put earth under new management,” Collins said. Understanding the future state of the planet will require understanding the biological systems that have shaped the planet. Many of these biological systems are found in the oceans, which cover 70 percent of the earth’s surface and have a crucial impact on weather, climate, and the composition of the atmosphere. In the past decade, new tools have become available to explore the microbial processes that drive the **chemistry of the oceans**, observed David Kingsbury, Chief Program Officer for Science at the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation. These technologies have revealed that a large proportion of the planet’s genetic diversity resides in the oceans. In addition, many organisms in the oceans readily exchange genes, creating evolutionary forces that can have global effects. The oceans are currently under great stress, Kingsbury pointed out. Nutrient runoff from agriculture is helping to create huge and expanding “dead zones” where oxygen levels are too low to sustain life. Toxic algal blooms are occurring with higher frequency in areas where they have not been seen in the past. Exploitation of ocean resources is disrupting ecological balances that have formed over many millions of years. Human-induced changes in the chemistry of the atmosphere are changing the chemistry of the oceans, with potentially catastrophic consequences. “If we are not careful, we are not going to have a sustainable planet to live on,” said Kingsbury. Only by understanding the basic biological processes at work in the oceans can humans live sustainably on earth.

#### Expanding breadth of Pharma Innovation into neglected diseases results in global linkages that revitalizes global health diplomacy.

Hotez 16, Peter J. Blue marble health: an innovative plan to fight diseases of the poor amid wealth. JHU Press, 2016. (Sabin Vaccine Institute and Texas Children’s Hospital Center for Vaccine Development, Departments of Pediatrics and Molecular Virology and Microbiology)//Elmer

We also need to better understand how these NTDs are actually transmitted within US borders, and I think it is extremely important to learn more about the links between these diseases and poverty. As I noted earlier, a drive through Houston’s Fifth Ward provides some insights, as one can quickly identify predisposing risk factors, including stray animals, dilapidated houses without window screens, standing water and discarded tires, and other evi- dence of environmental degradation, but we need to conduct careful epidemiological studies to really understand the links between poverty and NTDs, as well as animal reservoirs for illnesses such as Chagas disease and others. All of this presents an important research and development agenda for the **NTDs** in the United States. There are no point-of-care diagnostic tests available for most of the NTDs endemic to the nation, so blood from pa- tients must be sent to the CD С or other specialty research laboratories in order to establish a diagnosis for these conditions. As I sometimes point out to general audiences, when you go to your physician and get blood work done, there is no box to check off for toxocariasis or Chagas disease as there is for blood chemistries or other routine tests. We need diagnostic tests that are easily accessible to physicians and nurses. We also need new and improved treatments and vaccines. Because the NTDs are poverty-related diseases, they often fly below the radar screen of the major pharmaceutical companies and are not prioritized. Thus, the drugs used to treat these illnesses are not widely available, so typically the CDC has to be contacted in order to access them. In addition, many of these medicines were developed decades ago and produce a lot of side effects. For instance, the two medicines for Chagas disease—benznidazole and nifurtimox—cause skin rashes, diarrhea, and other unpleasant or even dangerous symptoms and illnesses. Patients using these medications have to interrupt their treatments up to 20% of the time. Moreover, these drugs cannot be used by pregnant women. Currently, new innovations for NTDs like Chagas dis- multinational ease still rely on nonprofit PDPs. The Geneva-based Drugs pharmaceutical for Neglected Diseases Initiative is leading efforts to de- companies have velop new and safer Chagas disease medicines [60], while shown little or modest at our National School of Tropical Medicine the Sab in interest in American Vaccine Institute and Texas Childrens Hospital Center for NTDs. As a result, new Vaccine Development (Sabin PDP) is working to develop products are being a therapeutic vaccine that could be used alongside exist- developed in the ing treatments [61]. These efforts rely on major philan- nonprofit sector. thropic donors. In our case at the Sabin PDP, they include the Kleberg Foundation, the Carlos Slim Foundation, the Southwest Electronic Energy Medical Research Institute, and Texas Childrens Hospital. Summary Points 1. In the United States, 45.3 million people live below the poverty line, roughly the same number of impoverished Americans alive during the early 1960s when Michael Harrington wrote The Other America. Approximately 20 million Americans now live in extreme poverty at one-half the US poverty level, and approximately 5 million are living on less than $2 per day 2. American poverty concentrates in specific areas, especially in southern states, with Texas having the largest numbers who live in poverty Important areas in the South include the Gulf Coast, border areas with Mexico, the Mississippi Delta, and Appalachia. 3. Approximately 12 million Americans are infected with NTDs, led by toxocariasis and trichomoniasis—which disproportionately affect African Americans—and Chagas disease (American trypanosomiasis) and cysticercosis—which disproportionately affect people of Hispanic origin. Toxoplasmosis is another important NTD. Toxocariasis, cysticercosis, and toxocariasis exert important mental health effects on impoverished Americans. Many of these NTDs are transmitted within US borders (autochthonous infections). 4. Arboviral infections are also important NTDs, led by dengue fever in Gulf Coastal areas and West Nile virus infection. WNV can cause chronic, persistent viral infections linked to chronic neurologic and renal disease. 5. There is an urgent need to promote awareness about the NTDs, especially for physicians and other health-care providers. 6. New policies are needed to expand surveillance for the NTDs affecting the United States. New legislation has been adopted in Texas, while additional bills are being introduced in the US Congress. Epidemiological studies are also needed to better understand how these diseases are transmitted and how they are linked to extreme poverty in the American South and elsewhere. 7. There is an urgent need for new “control tools” for American NTDs, including point-of-care diagnostics, antiparasitic and antiviral drugs, and vaccines. Many of these products are being developed by nonprofit PDPs rather than pharmaceutical companies. he G20 "A Theory of Justice" In his landmark 1971 book A Theory of Justice, the Harvard political philosopher John Rawls articulates two overriding principles of a just and fair society, namely, (1) “equality in the assignment of basic rights and duties” and (2) allowance of some social and economic inequalities, but only if they ultimately benefit “the least advantaged members of society” [1]. In terms of Rawls’s worldview, I believe that finding widespread NTDs among the extreme poor (and least-advantaged) who live amidst wealth—the central tenet of blue marble health—might represent one of the most jarring affronts to what he terms “justice as fairness” Because NTDs are now widespread among the leastadvantaged members of the worlds wealthiest economies, and they represent a major basis for thwarting their future growth, it is urgent for these nations, especially the G20 countries, to adopt strong internal policies to combat these diseases. I envision a three-pronged strategy to best address the G20 s (and Nigeria’s) poorest citizens afflicted by NTDs: 1. Each of the G20 nations and Nigeria has the capacity to fully understand the extent of these diseases within their own borders and then provide their own impoverished populations access to essential medicines used in mass drug administration to target helminth infections, in addition to trachoma, leprosy, yaws and scabies, and to provide treatments for other high-disease burden NTDs, including leishmaniasis and Chagas disease. The G20 countries and Nigeria Three major steps are required to effectively address blue marble health. 141 142 Blue Marble Health need to allocate resources and implement programs to achieve universal coverage for these diseases. 2. Each of the G20 nations and Nigeria has the capacity to conduct research and development for new NTD biotechnologies; they need to allocate resources toward this goal. 3. Both activities should be conducted within an overall framework of health system strengthening. Mass Drug Administration in the G20 A good place to revisit MDA among the G20 countries is to more closely examine the six G20 countries with positive worm indices—Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, and South Africa—in addition to Nigeria. Together these countries account for one-half of the worlds helminth infections [2]. An analysis of WHO s PCT database reveals that most of these nations are severely underachieving when it comes to providing MDA for people who require regular and periodic treatment for their intestinal helminth infections, schistosomiasis, and LF. Shown in table 11.1 is WHO’s estimate of the percentage that received treatment in 2013 [3-5]. Overall, the G20 nations affected by helminth infections and Nigeria perform poorly when it comes to treating their affected populations through MDA. In terms of specific countries in Latin America, Brazil is reaching only approximately one-third of its children and population at risk. And although Mexico provides complete coverage for intestinal worms, it—as previously mentioned—neither diagnoses nor treats hundreds of thousands (and possibly millions) of people with Chagas disease. In Africa, Nigeria’s MDA reaches less than 25% of its children at risk for helminth infections, and there is no information about schistosomiasis coverage in South Africa forthcoming from WHO. However, as Dr. Eyrun Kjetland (who works extensively in South Africa) has pointed out, female genital schistosomiasis remains widespread there, in part because praziquantel has been mostly unavailable in the country, owing to its drug importation laws. Schistosomiasis and other NTDs are still found among the poor in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The entire MENA region severely underdiagnoses most of its NTDs, including leishmaniasis. In Asia, Indonesia largely does not promote widespread deworming for its children, and only a small percentage of its population receives treatment for LF, while India does only marginally better. Indonesia also suffers from high rates of yaws, which can also be targeted by MDA using the antibiotic azithromycin. Similarly in India, the vast majority of its children do not have access to regular and periodic deworming, and only about one-half of the population receives MDA for LF. India also has the worlds largest numbers of leprosy cases. This disease can also be attacked through MDA using a multidrug therapy regimen. WHO does not present information on China, either because it has not been determined or is unavailable. However, China has made great strides in reducing its schistosomiasis prevalence since 1949, and it has eliminated LF. Similarly, Japan and South Korea have achieved significant success both in economic development and in reducing or eliminating its NTDs. 144 Blue Marble Health Key common factors for poor performance in meeting MDA targets are vast geographies, decentralization of health care, inadequate resource allocation, and lack of political will. Overall, the six G20 countries with positive worm indices, together with Nigeria, have the means and capacity to eliminate LF within their own borders, while greatly reducing the disease burdens of their intestinal helminth infections and schistosomiasis through MDA. Some of the key common factors for poor performance in meeting MDA targets are vast geographies, decentralization of health care that results in fragmentation of drug delivery, inadequate resource allocation, and lack of political will and commitment. What about G20 countries affected by NTDs but without a positive worm index? In the United States, the 12 million Americans infected and living with NTDs are largely unrecognized, undiagnosed, and untreated. The United States also does very little in terms of conducting active surveillance for Chagas disease (and other major NTDs), and only a tiny percentage of its population receives access to diagnosis and treatment—the same is true for Argentina. In both North America and Europe, toxocariasis and other parasitic zoonotic infections are seldom diagnosed and treated. Minimal information is available on eastern ------------------- Europeans, Turks, and Russians with intestinal worms or zoonotic NTDs or their access to diagnosis and treatment. NTDs remain widespread among Aboriginal Australians, including intestinal helminth infections and scabies—both of which can be targeted through MDA. Thus, the current status of access to essential medicines for people living in poverty and with NTDs among the G20 countries and Nigeria can be summarized as abysmal. The fact that so few are being treated through MDA programs is especially sad, given its low costs. As previ- ------------------- ously mentioned, there are approximately 1.07 billion treatments required among the populations at greatest risk in the G20 countries and Nigeria. At a cost of 50 cents per person per year, approximately $500 million would be required—that is, a dollar amount representing a tiny percentage (<0.001%) of the $65 trillion combined economy of these countries. The bottom line is that each of these nations has the internal capacity to provide these low-cost treatments to its impoverished populations. WHO has now launched a Universal Health Coverage (UHC) initiative that builds on its 1978 “Health for All” Alma-Ata declaration and the MillenThe current status of access to essential medicines for people living in poverty and with NTDs among the G20 countries and Nigeria can be summarized as abysmal. The G20 145 nium Development Goals, with a focus on protecting the health of the worlds most economically vulnerable populations. The activities highlighted here clearly fall within WHO s UHC mandate. Research and Development for New Control Tools and Biotechnologies For many of the leading NTDs—including vector-borne diseases such as dengue, leishmaniasis, Chagas disease, African sleeping sickness, and malaria, and also some helminth infections such as hookworm, schistosomiasis, onchocerciasis, and foodborne trematodiases—there are equally urgent needs to develop new drugs, diagnostics, and vaccines. Each year, the Australian policy group known as Policy Cures publishes an annual G-FINDER Report that measures the global investment in new technologies for neglected diseases, defining them broadly to include both the NTDs and the “big three” diseases: HIV/ AIDS, ТВ, and malaria [6]. For the year 2014, G-FINDER determined that approximately $3.37 billion was invested globally in neglected disease R&D technology, with most of that support going toward the big three diseases [6]. A look at total government support for neglected disease R&D, almost all of it from G20 countries, is also interesting. The public sector provided 64% of the total funding, and the United States provided two-thirds of that funding, mostly from the US National Institutes of Health [6]. In all, 71% of the total government funding for neglected diseases comes from the United States, European Commission, and United Kingdom. However, as the G-FINDER Report points out, these absolute numbers do not consider the GDPs of these nations. In terms of public funding relative to GDP ratios, countries such as Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and Argentina do particularly well in this regard [6]. Shown in table 11.2 are selected estimates from G-FINDER of the percentage of their GDP that various governments have devoted to R&D on Of government funding for neglected diseases R&D, a whopping 71% comes from the United States, European Commission, and United Kingdom. We need greater involvement and support from the remainder of the G20 countries, including positive worm index G20 countries— Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, and South Africa, in addition to Nigeria. 146 Blue Marble Health Although NTDs and other poverty-related diseases account for almost 14% of the global disease burden, they receive only a bit more than 1% of the global health-related R&D funds. neglected diseases. Using data from the G-FINDER Report combined with GDP information, I calculate that the world spends approximately 0.0028% of its GDP on neglected diseases R&D. Only three G20 countries—United States, United Kingdom, and Australia—match or exceed that percentage, ------------------- although India and France come close to it. The worstperforming countries were China and Japan. However, in 2013 the Japanese government, together with Japans major pharmaceutical companies and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, formed a partnership known as the Global Health Innovative Technology (GHIT) Fund for supporting PDPs and other entities to develop and shape new biotechnologies for neglected diseases, with an emphasis on NTDs [7, 8]. China is a different matter. The New York Times has reported that China paid out $86.3 billion in foreign investments in the year 2013 [9], with much of that spent in fragile nations where health systems are broken and NTDs are widespread. Clearly, China needs to allocate some of those funds to neglected diseases, either for MDA or new technologies. In addition, the nation of Brazil could easily increase its global contribution to NTD technologies by ю -fold in order to match higher-performing nations in this regard. Germany is now looking at supporting NTD technologies as part of an overarching G7 initiative on NTDs. In 2011, the German government launched a policy roadmap for neglected and poverty-related diseases [10]. Indeed, a recent analysis conducted by German investigators has found although NTDs ------------------- and other poverty-related diseases account for almost 14% of the global disease burden, they receive only a bit more than 1% of the global health-related R&D funds [11]. As shown in figure 11.1, by presenting R&D expenditures for a particular disease divided by the disability adjusted life years (DALYs) it is possible to get a sense of ------------------- diseases that are especially underfunded—even compared with other NTDS—such as the intestinal helminth infections and other neglected enteric diseases, as well as rheumatic fever [11]. Such data argue for the great urgency needed in addressing these health disparities by increasing R&D funding and support. Recently, the Dutch and German governments and the European Union (EU) have established important initiatives to support NTD R&D. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for instance, has been a major partner in our human hookworm vaccine initiative, while the EU has an important Frameworks Program 7 (FP7) for supporting new technologies [12], including a HOOKVAC Consortium of partners organized through the Amster dam Institute of Global Health and Development [13]. Most recently, the EU has established an ambitious Horizon 2020 program for expanding R&D in Europe, including NTD R&D activities [14], on top of a European and Developing Countries Clinical Trials Partnership (EDCTP) for clinically evaluating new NTD technologies [15]. New German government funding for NTD R&D funding was just announced. These Dutch, German, and EU initiatives represent an important advance for shaping the next generation of products to treat and prevent NTDs. Yet another aspect of blue marble health is the rise in comorbid conditions between the NTDs, the big three diseases, and the noncommunicable diseases. Impoverished and neglected populations in the G20 countries and Nigeria are facing a double hit resulting from the convergence of NTDs and NCDs. For instance, in Texas, Mexico, and India (but presumably elsewhere) they include both ТВ and diabetes interactions and, lately, dengue and diabetes interactions. In South Africa, HIV/AIDS now flourishes amidst the high prevalence of female genital schistosomiasis. Studying the pathogenesis and epidemiology of these comorbid interactions will also be an important theme in the coming years. Shaping a Policy for the G20 The G20 began meeting in 2008 in response to that years global recession and have since convened in a summit each year to discuss the major policy issues of the day [16]. At the 2015 G20 Summit held in Turkey, the major areas of broad emphasis included strengthening the global recovery and enhancing resilience, while ensuring sustainability [17]. Clearly, lifting the bottom segments of their populations out of poverty through NTD control and elimination could fall within the G20 remit. It is imperative that the six member nations with positive worm indices commit to providing total MDA coverage for their populations affected by the major helminth infections, and also that the four Western Hemispheric countries step up surveillance, diagnosis, and treatment for Chagas disease. Leishmaniasis, both kala-azar and the cutaneous form, also represent major NTDs affecting the G20, and these diseases need to be targeted for control and elimination. The US, Dutch, German, and Japanese governments, along with the EU, stand out for their contributions toward supporting product development to counter NTDs, 150 Blue Marble Health Equally important is the R&D agenda. There are some obvious underachievers among the G20 countries that must step up and contribute to R&D for new drug, diagnostic, and vaccine products to fight the neglected diseases [18]. Toward that aim, several investigators have proposed the establishment of R&D funds to support neglected disease research. They include a global vaccine development fund [19] and a general biomedical R&D fund focused on antimicrobial resistance, emerging infectious diseases, and neglected diseases [20]. Both proposals are thoughtful, have a lot of merit, and need to be considered, but I offer an alternative or complementary solution. In 2013, the World Health Assembly passed a resolution (66.22) that proposes a “strategic work plan” to achieve sustainable funding for health R&D that could emphasize NTDs. The plan commits the director-general of the World Health Organization to establish a global “observatory” in order to identify gaps and opportunities for health R&D related to neglected diseases [21]. Through a pooled fund managed by WHO-TDR (a special program on tropical disease research and training), several pilot projects are now being supported [22]. Given that todays neglected disease R&D support comes mostly from the United States—and indeed mostly from a single agency, the National Institutes of Health—it is difficult to envision how such a fund would be created without calling on the NIH yet again. Realistically, it is unlikely the NIH leadership or the well-established community of US scientists would be willing to cede control of NIH budgets to an international body. Instead, I think it is worth considering the possibility of having each of the G20 countries establish its own version of the Japanese GHIT Fund, which builds on indigenous scientists and academic institutions and their own pharmaceutical industries. A Chinese or South Korean version of GHIT for example could become a vital and important institution. Creating twenty separate innovation funds could achieve the same goals as a global fund, while simultaneously ensuring national ownership and capacity building for indigenous academic and industrial institutions. Many of them could develop and shape new biotechnologies in collaboration with the 16 international PDPs. This approach would be especially useful for the less developed G20 countries, including Brazil, Global funds for R&D are an option. An attractive alternative is to create national funds for product development R&D in each of the G20 countries and Nigeria—ones that resemble those put forward by the Dutch and Japanese governments. The G20 151 India, Indonesia, and Mexico. These nations have indigenous vaccine manufacturers, which are represented by the Developing Country Vaccine Manufacturers Network, and therefore have a level of sophistication for producing next-generation NTD vaccines. Still another option is for smaller groups of G20 countries to come together to support R&D investments. The EU’s programs for new NTD technologies highlighted above represent important examples. In addition, if institutions from China and India (both rivals and neighbors) collaborated in the area of neglected diseases [23], some important NTD problems affecting Asia could be solved in the coming years. The United States has potential to extend its outreach on NTDs by collaborating with other G20 nations in the Americas or other countries [24]. As a UN agency, WHO could certainly partner with one or more of these G20 NTD R&D investment funds, especially through its global health R&D observatory mechanism. Another key United Nations agency might include WIPO—the World Intellectual Property Organization. Through the Patent Cooperation Treaty mechanism, the Geneva-based WIPO represents one of the few revenue-generating UN agencies. In 2011, in collaboration with BIO Ventures for Global Health, it established WIPO Re:Search to facilitate the development of products to combat NTDs by bringing together major pharmaceutical companies and academic investigators working on these diseases [25]. As a revenue-generating UN agency under the charismatic leadership of Francis Gurry, WIPO has the potential to expand this remit to support NTD product R&D. Looking beyond the G20 The major NTDs linked to wealthy countries and blue marble health could also be addressed by nongovernmental organizations, including faith-based groups. For example, in 2011 the Pew Research Centers Forum on Religion and Public Life reported that the center of the worlds Christian-majority countries has shifted from Europe and North America to the Global South, meaning Africa, Asia, and Central and South America [26]. Thus, countries such as Brazil, Philippines, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Papua New Guinea now have some of the highest percentages of Christian populations. As shown in table 11.3, from an analysis published in PLOS NTDs I found that almost all of the world s Chagas disease cases and African trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) can be found in Christian-majority countries, in addition to almost one-half of the schistosomiasis cases [26]. These findings suggest the possibility of bringing in new actors to combat NTDs. They could include the Vatican and Pope Francis, especially given the new popes renewed commitment to impoverished populations [19]. The Orthodox Christian Church also has opportunities to highlight NTDs in countries such as Ethiopia or those in the Middle East, as do many Christian faith-based organizations and universities. The G20 153 Summary Points 1. The six G20 countries with positive worm indices—Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, and South Africa, together with Nigeria, have the means and capacity to eliminate LF within their own borders, while greatly reducing the disease burdens of their intestinal helminth infections and schistosomiasis through MDA. 2. G20 countries without classical worm indices, including the United States, also need to find mechanisms for promoting surveillance and access to essential medicine options for the poor living with NTDs within their own borders. 3. The G20 countries also have important biotechnology capabilities, which have yet to be adequately tapped for producing new NTD diagnostics, drugs, and vaccines. Beyond the United States, European nations, Australia, and Japan, they also include Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and South Korea. 4. Yet another aspect of blue marble health is the rise in comorbid conditions between the NTDs, the big three diseases, and the NCDs. 5. The EU and the Dutch and German governments have launched important NTD technology initiatives, as has the Japanese government and its partners through a new GHIT Fund. These activities support PDPs committed to NTDs as well as indigenous academic institutions and industrial organizations. 6. Large G20 economies such as Brazil and China must increase their global commitment to support new NTD technologies and R&D. 7. There are opportunities to link these new investments with parallel activities ongoing at two UN agencies, namely, WHO and WIPO. 8. These topics should be highlighted at future G20 summits. 9. Faith-based organizations could have a future role. For instance, the Vatican and related entities have opportunities to expand commitments to control those NTDs that are found to be prevalent among Christian-majority countries. Central to the blue marble health concept is that each of the G20 nations and Nigeria need to take greater responsibility for their own neglected diseases and neglected populations. Doing so could result in the control or elimination of one-half or more of the planets NTDs, with substantial gains made against HIV/AIDS, ТВ, and malaria. Thus, while programs of overseas development assistance devoted to health, such as PEPFAR, GFATM, PMI, and USAID’s NTD Program, in which the worlds richest countries provide support to the poorest nations for their neglected diseases, must continue and should even expand, we need increasingly to recognize the hidden burden of neglected diseases among the poor living in wealthy countries. As a first step, we must expand initiatives that raise awareness about the problem of NTDs within each of the G20 countries and Nigeria. The Global Network for NTDs linked to the Sabin Vaccine Institute has been working closely with the governments of India and Nigeria, respectively, in order to explain the opportunity for mass drug administration and its potential impact on health and economic development. MDA coverage rates are disappointingly low in these nations, especially for intestinal helminth infections and LF, as well as for schistosomiasis in the case of Nigeria. An extraordinary finding is that at least three nations with positive worm indices—India, Pakistan, and China—also maintain nuclear stockpiles [1]. Could the scientific horsepower of these nuclear states be partly redirected toward reducing endemic NTDs at home? 154 A Framework for Science and Vaccine Diplomacy 155 Outside of India and Nigeria, there is a need to promote NTD awareness in each of the G20 countries. For example, in the United States, our National School of Tropical Medicine has been highlighting the plight of some 12 million Americans living with NTDs. We have now worked with the Texas Legislature to enact a bill for NTD surveillance in suspected high-prevalence areas. However, similar initiatives need to be enacted across the G20 nations, including the European Union. In addition, international cooperation between the different G20 nations and Nigeria could be critical in achieving higher population coverage for MDA. For instance, China, despite its billions of dollars of business investments in sub-Saharan Africa, has not yet promoted NTD control efforts there. Yet China has tre- mendous expertise in MDA for NTDs and could provide Africa with valuable advice in this area. China was the first country to eliminate LF and has achieved successes in re- ducing its burden of schistosomiasis more than ю -fold since the 1949 revolution. China could also share its best practices with neighboring India, where NTDs remain practically ubiquitous [ 2]. Similarly, Japan and South Korea have made great gains toward eliminating intestinal helminth infections, while the former has also successfully eliminated LF and schistosomiasis. International cooperation between these three East Asian nations and Nigeria, or with the G20 countries with positive worm indices, especially India, Indonesia, and Brazil (where they are the highest), could result in important, positive health and economic gains. Each of these activities represents examples of what some refer to as global health diplomacy. Global Health Diplomacy My former colleague at Yale University, Ilona Kickbusch, currently the director of the Global Health Programme at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, has provided several working definitions of global health diplomacy, including efforts to “position health in foreign policy negotiations,” together with the establishment of global health governance initiatives [3]. Indeed, the creation of the GAVI Alliance, GFATM, UN AIDS, and other Geneva-based organizations might be considered vital examples of organizations created under the auspices of global health diplomacy, with the first two created following the 2000 Millennial Development Goals. The MDGs themselves represent an important framework for global health diplomacy, and arguably the most successful. Since 2005, several global health diplomacy initiatives have been enacted that could facilitate NTD activities among the G20 and Nigeria, although most of these actions are more focused on emerging viral infections of pandemic potential rather than the widespread chronic and debilitating NTDs. The International Health Regulations (IHR) were enacted in 2005 as a binding legal mechanism for all member states of WHO and focused on responses to acute public health emergencies [4]. IHR demands that countries report outbreaks and other public health events, while WHO responds with measures to uphold and enforce global health security [4]. IHR also establishes an emergency committee that advises the WHO director-general on whether an unexpected event should be considered a public health emergency. It also provides recommendations on initial steps for travel restrictions, surveillance, and infection control. With the possible exception of dengue fever, it is not clear how IHR will substantively address the NTDs or other blue marble health conditions. Moreover, even with IHR in place, the global response to the 2014 emergence of Ebola in West Africa was slow and inadequate and led to a catastrophic outbreak in the fall of that year [5]. This failure may require future revisions in the IHR, as recently recommended in a 2015 Lancet article by Lawrence Gostin and his colleagues at Georgetown University [6]. The Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA) is an interagency initiative of the US government conducted in partnership with other nations and international organizations, including WHO [7]. GHSA is also focused on preventing or reducing the impact of epidemics and outbreaks of pandemic potential, such as H7N9 influenza virus or MERS coronavirus, as well as detecting emerging threats and implementing rapid and effective responses. In some respects, GHSA represents the US component or response to IHR. It also covers intentional or accidental releases of dangerous infectious disease pathogens. Global Health 203s and The Lancet Commission were launched in 2013, coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of a landmark 1993 World Development Report that helped to ignite international efforts to link investments in health with economic development [8]. The Lancet Commission identifies four key messages and actions: (1) the substantial economic return on investing in health, which can be as much as 24% in low- and middle-income countries; (2) implementation of a “grand convergence” in global health through scale-up of health technologies and strengthening health systems by the year 2035; (3) fiscal policies such as taxation of tobacco and reduction of subsidies for fossil fuels, which represent powerful forces or “levers” for elected leaders; and (4) universal health coverage as an efficient mechanism to improve health as well as to provide “financial protection” [8]. The Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) is the product of the first of three international meetings for implementing the UN s 2015 Sustainable Development Goals. However, health is at present only a minor component of the AAAA. Indeed, the SDGs have been criticized because health is now only 1 of the 17 goals, whereas it was front and center among the 2000 MDGs. So far, the AAAAs recommendations have included the promotion of the health systems strengthening component of the GFATM and GAVI Alliance and the establishment of a Global Financing Facility (GFF) for womens and childrens health that would go hand-inhand with the UN secretary generals new Global Strategy for Every Woman Every Child [9]. The emphasis of these initiatives is to reduce preventable maternal, child, and adolescent deaths by 2030. Despite the evidence that hookworm infection and Chagas disease rank among the leading complications of pregnancy among women living in poverty in low- and middle-income countries, while female genital schistosomiasis is among sub-Saharan Africa’s most common gynecologic condition, there is not yet a specific mention of NTDs in the AAAA or GFF. Ultimately, the G20 nations can identify ways to address blue marble health disparities under the auspices of the SDGs or the global health diplomacy initiatives highlighted above. However, at present there is no specific mandate for them to do so. Vaccine Science Diplomacy Concurrently, the G20 nations have opportunities to collaborate in scientific activities leading to the development of new drugs, diagnostics, and vaccines. I have used the term “vaccine science diplomacy” to refer to inter- national scientific codevelopment of lifesaving vaccines between scientists of different nations, but particularly from nations with strained or evenly openly contentious international relations. The best historical example of vaccine science diplomacy is the codevelopment of the oral polio vaccine, led on the American side by Dr. Albert B. Sabin, and his Soviet virologist counterparts, including Dr. Mikhail Petrovich Chumakov [3]. In modern times there is potential interest in explor ing vaccine science diplomacy opportunities between the United States and some of the worlds Muslim-majority nations belonging to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation [10,11]. OIC countries include most of the Middle East and North Africa, as well as some highly populated Southeast Asian nations, including Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Malaysia, as well as most of central Asia. New estimates that we published in PLOS NTDs in 2015 indicate that the 30 most-populated OIC countries account for 35% of the worlds helminth infections comprising the global Worm Index, including 50% of the worlds children who require MDA for schistosomiasis [11]. Given that approximately 1.5 billion people live in OIC countries, or about 20% of the global population, helminth infections appear to disproportionately affect the health and economic development of Muslim-majority countries, as does leishmaniasis, trachoma, and possibly other NTDs [11]. As shown in figure 12.1, there is also tight inverse association between the worm index and human development index in the Muslim world [11]. OIC nations with strong infrastructures in science and biotechnology are potentially attractive candidates to pursue joint vaccine science diplomacy initiatives with the United States. Here the idea would be to promote scientific collaborations between US scientists and scientists from selected OIC countries in order to create new NTD technologies for some of the worst-off Muslim-majority countries. The “worst-off” might include OIC countries at the high end of the worm index, including Mali, Cote d’Ivoire, Mozambique, Cameroon, Burkina Faso, and Niger, as well as Nigeria [11].

#### Solves hotspot escalation

Nang and Martin 17, Roberto N., and Keith Martin. "Global health diplomacy: A new strategic defense pillar." Military medicine 182.1-2 (2017): 1456-1460. (MC, Global Health Division, Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences)//Elmer

INTRODUCTION: FORCE IF NECESSARY BUT NOT NECESSARILY FORCE The world appears unhinged. Instability from the Middle East, Caucasus, Africa, and Central America to Asia abound. The Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism database identified fewer than 300 major terrorist incidents between 1998 and 2004 in the Middle East and North Africa. In 2013, they listed 4,650 such incidents.1 Quieter cracks tear at the fabric of South America and parts of Asia. Although geographically distinct, many of these areas of instability share underlying causes that give rise to threats to the United States and the global community. Human-generated causes include corruption, poor governance, absence of the rule of law, violence, gross human rights abuses, climate change, environmental degradation, a weak civil society, and a lack of professional capabilities across skill sets within the government departments needed to effectively manage the operations of a well-run state.2 Natural causes include disasters, disease, demographic changes, and limited access to the resources essential for life. When these human or natural causes create conditions that result in poor provision of, or unequal access to essential services, such as water, food, shelter, health services, education, and economic opportunity, people lose confidence in government and hope for their children and their future. They become restless, demonstrate, can become violent and overthrow their governments (such as the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, the Tunisian cart vendor, which sparked 35 more selfimmolations by extralegal businessmen and started the Arab Spring), or can result in mass migrations.3 Desperate human security, conditions create desperate people undermining stability and creating even more demands from host nation governments and governments in neighboring states. Although force and counter terrorism programs are sometimes needed to address security threats, enormous opportunities are available to use nonkinetic capabilities within the Department of Defense (DoD), Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, other U.S. Government agencies, and civilian organizations to address the underlying causes of instability. Global health diplomacy is an underutilized strategic asset to do this. At a far lower cost, it will save lives, decrease economic losses, reduce the need for kinetic military operations, increase security cooperation, improve diplomatic relations, encourage trade, and create the foundations for longterm stability. HEALTH IS A NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVE—DISTANT HEALTH THREATS ARE GLOBAL THREATS Health is a national security imperative. The second- and thirdorder effects of a strategic health or global health issue that severely impacts and overwhelms the stability of a far-distant nation can have broad and multiplying effects that transcend boundaries and can become regional and global security threats. When human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome first started to be seen in the United States, there were U.S. leaders that were not too concerned about its impact on the general public, alluding to the fact that it was a disease that mostly affected the four H’s: homosexuals, heroin addicts, hemophiliacs, and Haitians.4 From its first known cases in 1981 up to 2013, human immunodeficiency virus has infected almost 78 million people and killed about 39 million.5 The Chernobyl power plant accident that occurred on October 26, 1986, was a catastrophic nuclear accident. Several studies have been done to estimate the increase in health effects and cancer-related morbidity and mortality in Europe.6 Communicable diseases can be easily carried from a distant area of the world to a teeming metropolis within 24 hours because of the ease and affordability of plane travel. The interconnectedness of countries as a result of trade has its drawbacks— biological or chemical contamination of food or products commonly occur across oceans and continents.7 Noncommunicable diseases are also affecting not just high income countries but also low-to-middle income countries. Ubiquitous exports of fast-food meals, high-fructose drinks, and salty, fried foods have contributed to a tremendous increase in obesity and hypertension.8 Obese and sedentary populations negatively impact the workforce of a nation and its productivity. The offices of military personnel and readiness cite obesity as the number one disqualifying reason for new recruits.9 Twenty seven percent of the U.S. young adults are not fit to serve in the military.10 Addiction to illegal drugs is an important global health threat. The problems created by the manufacture of opium in Afghanistan, methamphetamine in Mexico, and cocaine in Peru and Columbia create tremendous and devastating health effects, loss of productivity, social disruptions, breed corruption in a nation’s military and police forces, and create turbulent violence all along its wake, both in the countries manufacturing the drugs and the countries importing them. Weather forecasters often discuss the multiplying effects that the fluttering of a butterfly’s wings in one country may have on the regional weather of another distant country. Global health professionals and more and more of our military and political leaders are now concerned that the disease that we see in a child in Africa or a pig in Asia may have tremendous impacts on the public health, economic productivity, military readiness, and strategic security interests of their nation. In addition, a weak health and political system anywhere can be a threat everywhere. LINKAGES: GLOBAL HEALTH, SECURITY, AND STRATEGIC CHALLENGES Global health encompasses the basic needs required for human security: respect for people’s universal rights, personal protection, the rule of law, access to food, water, health care, education, basic infrastructure, and shelter.11 Their absence leaves populations vulnerable to the depredations of insurgent groups and corrupt, venal cabals that can hijack a region or state for the benefit of themselves and a select group of people. This creates an environment of the privileged and abused, the included and excluded, and an environment ripe for insecurity and conflict.12 For a nation to provide the environment where people’s basic needs can be met requires capabilities within their governing infrastructure and communities. This includes management, finance, education, social sciences, law,medicine, public health, engineering, veterinary medicine, agronomy, and more. Their absence [undermines] ~~cripples~~ a nation’s ability to support a foundation for human security and stability, inhibits its ability to thrive in good times, and respond effectively to natural and man-made threats in bad times. It **breeds corruption**, poverty, poor health outcomes, spread of lethal diseases, gross **human rights abuses and conflict. This we have seen played out with grim efficiency in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Central African Republic, Libya, Yemen, Somalia, Nigeria, Honduras, and beyond**. All have had disastrous regional effects, many have created direct threats to U.S. interests. Islamic State in Iraq and Syria was borne out of the brutal kleptocracy of Assad’s Syria and a destructive government in Iraq. Al-Shabaab was created in the failed state of Somalia. Boko Haram grew in the destitute and neglected regions of northern Nigeria. Al Qaeda and the Taliban secured a haven in the lawless western regions of Pakistan. Weak governments in Central America created a fertile ground for organized criminal gangs to terrorize the populace and profiteer off the illegal drug trade that destroys lives, and drives people to desperately flee northward into the United States. Insurgencies, terrorist organizations, and other nonstate actors thrive in the presence of an incompetent or abusive state government that violates segments of its citizenry and fails to provide an environment where peoples’ rights are protected and their basic needs met. These groups divine counter narratives that take advantage of people’s lack of hope and fears. They create a refuge and an outlet for people’s rage. Such messages and place of belonging can be a powerfulmagnet for youths, the poor, and the disenfranchised,who see little hope in the future. Security threats are not only manmade but also can come from nature. The international community’s failure to dramatically reduce our carbon footprint leaves us vulnerable to an increasing number of extreme weather events that threaten everything from coastal communities to food and water security. This will amplify existing tensions over natural resources and could result in the forced migrations of massive numbers of vulnerable people. The world’s population is expected to reach 9 billion by 2030. The growth will primarily occur in cities in the developing world most of which already have fractured or nonexistent infrastructure. Climate change will have a dramatic effect on densely populated poor urban areas, especially those in arid zones and in littoral areas. This is a recipe for disaster. Environmental degradation is also increasing the spread of infectious diseases and facilitating zoonoses to jump the species barrier and infect humans. The Ebola outbreak, like severe acute respiratory syndrome and H1N1 before it, is part of a long list of diseases that have infected humans from an animal reservoir with devastating impact. Many zoonoses exist and more will come. Using history’s guide, the next pandemic will likely be a zoonotic agent. Recognizing this, the United States last year led the creation of the Global Health Security Agenda to prevent, detect, and respond to deadly disease outbreaks.13 Though accepted by many countries, it has been implemented by few. No amount of force can resolve these challenges. However, global health diplomacy, exercised through civil-military and military-military programs, is a promising strategic tool that should be employed to address these wicked strategic or global health problems and improve domestic and international security. AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACT Despite a growing level of interest in academia and government agencies, there is little agreement on how to define “global health diplomacy.”14 Michaud defined it as “international diplomatic activities that (directly or indirectly) address issues of global health importance, and is concerned with how and why global health issues play out in a foreign policy context.”14 The World Health Organization (WHO) states that it “brings together the disciplines of public health, international affairs, management, law, and economics, and focuses on negotiations that shape and manage the global policy environment for health.”15 We summarize global health diplomacy as the application of a broad range of skill sets to cooperatively improve human security throughout the world. A vital area of focus must be to strengthen public service, governance capabilities, and civil society in unstable regions. Doing so will enable nations to create an environment where their citizens’ basic needs can be met, universal rights respected, and the ability to hold a government to account, secure. This includes building and retaining capabilities to manage effective, noncorrupt, justice, finance, health, education, defense, public works, and environmental departments. The absence of these structures cripples a country’s ability to govern itself and leaves it vulnerable to the causes of instability, both human and natural. The United States, by virtue of its strengths across diplomacy, defense, development, trade, and its inherent domestic civilian capabilities, has an opportunity to exercise its leadership and mobilize these assets. Using global health diplomacy to comprehensively strengthen public service and governance capabilities has been chronically neglected by the international development community. It needs a leader to start this process and the United States has the ability and authority to do so in the national and international interest.

### 1AC: Drug Prices

#### Advantage 2 is Drug Prices

#### Evergreening keeps Drug Prices high.

Amin 18 Tahir Amin 6-27-2018 "The problem with high drug prices isn't 'foreign freeloading,' it's the patent system" [High drug prices caused by US patent system, not 'foreign freeloaders' (cnbc.com)](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/25/high-drug-prices-caused-by-us-patent-system.html) <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/25/high-drug-prices-caused-by-us-patent-system.html> (co-founder of nonprofit I-MAK.org)//Elmer

**'Evergreening'** Instead of going to new medicines, the study finds that 74 percent of new patents during the decade went to drugs that already existed. It found that 80 percent of the nearly 100 best-selling drugs extended their exclusivity protections at least once, and 50 percent extended their patents more than once—with the effect of **prolonging** the **time before generics** could reach the market **as drug prices continued to rise**. The strategy is called “evergreening”: drug makers add on new patents to prolong a drug’s exclusivity, even when the additions aren’t fundamentally new, non-obvious, and useful as the law requires. One of the most expensive cancer drugs on the market, **Revlimid**®, is a case in point: **priced at** over $**125,000** per year of treatment, Celgene has sought **105 patents** on Revlimid®, many of which have been granted, extending its monopoly until the end of 2036. That gives the Revlimid® patent portfolio a lifespan of 40 years, which is being used to block or deter generic competitors from entering the market. But a recent I-MAK analysis finds that several of Celgene’s patents are mere add-ons—not fundamentally new to deserve a patent. And because of the thicket of patents around Revlimid®, **payers** are **projected to spend $45 billion** **in excess costs** on that drug alone as compared to what they could be paying if generic competitors were to enter when the first patent expires in 2019. Meanwhile, Celgene is also among the pharmaceuticals that have been recently scolded by the FDA for refusing to share samples with generic makers so they can test their own products against the brands in order to attain FDA approval. **In the absence of** genuine **competition** in the U.S. prescription drug market, **monopolies are yielding reckless pricing schemes and prohibitively expensive drugs** for Americans (and people around the world) who need them. In 2015, for example, U.S. Senators Wyden and Grassley found after an 18-month bipartisan investigation that the notorious $84,000 price tag for the hepatitis C drug made by Gilead was based on “a pricing and marketing strategy designed to maximize revenue with little concern for access or affordability.” Gilead’s subsequent hepatitis C drug Harvoni® was introduced to the market at a still higher cost of $94,500. Who benefits when drugs are priced so high? Not the 85 percent of Americans with hepatitis C who are still not able to afford treatment.

#### That pushes people into poverty – our internal is causal.

Hoban 10 Rose Hoban 9-13-2010 "High Cost of Medicine Pushes More People into Poverty" <https://www.voanews.com/science-health/high-cost-medicine-pushes-more-people-poverty> (spent more than six years as the health reporter for North Carolina Public Radio – WUNC, where she covered health care, state health policy, science and research with a focus on public health issues. She left to start North Carolina Health News after watching many of her professional peers leave or be laid off of their jobs, leaving NC with few people to cover this complicated and important topic. ALSO cites Laurens Niens who is a Health Researcher at Erasmus University Rotterdam)//Elmer

Health economist Laurens Niëns found that drugs needed to treat chronic diseases could be considered unaffordable **for many people in poor countries**. Medicines can be expensive and often make up a large portion of any family's health care budget. And the burden can be even greater for people in poor countries, where the **cost of vital medicines can push them into poverty**. The problem is growing as more people around the world are diagnosed with chronic diseases such as high blood pressure and diabetes. Being diagnosed with a chronic disease usually compells patients to seek treatment for a prolonged period of time. That increases the eventual price tag for health, says health economist Laurens Niëns at Erasmus University in the Netherlands. Niëns examined medication pricing data from the World Health Organization and also looked at data from the World Bank on household income in many countries. Using the data, he calculated how much people need to spend on necessities such as food, housing, education and medicines. "The medicines we looked at are medicines for patients who suffer from asthma, diabetes, hypertension and we looked at an adult respiratory infection," Niëns says. "Three conditions are for chronic diseases, which basically means that people need to procure those medicines each and every day." Niëns focused on the cost of medicine for those conditions. He found the essential drugs could be considered unaffordable for many people in poor countries - so much so that their cost often pushes people into abject poverty. "The proportion of the population that is living below the poverty line, plus the people that are being pushed below the poverty line, can **reach up to 80 percent** in some countries for some medicines," Niëns says. He points out that generic medicines - which are more affordable than brand-name medications - are often **not available in the marketplace**. And, according to Niëns, poor government policies can drive up the cost of medications. "For instance, a lot of governments actually tax medicines when they come into the country," he says. "[They] have no standard for the markups on medicines through the distribution chain. So often, governments think they pay a good price for the medicines when they procure them from the producer. However, before such a medicine reaches a patient, markups are sometimes up to 1,000 percent."

#### This is a form of pharmaceutical capitalism – exploiting marginalized groups in the third world.

Lift Mode 17 3-10-2017 "Pharmaceutical Colonialism” <https://medium.com/@liftmode/pharmaceutical-colonialism-3-ways-that-western-medicine-takes-from-indigenous-communities-3a9339b4f24f> (We at Liftmode.com are a team of professionals from a variety of backgrounds, dedicated to the mission of providing the highest quality and highest purity nutritional health supplements on the market. We look specifically for the latest and most promising research in the fields of cognition enhancement, neuroscience and alternative health supplements, and develop commercial strategies to bring these technologies to the marketplace.)//Elmer

3. **Cost of medicine as a form of debt** **One of the biggest methods of extracting money from rural and indigenous communities is through increased costs of medication**. Pharmaceutical colonialism often uses the premise of providing cheap medication for the world’s neediest to acquire local knowledge and natural resources. This premise is pushed into society through advertising campaigns and processes like lobbying. However, those who benefit most are often the shareholders, and not the people who need help. An example was the 2009 Reuters report which found that nearly **a million people** were **dying from malaria** dying every year **due to overly expensive medication**. According to the report, Artemisinin combination therapies (ACTs) can cost up to 65 times the daily minimum wage in countries that are most affected by malaria. These high prices **come after the government subsidies** which push them down as low as possible.[19] Another famous and recent example was the businessman Martin Shkreli, who pushed the cost of an AIDS drug up from $13.50 to over $700 per pill. This created an outrage on social media and it highlighted the underlying mindset behind most pharmaceutical companies — profit above all. An interesting and disturbing source of information about this is the film Fire in the Blood, which documents how **western pharmaceutical companies** **blocked the sale of cheap antiretroviral drugs to AIDS patients** **in Sub-Saharan Africa**.[20] “There is indeed a sense in which all modern **medicine** is **engaged in a colonizing process**… It can be seen in **the** increasing **professionalization of medicine and the exclusion of ‘folk’ practitioners**, in the close and often symbiotic relationship between medicine and the modern state, in the far-reaching claims made by medical science for its ability to prevent, control, and even eradicate human diseases.”[21] — D Arnold, Colonizing the Body, 1993 Pharmaceutical companies have been responsible for saving millions of lives due to their advances in medicine. However, the number of lives that have been lost due to the lack of affordability of medicine and the lack of equity and sharing of profits is estimated to be extremely high. **Western capitalism** has the **potential to act as a new form of colonialism**, and the modern medical method is one great way to extend the branches of capitalism into developing countries. The slums in Brazil highlight the blatant inequality between nations and people.

#### High Drug Prices forces patients to go underground for drugs.

* AT Medicare CP – won’t cover Drugs – CP can’t fiat coverage

Bryant 11 Clifton Bryant 2011 “The Routledge Handbook of Deviant Behaviour” (former professor of sociology at VA Tech)//Elmer

Now, the field of medicine is able to achieve seemingly miraculous results, through organ transplantation, reviving patients who have been "clinically" dead, and curing supposedly "incurable diseases." Medical miracles are not cheap, however, and **the costs of** medical care and **drugs** have risen (and **continue to rise**) at a near-astronomical rate. Consequently, **neither** **private** medical insurance plans **nor Medicare** **will** now **cover certain** procedures, treatments, and **medicines**. In the future, with continuing reform of the US healthcare system, even fewer procedures, treatments, and medications might will be covered. Certainly, some medical treatment will be "rationed," and particular categories of people (such as the elderly) may be systematically denied the coverage they need. As a result of all this, **medical**- and health-related **crime** and deviance **will inevitably rise**. Medical insurance, Medicare, and Medicaid fraud, which is already prevalent today, will increase exponentially. Smugglers will "bootleg" ever more pharmaceuticals into the US, and a large, thriving, nationwide black market will develop **for those who cannot afford to buy uncovered medications**. More medicines and diagnostic equipment will be stolen, and back- street medical procedures using such stolen equipment may well be offered for cash with no questions asked. Armed robberies of valuable pharmaceuticals from drug stores and super- markets will increase, too. Bribery to obtain insurance-uncovered or rationed medical care (or, indeed, any kind of medical care where demand exceeds supply) will likely mushroom. This is actually common in some countries around the world. **Counterfeiting** expensive pharmaceuticals **will be prevalent**, and medical frauds of all kinds will be very widespread. Many of these frauds will be directed at the elderly population as it continues to increase in size. The elderly will be particularly vulnerable because they are most likely to be denied coverage for certain medical procedures or treatments. For instance, private health insurance and Medicare will both refuse to cover a woman in her mid-80s for potentially life-saving heart-bypass surgery. As a result, she will be a prime candidate for victimization by medical fraud that offers her affordable, but bogus, treatment. There is already a thriving international black market in human organs (Schepper-Hughes 2009). Kidneys are obtained from poor individuals in impoverished countries for relatively modest sums of money. This cash allows the donors to purchase luxuries, such as a small automobile, educate their children, or simply sustain their families for a few months. The organs are sometimes transferred quickly to a hospital in the donor's own country for transplant surgery. But on other occasions they are transported to the US or another Western country. In the US, obtaining an organ for transplantation in this fashion is illegal. Nevertheless, the practice will undoubtedly increase greatly in the future. Where medical care and medicines become exorbitantly expensive, cheaper ways to obtain them, even when these are illicit, will be sought. Where there are shortages of medical care or medicines, perhaps because of rationing, other means of obtaining them, even if deviant, will surely be employed. As the cost and the difficulty of obtaining medical care and medicines increase, the implications for increased crime and deviance become almost limitless.

#### That kills Millions.

Greenberger 20 Phyllis E. Greenberger 12-3-2020 "Counterfeit Medicines Kill People" <https://www.healthywomen.org/health-care-policy/counterfeit-medicines-kill-people/who-suffers-because-of-counterfeit-drugs> (HealthWomen’s Senior Vice President of Science & Health Policy)//Elmer

**Over 1 million people die each year from fake drugs**. COVID-19 Have you ever had a hard time getting a prescription filled? Or maybe you've had to wrestle with your insurance provider to get them to pay for a medication vital for your health? Worse, maybe you're one of the 27.5 million uninsured Americans who find it difficult to get health care, let alone obtain the prescription drugs you may need. If you've had any of these experiences, then perhaps you've turned to the internet to buy medications that would require a prescription. While legal online pharmacies do exist, many online pharmacies are fraudulent, selling counterfeit medications, and millions of people have fallen victim to these scammers. Make no mistake: **Counterfeit medicine is not real**. The **active ingredients** that help you stay healthy may be **missing** **or diluted** to levels that are no longer potent. This **can be dangerous and even life-threatening**, as people rely on their medications to keep them well, and sometimes even alive. Many counterfeit medicines aren't even drugs at all, but rather **snake oil cures that make people sick** — they may even **contain** **dangerous ingredients such as heavy metals, highway paint or even rat poison.** The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that over 1 million people die each year from these substandard drugs. It's estimated that more than 10% of all pharmaceuticals in the global supply chain are counterfeit in normal times, and during COVID-19, the increased use of telehealth and the appearance of fraudulent doctors has led to a surge in drug fraud. In October of this year, Peter Pitts, president of the Center for Medicine in the Public Interest, a nonpartisan research organization, said pharmaceutical fakery was a "spreading cancer." Counterfeiting is a major problem that requires the federal government to step up to slow — and eventually prevent — its spread. It's also vital that consumers know exactly what's at stake when taking these fake drugs. Who suffers because of counterfeit drugs? Expensive prescription medications and generic drugs in nearly every therapeutic class may be counterfeited. Out of $4.3 billion worth of counterfeit medications seized between 2014 and 2016, 35% were marked as antibiotics. Some of the other most common culprits in counterfeit medicine are used to "treat" HIV/AIDS, erectile dysfunction and weight loss. No matter what condition or disease the counterfeit medication is intending to treat, the outcome can be disastrous. **Counterfeit medications exacerbate other existing health crises**. The United States, for example, is in the midst of an opioid epidemic that is killing 130 people per day. As of 2018, counterfeit drugs containing illegally imported fentanyl (a powerful opioid) had contributed to this tragedy by causing deaths in 26 states. The U.S. Department of Justice found that, in at least one case, these counterfeit drugs had been sold through a fraudulent online pharmacy.

#### The Alternative to the Aff isn’t no medicine but exploitive medicine – the Plan’s orientation is a sequencing strategy to resistance.

Ahmed 20 A Kavum Ahmed 6-24-2020 "Decolonizing the vaccine" <https://africasacountry.com/2020/06/decolonizing-the-vaccine> (A. Kayum Ahmed is Division Director for Access and Accountability at the Open Society Public Health Program in New York and teaches at Columbia University Law School.)//Duong+Elmer

Reflecting on a potential COVID-19 vaccine trial during a television interview in April, a French doctor stated, “If I can be provocative, shouldn’t we be doing this study in Africa, where there are no masks, no treatments, no resuscitation?” These remarks reflect a colonial view of Africa, reinforcing the idea that Africans are non-humans whose black bodies can be experimented on. This colonial perspective is also clearly articulated in the alliance between France, The Netherlands, Germany and Italy to negotiate priority access to the COVID-19 vaccine for themselves and the rest of Europe. In the Dutch government’s announcement of the European vaccine coalition, they indicate that, “… the alliance is also working to make a portion of vaccines available to low-income countries, including in Africa.” In the collective imagination of these European nations, Africa is portrayed as a site of redemption—a place where you can absolve yourself from the sins of “vaccine sovereignty,” by offering a “portion of the vaccines” to the continent. Vaccine sovereignty reflects how European and American governments use public funding, supported by the pharmaceutical industry and research universities, to obtain priority access to potential COVID-19 vaccines. The concept symbolizes the COVID-19 **vaccine** (when it eventually becomes available) as **an instrument of power deployed to exercise control** **over who will live and who must die**. In order to counter vaccine sovereignty, we must decolonize the vaccine. Africans have a particular role to play in leading this decolonization process as subjects of colonialism and as objects of domination through coloniality. Colonialism, as an expansion of territorial dominance, and coloniality, as the continued expression of Western imperialism after colonization, play out in the vaccine development space, most notably on the African continent. So what does decolonizing the vaccine look like? And how do we decolonize something that does not yet exist? For Frantz Fanon, “**Decolonization**, which sets out to change the order of the world, **is**, obviously, a program of **complete disorder**.” **Acknowledging** **that the** COVID-19 **vaccine has been weaponized** **as an instrument of power** by wealthy nations, **decolonization** **requires** a Fanonian program of **radical re-ordering.** In the context of vaccine sovereignty, this re-ordering **necessitates** the **dismantling** of the **profit-driven biomedical system**. This program starts with **de-linking from** **Euro-American constructions of knowledge and power** that reinforce vaccine sovereignty through the profit-driven biomedical system. Advocacy campaigns such as the “People’s Vaccine”, which calls for guaranteed free access to COVID-19 vaccines, diagnostics and treatments to everyone, everywhere, are a good start. Other mechanisms, such as the World Health Organization’s COVID-19 Technology Access Pool, similarly supports universal access to COVID-19 health technologies as global public goods. Since less than 1% of vaccines consumed in Africa are manufactured on the continent, regional efforts to develop vaccine manufacturing capacity such as those led by the Africa Center for Disease Control and Prevention, as well as the Alliance of African Research Universities, must be supported. These efforts collectively advance delinking and move us closer toward the re-ordering of systems of power. The opportunity for disorder is paradoxically enabled by the COVID-19 pandemic, which has permitted moments of existential reflection in the midst of the crisis. A few months ago, a press release announcing the distribution of “a portion of the vaccines” to Africans, may have been lauded as European benevolence. But in the context of a pandemic that is more likely to kill black people, Africa’s reliance on Europe for vaccine handouts is untenable, necessitating a re-examination of the systems of power that hold this colonial relationship in place. The Black African body appears to be good enough to be experimented on, but not worthy of receiving simultaneous access to the COVID-19 vaccine as Europeans. Consequently, Africans continue to feel the effects of colonialism and white supremacy, and understand the pernicious nature of European altruism. By reinforcing the current system of vaccine research, development and manufacturing, it has become apparent that European governments want to retain their colonial power over life and death in Africa through the COVID-19 vaccine. Resistance to this colonial power requires the decolonization of the vaccine.

### 1AC: Plan

#### Plan – The member nations of the World Trade Organization ought to reduce intellectual property protections for medicines by implementing a one-and-done approach for patent protection.

#### The Plan solves Evergreening.

Feldman 3 Robin Feldman 2-11-2019 "‘One-and-done’ for new drugs could cut patent thickets and boost generic competition" <https://www.statnews.com/2019/02/11/drug-patent-protection-one-done/> (Arthur J. Goldberg Distinguished Professor of Law, Albert Abramson ’54 Distinguished Professor of Law Chair, and Director of the Center for Innovation)//SidK + Elmer

I believe that one period of protection **should be enough**. We should make the legal changes necessary to prevent companies **from building patent walls** and piling up mountains of rights. This could be accomplished **by a “one-and-done” approach** for patent protection. Under it, a drug would receive just one period of exclusivity, and no more. The choice of which “one” could be left entirely in the hands of the pharmaceutical company, with the election made when the FDA approves the drug. Perhaps development of the drug went swiftly and smoothly, so the remaining life of one of the drug’s patents is of greatest value. Perhaps development languished, so designation as an orphan drug or some other benefit would bring greater reward. The choice would be up to the company itself, based on its own calculation of the maximum benefit. The result, however, is that a pharmaceutical company chooses whether its period of exclusivity would be a patent, an orphan drug designation, a period of data exclusivity (in which no generic is allowed to use the original drug’s safety and effectiveness data), or something else — but **not all of the above** and more. Consider Suboxone, a combination of buprenorphine and naloxone for treating opioid addiction. The drug’s maker has extended its protection cliff eight times, including obtaining an orphan drug designation, which is intended for drugs that serve only a small number of patients. The drug’s first period of exclusivity ended in 2005, but with the additions its protection now lasts until 2024. That makes almost two additional decades in which the public has borne the burden of monopoly pricing, and access to the medicine may have been constrained. Implementing a one-and-done approach in conjunction with FDA approval underscores the fact that these problems and solutions are designed for pharmaceuticals, not for all types of technologies. That way, one-and-done could be implemented through **legislative changes to the FDA’s drug approval system**, and would apply to patents granted going forward. One-and-done would apply to both patents and exclusivities. A more limited approach, a baby step if you will, would be to invigorate the existing patent obviousness doctrine as a way to cut back on patent tinkering. Obviousness, one of the five standards for patent eligibility, says that inventions that are obvious to an expert or the general public can’t be patented. Either by congressional clarification or judicial interpretation, many pile-on patents could be eliminated with a ruling that the core concept of the additional patent is nothing more than the original formulation. Anything else is merely an obvious adaptation of the core invention, modified with existing technology. As such, the patent would fail for being perfectly obvious. Even without congressional action, a more vigorous and robust application of the existing obviousness doctrine could significantly improve the problem of piled-up patents and patent walls. Pharmaceutical companies have become adept at maneuvering through the system of patent and non-patent rights to create mountains of rights that can be applied, one after another. This behavior lets drug companies keep competitors out of the market and beat them back when they get there. We shouldn’t be surprised at this. Pharmaceutical companies are profit-making entities, after all, that face pressure from their shareholders to produce ever-better results. If we want to change the system, we must change the incentives driving the system. And right now, the incentives for creating patent walls are just too great.

#### Reforming the Patent Process would lower Drug Prices and incentivize Pharma Innovation by revitalizing the Market.

Stanbrook 13, Matthew B. "Limiting “evergreening” for a better balance of drug innovation incentives." (2013): 939-939. (MD (University of Toronto) PhD (University of Toronto))//Elmer

At issue in the Indian case was “evergreening,” a now widespread practice by the pharmaceutical industry designed to extend the monopoly on an existing drug by modifying it and seeking new patents.2 Currently, half of all drugs patented in Canada have multiple subsequent patents, extending the lifetime of the original patent by about 8 years.3 Manufacturers, in defence of these practices, predictably tout the advantages of new versions of their products, which often represent more potent isomers or salts of the original drugs, longer-lasting formulations or improved delivery systems that make adherence easier or more convenient. But the new versions are by definition “**me too” drugs**, and demonstration that the resulting **incremental benefits** in efficacy and safety are clinically meaningful **is often lacking**. Moreover, the original drugs have often been “blockbusters” used for years to improve the health of millions of patients. It seems hard to argue convincingly why such beneficial drugs require an upgrade, often just before their patents expire. Rather than the marginal benefits accrued from tinkering with already effective agents, patients worldwide are in desperate need of new classes of pharmaceuticals for the great many health conditions for which treatments are presently inadequate or entirely lacking. But developing truly innovative drugs is undeniably a high-risk venture. It is important and necessary that pharmaceutical companies continue to take these risks, because they are usually the only entities with sufficient resources to do so. Therefore, companies must continue to perceive **sufficient incentives** to continue investing in innovation. Indeed, there is evidence that the prospect of future evergreening has become part of the incentive calculation for innovative drug development.4 But surely it is perverse to extend unpredictably a period of patent protection that the government intended to be clearly defined and predictable, and to maintain incentives that drive companies to divert their **drug-development resources away from innovation**. **Current patent legislation may not be optimal** for striking the right balance between encouraging innovation and facilitating profiteering. Given the broad societal importance of patent legislation, ongoing research to enable active governance of this issue should be a national priority. In the last decade, Canada’s laws have been among the friendliest toward evergreening in the world.5 We should now reflect on whether this is really in our national interest. Governments, including Canada’s, would do well to take inspiration from India’s example and tighten regulations that currently facilitate evergreening. This might involve **denying future patents for modifications** that currently would receive one. An overall reduction in the duration of all secondary patents on a therapy might also be considered. Globally, a more flexible and individualized approach to the length of drug patents might be a more effective strategy to align corporate incentives with population health needs. Limits on evergreening would likely reduce the **extensive patent litigation** that contributes to the **high prices of generic drugs** in Canada.3 Reducing economic pressure on generic drug companies may facilitate current provincial initiatives to lower generic drug prices. As opportunities to generate revenue from evergreening are eliminated, research-based pharmaceutical companies would be left with no choice but to invest more in innovative drug development to maintain their profits.

### 1AC: Framing

#### The standard is maximizing expected wellbeing or act hedonistic util.

#### Prefer:

#### 1] Pleasure and pain *are* intrinsic value and disvalue – everything else *regresses* – robust neuroscience.

Blum et al. 18

Kenneth Blum, 1Department of Psychiatry, Boonshoft School of Medicine, Dayton VA Medical Center, Wright State University, Dayton, OH, USA 2Department of Psychiatry, McKnight Brain Institute, University of Florida College of Medicine, Gainesville, FL, USA 3Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, Keck Medicine University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, USA 4Division of Applied Clinical Research & Education, Dominion Diagnostics, LLC, North Kingstown, RI, USA 5Department of Precision Medicine, Geneus Health LLC, San Antonio, TX, USA 6Department of Addiction Research & Therapy, Nupathways Inc., Innsbrook, MO, USA 7Department of Clinical Neurology, Path Foundation, New York, NY, USA 8Division of Neuroscience-Based Addiction Therapy, The Shores Treatment & Recovery Center, Port Saint Lucie, FL, USA 9Institute of Psychology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary 10Division of Addiction Research, Dominion Diagnostics, LLC. North Kingston, RI, USA 11Victory Nutrition International, Lederach, PA., USA 12National Human Genome Center at Howard University, Washington, DC., USA, Marjorie Gondré-Lewis, 12National Human Genome Center at Howard University, Washington, DC., USA 13Departments of Anatomy and Psychiatry, Howard University College of Medicine, Washington, DC US, Bruce Steinberg, 4Division of Applied Clinical Research & Education, Dominion Diagnostics, LLC, North Kingstown, RI, USA, Igor Elman, 15Department Psychiatry, Cooper University School of Medicine, Camden, NJ, USA, David Baron, 3Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, Keck Medicine University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, USA, Edward J Modestino, 14Department of Psychology, Curry College, Milton, MA, USA, Rajendra D Badgaiyan, 15Department Psychiatry, Cooper University School of Medicine, Camden, NJ, USA, Mark S Gold 16Department of Psychiatry, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, USA, “Our evolved unique pleasure circuit makes humans different from apes: Reconsideration of data derived from animal studies”, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, 28 February 2018, accessed: 19 August 2020, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6446569/>, R.S.

**Pleasure** is not only one of the three primary reward functions but it also **defines reward.** As homeostasis explains the functions of only a limited number of rewards, the principal reason why particular stimuli, objects, events, situations, and activities are rewarding may be due to pleasure. This applies first of all to sex and to the primary homeostatic rewards of food and liquid and extends to money, taste, beauty, social encounters and nonmaterial, internally set, and intrinsic rewards. Pleasure, as the primary effect of rewards, drives the prime reward functions of learning, approach behavior, and decision making and provides the **basis for hedonic theories** of reward function. We are attracted by most rewards and exert intense efforts to obtain them, just because they are enjoyable [10].

Pleasure is a passive reaction that derives from the experience or prediction of reward and may lead to a long-lasting state of happiness. The word happiness is difficult to define. In fact, just obtaining physical pleasure may not be enough. One key to happiness involves a network of good friends. However, it is not obvious how the higher forms of satisfaction and pleasure are related to an ice cream cone, or to your team winning a sporting event. Recent multidisciplinary research, using both humans and detailed invasive brain analysis of animals has discovered some critical ways that the brain processes pleasure [14].

Pleasure as a hallmark of reward is sufficient for defining a reward, but it may not be necessary. A reward may generate positive learning and approach behavior simply because it contains substances that are essential for body function. When we are hungry, we may eat bad and unpleasant meals. A monkey who receives hundreds of small drops of water every morning in the laboratory is unlikely to feel a rush of pleasure every time it gets the 0.1 ml. Nevertheless, with these precautions in mind, we may define any stimulus, object, event, activity, or situation that has the potential to produce pleasure as a reward. In the context of reward deficiency or for disorders of addiction, homeostasis pursues pharmacological treatments: drugs to treat drug addiction, obesity, and other compulsive behaviors. The theory of allostasis suggests broader approaches - such as re-expanding the range of possible pleasures and providing opportunities to expend effort in their pursuit. [15]. It is noteworthy, the first animal studies eliciting approach behavior by electrical brain stimulation interpreted their findings as a discovery of the brain’s pleasure centers [16] which were later partly associated with midbrain dopamine neurons [17–19] despite the notorious difficulties of identifying emotions in animals.

Evolutionary theories of pleasure: The love connection BO:D

Charles Darwin and other biological scientists that have examined the biological evolution and its basic principles found various mechanisms that steer behavior and biological development. Besides their theory on natural selection, it was particularly the sexual selection process that gained significance in the latter context over the last century, especially when it comes to the question of what makes us “what we are,” i.e., human. However, the capacity to sexually select and evolve is not at all a human accomplishment alone or a sign of our uniqueness; yet, we humans, as it seems, are ingenious in fooling ourselves and others–when we are in love or desperately search for it.

It is well established that modern biological theory conjectures that **organisms are** the **result of evolutionary competition.** In fact, Richard Dawkins stresses gene survival and propagation as the basic mechanism of life [20]. Only genes that lead to the fittest phenotype will make it. It is noteworthy that the phenotype is selected based on behavior that maximizes gene propagation. To do so, the phenotype must survive and generate offspring, and be better at it than its competitors. Thus, the ultimate, distal function of rewards is to increase evolutionary fitness by ensuring the survival of the organism and reproduction. It is agreed that learning, approach, economic decisions, and positive emotions are the proximal functions through which phenotypes obtain other necessary nutrients for survival, mating, and care for offspring.

Behavioral reward functions have evolved to help individuals to survive and propagate their genes. Apparently, people need to live well and long enough to reproduce. Most would agree that homo-sapiens do so by ingesting the substances that make their bodies function properly. For this reason, foods and drinks are rewards. Additional rewards, including those used for economic exchanges, ensure sufficient palatable food and drink supply. Mating and gene propagation is supported by powerful sexual attraction. Additional properties, like body form, augment the chance to mate and nourish and defend offspring and are therefore also rewards. Care for offspring until they can reproduce themselves helps gene propagation and is rewarding; otherwise, many believe mating is useless. According to David E Comings, as any small edge will ultimately result in evolutionary advantage [21], additional reward mechanisms like novelty seeking and exploration widen the spectrum of available rewards and thus enhance the chance for survival, reproduction, and ultimate gene propagation. These functions may help us to obtain the benefits of distant rewards that are determined by our own interests and not immediately available in the environment. Thus the distal reward function in gene propagation and evolutionary fitness defines the proximal reward functions that we see in everyday behavior. That is why foods, drinks, mates, and offspring are rewarding.

There have been theories linking pleasure as a required component of health benefits salutogenesis, (salugenesis). In essence, under these terms, pleasure is described as a state or feeling of happiness and satisfaction resulting from an experience that one enjoys. Regarding pleasure, it is a double-edged sword, on the one hand, it promotes positive feelings (like mindfulness) and even better cognition, possibly through the release of dopamine [22]. But on the other hand, pleasure simultaneously encourages addiction and other negative behaviors, i.e., motivational toxicity. It is a complex neurobiological phenomenon, relying on reward circuitry or limbic activity. It is important to realize that through the “Brain Reward Cascade” (BRC) endorphin and endogenous morphinergic mechanisms may play a role [23]. While natural rewards are essential for survival and appetitive motivation leading to beneficial biological behaviors like eating, sex, and reproduction, crucial social interactions seem to further facilitate the positive effects exerted by pleasurable experiences. Indeed, experimentation with addictive drugs is capable of directly acting on reward pathways and causing deterioration of these systems promoting hypodopaminergia [24]. Most would agree that pleasurable activities can stimulate personal growth and may help to induce healthy behavioral changes, including stress management [25]. The work of Esch and Stefano [26] concerning the link between compassion and love implicate the brain reward system, and pleasure induction suggests that social contact in general, i.e., love, attachment, and compassion, can be highly effective in stress reduction, survival, and overall health.

Understanding the role of neurotransmission and pleasurable states both positive and negative have been adequately studied over many decades [26–37], but comparative anatomical and neurobiological function between animals and homo sapiens appear to be required and seem to be in an infancy stage.

Finding happiness is different between apes and humans

As stated earlier in this expert opinion one key to happiness involves a network of good friends [38]. However, it is not entirely clear exactly how the higher forms of satisfaction and pleasure are related to a sugar rush, winning a sports event or even sky diving, all of which augment dopamine release at the reward brain site. Recent multidisciplinary research, using both humans and detailed invasive brain analysis of animals has discovered some critical ways that the brain processes pleasure.

Remarkably, there are pathways for ordinary liking and pleasure, which are limited in scope as described above in this commentary. However, there are **many brain regions**, often termed hot and cold spots, that significantly **modulate** (increase or decrease) our **pleasure or** even produce **the opposite** of pleasure— that is disgust and fear [39]. One specific region of the nucleus accumbens is organized like a computer keyboard, with particular stimulus triggers in rows— producing an increase and decrease of pleasure and disgust. Moreover, the cortex has unique roles in the cognitive evaluation of our feelings of pleasure [40]. Importantly, the interplay of these multiple triggers and the higher brain centers in the prefrontal cortex are very intricate and are just being uncovered.

Desire and reward centers

It is surprising that many different sources of pleasure activate the same circuits between the mesocorticolimbic regions (Figure 1). Reward and desire are two aspects pleasure induction and have a very widespread, large circuit. Some part of this circuit distinguishes between desire and dread. The so-called pleasure circuitry called “REWARD” involves a well-known dopamine pathway in the mesolimbic system that can influence both pleasure and motivation.

In simplest terms, the well-established mesolimbic system is a dopamine circuit for reward. It starts in the ventral tegmental area (VTA) of the midbrain and travels to the nucleus accumbens (Figure 2). It is the cornerstone target to all addictions. The VTA is encompassed with neurons using glutamate, GABA, and dopamine. The nucleus accumbens (NAc) is located within the ventral striatum and is divided into two sub-regions—the motor and limbic regions associated with its core and shell, respectively. The NAc has spiny neurons that receive dopamine from the VTA and glutamate (a dopamine driver) from the hippocampus, amygdala and medial prefrontal cortex. Subsequently, the NAc projects GABA signals to an area termed the ventral pallidum (VP). The region is a relay station in the limbic loop of the basal ganglia, critical for motivation, behavior, emotions and the “Feel Good” response. This defined system of the brain is involved in all addictions –substance, and non –substance related. In 1995, our laboratory coined the term “Reward Deficiency Syndrome” (RDS) to describe genetic and epigenetic induced hypodopaminergia in the “Brain Reward Cascade” that contribute to addiction and compulsive behaviors [3,6,41].

Furthermore, ordinary “liking” of something, or pure pleasure, is represented by small regions mainly in the limbic system (old reptilian part of the brain). These may be part of larger neural circuits. In Latin, hedus is the term for “sweet”; and in Greek, hodone is the term for “pleasure.” Thus, the word Hedonic is now referring to various subcomponents of pleasure: some associated with purely sensory and others with more complex emotions involving morals, aesthetics, and social interactions. The capacity to have pleasure is part of being healthy and may even extend life, especially if linked to optimism as a dopaminergic response [42].

Psychiatric illness often includes symptoms of an abnormal inability to experience pleasure, referred to as anhedonia. A negative feeling state is called dysphoria, which can consist of many emotions such as pain, depression, anxiety, fear, and disgust. Previously many scientists used animal research to uncover the complex mechanisms of pleasure, liking, motivation and even emotions like panic and fear, as discussed above [43]. However, as a significant amount of related research about the specific brain regions of pleasure/reward circuitry has been derived from invasive studies of animals, these cannot be directly compared with subjective states experienced by humans.

In an attempt to resolve the controversy regarding the causal contributions of mesolimbic dopamine systems to reward, we have previously evaluated the three-main competing explanatory categories: “liking,” “learning,” and “wanting” [3]. That is, dopamine may mediate (a) liking: the hedonic impact of reward, (b) learning: learned predictions about rewarding effects, or (c) wanting: the pursuit of rewards by attributing incentive salience to reward-related stimuli [44]. We have evaluated these hypotheses, especially as they relate to the RDS, and we find that the incentive salience or “wanting” hypothesis of dopaminergic functioning is supported by a majority of the scientific evidence. Various neuroimaging studies have shown that anticipated behaviors such as sex and gaming, delicious foods and drugs of abuse all affect brain regions associated with reward networks, and may not be unidirectional. Drugs of abuse enhance dopamine signaling which sensitizes mesolimbic brain mechanisms that apparently evolved explicitly to attribute incentive salience to various rewards [45].

Addictive substances are voluntarily self-administered, and they enhance (directly or indirectly) dopaminergic synaptic function in the NAc. This activation of the brain reward networks (producing the ecstatic “high” that users seek). Although these circuits were initially thought to encode a set point of hedonic tone, it is now being considered to be far more complicated in function, also encoding attention, reward expectancy, disconfirmation of reward expectancy, and incentive motivation [46]. The argument about addiction as a disease may be confused with a predisposition to substance and nonsubstance rewards relative to the extreme effect of drugs of abuse on brain neurochemistry. The former sets up an individual to be at high risk through both genetic polymorphisms in reward genes as well as harmful epigenetic insult. Some Psychologists, even with all the data, still infer that addiction is not a disease [47]. Elevated stress levels, together with polymorphisms (genetic variations) of various dopaminergic genes and the genes related to other neurotransmitters (and their genetic variants), and may have an additive effect on vulnerability to various addictions [48]. In this regard, Vanyukov, et al. [48] suggested based on review that whereas the gateway hypothesis does not specify mechanistic connections between “stages,” and does not extend to the risks for addictions the concept of common liability to addictions may be more parsimonious. The latter theory is grounded in genetic theory and supported by data identifying common sources of variation in the risk for specific addictions (e.g., RDS). This commonality has identifiable neurobiological substrate and plausible evolutionary explanations.

Over many years the controversy of dopamine involvement in especially “pleasure” has led to confusion concerning separating motivation from actual pleasure (wanting versus liking) [49]. We take the position that animal studies cannot provide real clinical information as described by self-reports in humans. As mentioned earlier and in the abstract, on November 23rd, 2017, evidence for our concerns was discovered [50]

In essence, although nonhuman primate brains are similar to our own, the disparity between other primates and those of human cognitive abilities tells us that surface similarity is not the whole story. Sousa et al. [50] small case found various differentially expressed genes, to associate with pleasure related systems. Furthermore, the dopaminergic interneurons located in the human neocortex were absent from the neocortex of nonhuman African apes. Such differences in neuronal transcriptional programs may underlie a variety of neurodevelopmental disorders.

In simpler terms, the system controls the production of dopamine, a chemical messenger that plays a significant role in pleasure and rewards. The senior author, Dr. Nenad Sestan from Yale, stated: “Humans have evolved a dopamine system that is different than the one in chimpanzees.” This may explain why the behavior of humans is so unique from that of non-human primates, even though our brains are so surprisingly similar, Sestan said: “It might also shed light on why people are vulnerable to mental disorders such as autism (possibly even addiction).” Remarkably, this research finding emerged from an extensive, multicenter collaboration to compare the brains across several species. These researchers examined 247 specimens of neural tissue from six humans, five chimpanzees, and five macaque monkeys. Moreover, these investigators analyzed which genes were turned on or off in 16 regions of the brain. While the differences among species were subtle, **there was** a **remarkable contrast in** the **neocortices**, specifically in an area of the brain that is much more developed in humans than in chimpanzees. In fact, these researchers found that a gene called tyrosine hydroxylase (TH) for the enzyme, responsible for the production of dopamine, was expressed in the neocortex of humans, but not chimpanzees. As discussed earlier, dopamine is best known for its essential role within the brain’s reward system; the very system that responds to everything from sex, to gambling, to food, and to addictive drugs. However, dopamine also assists in regulating emotional responses, memory, and movement. Notably, abnormal dopamine levels have been linked to disorders including Parkinson’s, schizophrenia and spectrum disorders such as autism and addiction or RDS.

Nora Volkow, the director of NIDA, pointed out that one alluring possibility is that the neurotransmitter dopamine plays a substantial role in humans’ ability to pursue various rewards that are perhaps months or even years away in the future. This same idea has been suggested by Dr. Robert Sapolsky, a professor of biology and neurology at Stanford University. Dr. Sapolsky cited evidence that dopamine levels rise dramatically in humans when we anticipate potential rewards that are uncertain and even far off in our futures, such as retirement or even the possible alterlife. This may explain what often motivates people to work for things that have no apparent short-term benefit [51]. In similar work, Volkow and Bale [52] proposed a model in which dopamine can favor NOW processes through phasic signaling in reward circuits or LATER processes through tonic signaling in control circuits. Specifically, they suggest that through its modulation of the orbitofrontal cortex, which processes salience attribution, dopamine also enables shilting from NOW to LATER, while its modulation of the insula, which processes interoceptive information, influences the probability of selecting NOW versus LATER actions based on an individual’s physiological state. This hypothesis further supports the concept that disruptions along these circuits contribute to diverse pathologies, including obesity and addiction or RDS.

#### 2] Death is bad and outweighs – a) agents can’t act if they fear for their bodily security which constrains every ethical theory, b) it destroys the subject itself – kills any ability to achieve value in ethics since life is a prerequisite which means it’s a side constraint since we can’t reach the end goal of ethics without life

#### 3] Actor spec—governments must use util because they don’t have intentions and are constantly dealing with tradeoffs—outweighs since different agents have different obligations—takes out calc indicts since they are empirically denied.

#### 4] Interpretation: the neg must not contest the aff framework, read arguments that contest the ethical validity of the aff standard, or read an alternative framework provided that the aff defends act utilitarianis

#### a] Clash – AFC is key to force substantive engagement – util doesn’t exclude impacts and forces debaters to do advocacy comparison and engage in meaningful rebuttal clash.

#### b] Strat skew – neg is reactive and can up-layer the aff on moral frameworks, procedurals, and discursive arguments – AFC levels the playing field by forcing the neg to commit to the aff on substance, which ensures the AC matters

#### Ci and DTD on 1ac theory - the sole purpose of 1ac theory is to deter arguments and anything else lets the 1nc read it regardless No RVIs on 1ac theory - otherwise they can spend 7 minutes on the shell and the debate ends right there

### 1AC: Method

#### 1] Debates surrounding health policies are good.

Shelton 17, Rachel C., Derek M. Griffith, and Michelle C. Kegler. "The promise of qualitative research to inform theory to address health equity." Health Education & Behavior 44.5 (2017): 815-819. (Assistant Professor, Sociomedical Sciences, Columbia University)//Elmer

In the 30 years since the 1985 Secretary’s Task Force Report on Black and Minority Health was released (Heckler, 1985), the 20 years since Society of Public Health Education (SOPHE) published its first research agenda (Clark & McLeroy, 1995), and the decade since the Inaugural SOPHE Summit on Eliminating Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities (Airhihenbuwa, 2006), the patterns of health and illness in the United States continue to tell a story of societal inequity. Whether implicit or explicit, theory is critical in that it serves as a lens through which we can view the contours of health issues and inequities. Given our modest progress in reducing health disparities over the past 20 years, it is possible that our current theories are not directing us to the priority determinants, which, if modified, could enable us make significant progress in achieving health equity. It is also plausible that the theory-based change strategies and interventions that researchers and practitioners typically implement fall short of what is needed to create significant changes to redress structural, social, and historical injustices that have contributed to health disparities. Qualitative methods are uniquely poised to offer insight into not just the theory of the problem but insight into the principles and theories that may be the best candidates on which to build an intervention (McLeroy et al., 1993). Yet qualitative methods (used on their own or in the context of mixed-methods research) tend to be perceived within the scientific community as less valuable and important than quantitative methods in the context of health disparities research. To understand the perspectives, context, and daily lives and experiences that shape health, qualitative research is essential. Particularly in the context of health education and health promotion, qualitative research has provided critical insights into the factors that shape modifiable determinants of health across all levels of the ecological model (McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988). Previously, there has been little critical or systematic consideration of how qualitative research could be used to advance research on health disparities or health equity in our field. In this commentary, we reflect on some of the theoretical and conceptual challenges facing health disparities and health equity research and highlight how qualitative methods provide important and unique insights that inform future research and practice. Role of Theory In health education and health promotion, we discuss the theory of the problem and change theories or theories of action (Glanz, Rimer, & Viswanath, 2015). Theories of the problem are explanatory and help identify and describe determinants of a problem and identify modifiable factors that can be prioritized for change (Glanz et al., 2015). Theories of change inform how to design intervention strategies that will influence priority determinants and also help pinpoint logical short-term and intermediate outcomes for logic models and evaluation efforts (Bartholomew, Parcel, Kok, Gottlieb, & Fernandez, 2011; Crosby, Kegler, & DiClemente, 2009; Eldredge, Markham, Ruiter, Kok, & Parcel, 2016; Glanz et al., 2015). Thus, theories provide an organizing framework for our research and practice by systematically guiding us toward constructs to target with our interventions and organize our evaluation and research results. Despite growing recognition of the importance of broader organizational, community, and policy-related factors in shaping health and health disparities, our field’s tendency to use theories at the individual and interpersonal levels is well documented (Golden & Earp, 2012; Painter, Borba, Hynes, Mays, & Glanz, 2008). Even our program and intervention planning models, which allow for selection of constructs from a range of theories depending on the identified determinants (Airhihenbuwa, 1995; Bartholomew et al., 2011; Green & Kreuter, 2005; Iwelunmor, Newsome, & Airhihenbuwa, 2014), largely rely on our existing theories to shape the questions we ask and how we go about addressing the identified determinants. In the context of informing efforts to pursue health equity, however, the challenge is that few of our theories specify how constructs intersect and interact across levels, and which of these are most powerful in explaining behavior and the environmental conditions that create, maintain, or exacerbate disparities. Moreover, our theories **generally** **do not provide guidance** as to which causal pathways are most likely to specifically reduce disparities and in which populations (Diez Roux, 2012). Additionally, theories at the higher levels of the social ecology are less likely to be operationalized and measured in a manner consistent with our quantitative research methods, which may present barriers to more widespread application. Furthermore, with some rare exceptions (e.g., critical race theory/public health critical race praxis; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010a, 2010b), our existing theories in health behavior and health education neither critically examine nor address the important fundamental causes of health, including the social and political determinants that may be at the root of health inequities. Given the nature of short-term grant and budget cycles (and prohibitions on lobbying with federal funds), it is not surprising that the theories most typically pursued in our field focus on proximal or short-term outcomes and what is perceived as more easily addressable determinants of health. Therefore, as a field, we do not typically recognize or attempt to address historical and ongoing societal factors that have implications for health disparities like racism and power. The Promise of Qualitative Methods In considering how qualitative research might advance theory pertinent to health equity, it is first important to recognize that experts approach the application of theory in research from a variety of perspectives. Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey (2011) describe an interplay between deductive and inductive reasoning in their approach and describe how theory is central in the design phase with a clear role in framing research questions and informing conceptual models and frameworks (Hennink et al., 2011). Depending on the goal and context of the research, the analytic process can involve developing inductive theory or applying deductive codes from the research questions, existing theory, or conceptual frameworks. Hennink et al. (2011) argue there is always a theory underlying research and making it explicit is essential, typically in the form of a conceptual framework to guide the research (e.g., categories of questions asked, coding, organization of data, and results; Hennink et al., 2011). Patton (2015) describes theory primarily within the context of sampling and analysis. For example, he describes deductive theoretical sampling for deepening or verifying theory-derived constructs, giving examples such as resilience, trauma, and respect. He also describes inductive grounded theory sampling in which the sample is constructed as the emerging theory begins to take shape and evolves from exploratory to verification. These examples highlight that there is a vast array of opportunities for theory to inform disparities-oriented research. To date, however, there has been relatively little attention paid to the use of qualitative research to advance theory in the area of health disparities and health equity. The volume of literature describing health disparities and discussing strategies to eliminate health disparities has not made strong conceptual or empirical distinctions between minority health promotion and health disparities elimination (Srinivasan & Williams, 2014). While both outcomes are important and deserve attention, it is likely that each has different determinants and intervention strategies that matter most; as such, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks used to study them may also be different. Furthermore, there are some limitations to relying predominately on a comparative approach that has become the cornerstone of health disparities research in recent years (Bediako & Griffith, 2007). In this context, qualitative methods can play an important role in how we understand and describe the problem of health inequities and their determinants. Not only can these approaches help illuminate social, cultural, and political factors that may underlie health disparities, but qualitative approaches are also uniquely positioned to document and contextualize how these factors affect health across levels of the social–ecological framework in a more nuanced and in-depth way. Qualitative methods also have the potential to illuminate new theories of change, particularly those that operate at higher levels of the social ecological framework, as well as interactions between constructs at varying levels of the framework. Providing insight into how well-accepted theoretical constructs should be operationalized or adapted for specific subpopulations (e.g., social norms, social capital, intention, or attitudes; Burke, Bird, et al., 2009; Pasick, Barker, et al., 2009; Pasick, Burke, et al., 2009) is another potential strength of a qualitative approach. By acknowledging the complex interplay of factors that influence and underlie health disparities, social ecologic approaches that have been informed by qualitative methodologies may provide a good blueprint for moving toward health equity. While qualitative methods offer these possibilities, according to Hennink et al. (2011), without theory development of some kind, qualitative research ends purely in description, which does not explain a phenomenon and neglects to answer “how” and “why” questions (Hennink et al., 2011). Similarly, Patton (2015) states that “much qualitative inquiry stops at reporting the explanations of the people studied” (p. 583) without attempting further qualitative causal analysis. He further acknowledges that asserting that qualitative analysis can yield causal explanations remains controversial, and this is undoubtedly true in health education and health promotion as well. This may relate in part to the tendency by qualitative researchers to downplay or minimize the generalizability of findings, often due to relatively small sample sizes, which is in sharp contrast to quantitative research that seeks to highlight the generalizability and reproducibility of its findings. However, we encourage our fellow qualitative researchers to go further with our studies and make a concerted (and well-documented) effort to develop, extend, or refine theory within the context of trying to figure out how to reduce health disparities, and when appropriate, to highlight any insights that are consistent with prior work and could be scaled up and tested on a broader scale. Moving Forward To make real progress in addressing health disparities and moving toward health equity will require a renewed commitment to and deeper understanding of qualitative research on the part of health disparities researchers in our field. In particular, we encourage researchers to move beyond only descriptive documentation of disparities toward thinking about mechanisms and theory building and refining, with an eye toward informing interventions, strategies, and health promotion messaging in public health and clinical contexts. Through this process, it will be important that researchers refrain from relying only on individual and interpersonal theories, and begin explicitly incorporating behavior change theories with theories at the social, organizational, community, and policy levels, and consider how factors interact synergistically across levels. While we agree that the field should be selective and parsimonious with respect to the development of new theories (Glanz et al., 2015), we also assert that with respect to promoting health equity, there is room for the development of new theories and refinement of theoretical constructs, particularly for those pertaining to the social, organizational, community, and policy levels. Building theoretical and conceptual frameworks and models that can be applied across multiple levels is highly pertinent to disparities research in several ways. First, these theories are more likely to address the larger societal and social factors that shape disparities and can help researchers identify which factors matter most across levels (e.g., what is most relevant and meaningful for a population), and should therefore be prioritized as intervention or policy targets. While most research to date has focused on using qualitative research to provide insight into the populations experiencing inequities, we recommend researchers use qualitative research to advance understanding of “behaviors in context,” and the settings and social context in which disparities arise (Burke, Joseph, Pasick, & Barker, 2009; Okechukwu, Davison, & Emmons, 2014). This includes investigating the contexts in which interventions to address disparities are implemented, with an eye toward theory building and theory refinement. Second, we encourage researchers to move beyond approaching health disparities largely as a single dimension toward considering the possible intersectionality of social dimensions that have implications for health equity (Bauer, 2014; Bowleg, 2008). Using qualitative research that is grounded in the daily experiences of people’s lives may help address the methodological challenges of thinking about social categories as additive and instead frame them as related and intersecting social structures that create and recreate social disadvantage and health inequity. There are also many opportunities for researchers to use more community-engaged, participatory, and action-oriented theories and frameworks that not only focus narrowly on health disparities but also encourage an assets-based approach that focuses on promoting health equity (Grieb, Smith, Calhoun, & Tandon, 2015; Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). This Commen-tary is consistent with Bowleg’s (2017) Perspective in Health Education & Behavior, which advocates for the wider use of critical theoretical frameworks in health equity research. In making advances in this area, it is also clear that we have much to learn from other disciplines that have rich histories in both theory and qualitative research, including anthropology, history, and sociology (Chowkwanyun, 2011; Hirsch, Wardlow, & Smith, 2009; Livingood et al., 2011; Livingood, Allegrante, & Green, 2016; Nathanson, 2007; Pasick & Burke, 2008). Of note, these fields have also incorporated a much broader range of qualitative approaches in their research (e.g., textual analysis, comparative ethnography) that we encourage researchers to explore and embrace. Finally, we recommend that in examining health disparity issues, researchers in this area be thoughtful and detailed in the social dimension and lenses through which they are grouping “disparity” populations, as there is tremendous diversity and heterogeneity within groups (e.g., documented differences among Latinos in health disparities and determinants of health by country of origin; Shelton, Jandorf, Thelemaque, King, & Erwin, 2012). This will help increase the likelihood that interventions will be developed or adapted with cultural specificity when needed (e.g., when the determinants are unique to that population) or will help identify when there are commonalities across social groups that can be addressed across disparity populations (Emmons, Barbeau, Gutheil, Stryker, & Stoddard, 2007; Goldman et al., 2003). In addition, qualitative research can be used to inform the operationalization and measurement of constructs that may be newly identified within a social context and/or are culturally specific (Airhihenbuwa, 2006; Airhihenbuwa & Liburd, 2006). In conclusion, we believe there is much work to do to make progress in both eliminating health disparities and promoting health equity. In fact, in examining qualitative research focused on promoting health equity, the majority of research, including the rich scholarship featured in this special issue, focuses on the methodological and intervention implications of their research findings. However, we also believe that there are tremendous opportunities for qualitative and health equity scholars to advance research and practice in this area through the expansion and application of rigorous, theoretically informed qualitative research. We hope researchers will recognize and seize this challenging, but critically important opportunity.

#### 2] Refuse to categorize biomedicine as completely bad – medicine and disease are not stable categories.

Parens 13, Erik. "On good and bad forms of medicalization." Bioethics 27.1 (2013): 28-35. (Senior Research Scholar at The Hastings Center)//Elmer

It can be appropriate to use medical means to prevent suffering and enhance well-being even if the source of the problem is not a disease. Laura Purdy2 For the last thirty or forty years, sociologists have used the term medicalization to refer to the process by which ‘non-medical’ (or ‘life’ or ‘human’) problems become understood and treated as ‘medical’ problems.3 Of course social scientists typically understand themselves to be describing – not evaluating – social processes. Indeed, one of the fathers of medicalization theory, the sociologist Peter Conrad, has stated more than once that the term medicalization is value neutral. In his recent book he writes: ‘While medicalization describes a social process, like globalization or secularization, it does not imply that a change is good or bad.’4 That assertion notwithstanding, when sociologists use the term medicalization, they have traditionally assumed that the process it names is bad. In this paper, I will suggest that we in **bioethics should not make** that **simplifying assumption**, but should instead do the complex work of attempting to **distinguish between good and bad** forms of **medicalization**. That suggestion might sound radical at first, but it isn’t. In fact, into both the sociological and bioethical literatures there has already begun to creep a distinction which does roughly the same work as the distinction I’m getting at with the difference between ‘bad’ and ‘good’ forms of medicalization. I am referring to the distinction between ‘over-medicalization’ (which is assumed to be bad) and ‘medicalization’ (which is assumed to be not bad). In an attempt to deflect the criticism that the term medicalization entails but does not acknowledge the assumption that the process is bad, Conrad writes: ‘While ‘medicalize’ literally means ‘to make medical,’ and the analytical emphasis has been on over-medicalization and its consequences, assumptions of over-medicalization are not a given in the perspective.’5 That is, in the course of attempting to deflect the charge that the sociological analysis takes the badness of medicalization to be ‘a given,’ Conrad tacitly distinguishes between overmedicalization, which is bad, and medicalization, which apparently is not. One can find the same tacit distinction in the bioethics literature. In their argument for distinguishing between using memory-attenuating drugs to respond to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (which they approve of) and using the same drugs to achieve non-medical purposes (which they do not approve of), Michael Henry and colleagues write: ‘If memory-attenuating drugs prove effective, we argue that the most immediate social concern is the over-medicalization of bad memories and its subsequent exploitation by the pharmaceutical industry.’6 Like Conrad, Henry et al. tacitly distinguish between medicalization and over-medicalization. They approve of the sort of ‘medicalization’ that occurred when we applied the PTSD diagnosis to the once-familiar human problem of shell shock, but disapprove of the sort of ‘over-medicalization’ that a pharmaceutical company might initiate with the creation of a new diagnosis like Bad Memories Syndrome. I am merely suggesting that we should become explicit about what we’re already trying to do: get over **the traditional assumption that medicalization is bad per se**, and try to articulate the difference between good and bad forms of it. In preparation for explicating how such an attempt has actually begun in the context of the debates about using pharmaceuticals to shape our experience of love, I want first to rehearse what I take to be the great insights as well as the blind spots built into the term medicalization. I. THE MEDICALIZATION CHARGE HAS TRADITIONALLY ILLUMINATED AND OBFUSCATED What’s wrong with medicalization? First, construing non-medical (or life or human) problems as medical problems, construing normal human variations as pathological, commits a category mistake. Sadness is a problem that human beings experience when, for example, someone they love dies. Shyness can be an unpleasant state that many people experience upon meeting new people. Short stature can occasion unpleasant feelings in some short individuals. And so on. But, the critic of medicalization observes, neither sadness7 nor shyness8 nor short stature9 is a medical problem. Sadness is a normal, perhaps even essential part of a full human life. The feelings that can go with being sad or shy or short may be difficult, but they are not symptoms of disease; only disease-mongers suggest otherwise. To treat human problems as medical problems, according to the critique, is to make a mistake about the nature of the world. Seeing clearly and living well require us to avoid such a mistake. More specifically, living well requires that we learn to let some sorts of problems be. It requires that we learn to affirm, rather than try to erase, variations in our moods, behaviors, and appearances. In addition to entailing a category mistake, medicalization can have bad consequences. Perhaps the easiest to see is that, insofar as medicalization expands the category of what warrants medical treatment, the cost of medical treatment grows exponentially. While this may be to the advantage of gluttonous purveyors of medical products and services, it makes it ever harder for any government to pay for medical care for all.10 On top of the astronomical direct costs of such interventions are the indirect costs of their side-effects. A second bad consequence is that, insofar as the institution of medicine focuses on human beings as objects (i.e. as bodies), the medicalization process potentially undermines seeing ourselves as subjects; it potentially undermines our ‘subjectivity.’ When we argue, say, against the medicalization of badness – e.g., against treating criminal behavior as the symptom of a psychiatric disorder – we are arguing against the view of ourselves as objects at the mercy of forces beyond ourselves, and for the view of ourselves as subjects who can choose. Similarly, when, for example, we argue against using medical means such as drugs to treat sadness, we are often arguing against the view of ourselves as objects that can be fixed and for the view of ourselves as subjects who can be influenced by reasons.11 The critic of medicalization can accept that we need both ways of understanding ourselves, but worry that the medical way is crowding out the other. This is at least one thing critics are getting at when they suggest that we should use means like psychotherapy before or instead of using drugs. A third bad consequence of medicalization is that, insofar as medicine focuses on changing individuals’ bodies to reduce suffering, its increasing influence steals attention and resources away from changing the social structures and expectations that can produce such suffering in the first place. The idea is that, for example, rather than changing the bodies of shy people with drugs, we could change our expectations of how people behave in novel situations; again, doing so, would exemplify the virtue of learning to affirm natural variation. Further, changing social expectations would be fairer to individuals, who, instead of changing their bodies to better fit dominant norms, could, again, be affirmed in their normchallenging variation.12 Whether critics argue that we are making a category mistake, or are creating a putative need that no government can afford to fulfill, or are undermining understanding ourselves as subjects, or are obscuring understanding the social sources of suffering, the basic idea is that it is bad when the institution of medicine oversteps its proper limits. As someone who is by nature-nurture a critic of medicalization, I think that the preceding worries are insightful and important. But I also want to call attention to what the critique can obfuscate. Specifically, I want to call attention to some of the problematic assumptions that the critique inadvertently entails – where by ‘problematic’ I mean assumptions that contradict or at least are in tension with other assumptions that critics like me tend to embrace. Problematic assumptions built into the notion of medicalization First, the idea of medicalization **depends upon the notion that medicine has ‘proper’ goals,** which are visible to those with knowledge of the essence of medicine. More specifically, while it’s true that broad conceptions of the goals of medicine (such as the World Health Organization’s) 13 are indeed available, one needs a narrow conception of those goals to get traction for the medicalization critique. Without a narrow conception, one can’t restrict the range of the targets that medicine ‘properly’ aims at. **Those** of us **attuned to how** institutional **goals change** over time with the coming and going of more and less savory political interests, however, **will be wary of** an **analysis that assumes knowledge of** a given institution’s ‘proper’ or ‘essential’ or **‘real’ goals**. Peter Conrad fully anticipates such wariness. Indeed, he begins his recent summary of his thinking on medicalization by saying that he will ‘bracket’ the question of whether the conditions he says are medicalized are ‘real’ medical problems.14 To justify setting aside the question of how he knows what a real medical problem is or what the proper goals of medicine are, he makes a distinction. He says that ‘it is the viability of the designation rather than the validity of the diagnosis that is grist for the sociological mill’ (emphasis added).15 He is asserting that when he uses the term medicalization, he does not mean to assume that he knows the difference between valid (or real) medical diagnoses and invalid (or fake) ones; he means only to assume that the new, expanded conceptions of medical problems are ‘viable’. But that distinction does not so much resolve as reintroduce the original concern about essentialism. How does the sociologist know which ‘viable’ diagnoses to investigate as examples of medicalization? To pick them she has to assume that she knows the difference between viable diagnoses that are valid and viable diagnoses that are not; otherwise she would have to investigate all viable medical diagnoses as instances of medicalization – and that is clearly not what is happening. All of which is to say that, the valid/viable distinction seems to depend on the same assumption – about knowing the difference between real and fake medical conditions – that Conrad recognizes is problematic. The specter of inadvertent essentialism remains. The medicalization critique’s narrow conception of the goals of medicine harbors other problematic assumptions as well. For one thing, it usually if not always entails the dualistic notion that the proper target of medical intervention is the disordered body, as distinct from the troubled mind. One familiar variation on this theme suggests that medicine should deal with disorders of the body, not disorders of the mind; or that it should treat disorders that are ‘organic,’ not ones that are context-dependent. For example, in a recent essay Jonah Lehrer recounts the tale of a psychiatrist who was taken aback to notice that, in his enthusiasm for prescribing antidepressants, he had failed to distinguish between suffering rooted in his patients’ dysfunctional bodies and suffering rooted in their minds or social contexts. The psychiatrist’s epiphany came when he asked one of his patients whether her antidepressants were working. She answered, ‘Yes, they’re working great . . . I feel so much better. But I’m still married to the same alcoholic son of a bitch. It’s just now he’s tolerable.’16 Lehrer and the psychiatrist’s point of course is that, because the woman’s problem was rooted in her relationship with her alcoholic husband rather than in her dysfunctional body, it was a mistake to treat her. That line of criticism’s great virtue is that it can be used to shelter some dimensions of human life from the raging storm of medical intervention. But it is important to beware of the lurking mind-body dualism. In the case Lehrer describes, the alternatives seem to be that the source of the woman’s suffering is either her body or her mind (and relationships). If we successfully jettisoned mind-body dualism, however, we would be wary of that disjunction. We might wonder, for example, about the role her embodied mind played in her entering into such a relationship in the first place. Such a question would not aim to blame the victim (!), but to remind us of how staggeringly complex mind-body (-world) interactions are. It would remind us to be on the lookout for an assumption that we would normally reject. Yet another problem with the critics’ narrow conception of the goals of medicine is that it usually entails – whether explicitly or inexplicitly – some notion of normal or species-typical functioning.17 The idea is that that we can look out into nature, discern the line between species typical and atypical functioning (or between behaviors inside and outside of the normal range), and thereby know whether to intervene. If the individual exhibits species-atypical (or ab-normal) functioning, she occupies a disease category and we should intervene, and if her functioning is typical (or normal), she doesn’t occupy a disease category and we shouldn’t intervene. It would be lovely if we could look to nature and discern the line between species-atypical and species-typical functioning, between the categories of disease and health. That way it wouldn’t be our ethical responsibility to decide, based on our understanding of the facts and our values, whether to intervene. We’d just point to nature. Alas, one would be hard pressed today to find a natural scientist who studies the etiology and diagnosis of disease and believes that those lines and categories are there for us to discover. Geneticists, neuroscientists, and others increasingly abandon the species-typicality model, which seeks to discover typical functioning, to embrace an individual-differences model, which seeks to understand why it is that, within populations, there is almost always continuous variation with respect to any trait or cluster of traits. On the individual differences view, what we call disorders are almost always ‘dimensional,’ not ‘categorical.’ As the psychiatric geneticists Ian Craig and Robert Plomin put it: Whereas the species typicality model . . . assumes that mental illness is a broken brain, . . . the individual differences model considers variation as normal. . . . Common mental illness is thought to be the quantitative extreme of the normal distribution.18 According to the individual-differences model (and the dimensional view that goes with it), there is no value-free, readily visible line between behaviors and traits that really are – and really aren’t – disordered. This is unfortunate in at least two very different ways. First, it means that purveyors of cures have ever more grounds to assert that even if we aren’t floridly ill, we’re still ill enough to purchase their cure; they can – and do – argue that we are within in the penumbra of illness.19 Second, it means that the ethical responsibility for deciding whether or not to intervene falls to us and our valueladen interpretations of nature; we can’t rely on the hoped-for, value-free guidance from nature. II. THE PHARMACOLOGICAL CALVINISM CHARGE HAS TRADITIONALLY ILLUMINATED AND OBFUSCATED In principle, the medicalization charge can be used to criticize the use of any means to achieve what is construed to be a non-medical purpose. But in our current context, with the avalanche of ever more pharmaceuticals, the medicalization charge often refers to the use of pharmacological means to deal with some normal human problem. When enthusiasts about self-shaping hear the medicalization charge, they sometimes exasperatedly counter that the critics suffer from ‘pharmacological Calvinism.’ Gerald Klerman first used that now-famous phrase in the early 1970s, in an article in the Hastings Center Report.20 According to Klerman, pharmacological Calvinists think that ‘if a drug makes you feel good, it not only represents a secondary form of salvation but somehow it is morally wrong and the user is likely to suffer retribution with either dependence, liver damage, . . . ,or some other form of medical-theological damnation.’ Klerman continues, ‘Implicit in the theory of therapeutic change is the philosophy of personal growth, basically a secular view of salvation through good works.’21 As Klerman was a psychiatrist, not a theologian, we can set aside his unconventional understanding of Calvinism and try to understand the insight at work in his charge. A less snarky version might read: ‘If pharmacological and psychotherapeutic means can both achieve the same end – improving how one experiences herself and the world – then it is irrational and perhaps inhumane to prefer the more strenuous and expensive means. It’s irrational not to take a shortcut when improving human well-being is the destination.Weshould be slower to imagine that suffering leads to growth and understanding, and quicker to remember that sometimes it just crushes human souls.’ Even if the chances of finding a ‘pharmacological Calvinist’ in the USA today are about as good as spotting a bald eagle in Manhattan, Klerman was surely right to observe that we come from long and particular traditions (originating in both Jerusalem and Athens), which have taught that with suffering comes understanding. Those traditions have valorized the suffering that goes with large and small normal human problems.22 Insofar as those traditions celebrated suffering for which there were no medical remedies, Klerman must be right that at least to some extent those traditions made a virtue of necessity. But he must be wrong to the extent that his charge invites us to ignore the respect in which suffering can be a crucial element in a good human life. To take but one example, which I mentioned above: even the staunchest self-shaping enthusiasts acknowledge the respect in which suffering from the loss of someone we love is ‘proper’ – and as such should be endured rather than erased. (Yes, I did suggest above that the notion of ‘the proper’ can obfuscate and here I amsuggesting that it can illuminate.) Moreover, the charge of pharmacological Calvinism must be wrong to the extent that it ignores how the means we use to reduce the suffering associated with normal problems can matter morally. As critics of medicalization argue, using medical means to solve normal human problems can lure us into thinking that the individual rather than her social context is the source of the problem. It can lure us into attending only to the respect in which we are objects – and ultimately to forgetting that we are also subjects, who can remedy some problems by giving and taking reasons to change our minds and contexts. Klerman’s charge can also obfuscate the fact that different means can emphasize different values in an even more obvious sense. Insofar as means like medications can be cheaper or work more quickly than, say, means like words, they can emphasize the value of efficiency. Insofar as means like words require the giving and taking of reasons between persons, they can emphasize the value of engagement. So, like the medicalization charge, the ‘pharmacological Calvinism’ charge can both help us to think and give us an excuse to stop thinking. If that’s right, we are saddled with a daunting ethical responsibility. By ‘we’ I mean those who think it is important to respond to the suffering of individuals and that it is important to attend to the social roots of that suffering; those who think it is important to consider ourselves as subjects and that we should be grateful for the ways in which considering ourselves as objects can help us to diminish human suffering; and those who worry that medicalization can be bad and believe that choosing for or against ‘medicalization’ full stop could be lazy or unhelpful. By ‘ethical responsibility’ I refer to the responsibility to attempt to distinguish between good and bad forms of medicalization. III. TOWARD A CONVERSATION ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GOOD AND BAD FORMS OF MEDICALIZATION To start, it helps to remember the respect in which we already do embrace some forms of medicalization. When for example Dostoyevsky wrote The Idiot, the cluster of traits that today we call **epilepsy was called a divine gift**. In the beginning of the 20th century, that cluster of traits was construed as a ‘psychological’ disorder, and today we are **confident that ‘it’ is a proper medical disorder**. None of us criticizes the process whereby that particular constellation of traits was transformed from a divine gift into a medical problem. Nor does any of us criticize the process whereby what today we call **Alzheimer’s** disease **went from** being interpreted as the **moral** problem of ‘senility’ **to** being interpreted as a **medical** [disorder] ~~problem~~. One could counter that these aren’t examples of ‘good’ medicalization. Rather, they are only examples of us overcoming past mistakes: calling epilepsy a disease instead of a divine gift is just an example of aligning our everyday practice with our deeper scientific or medical knowledge. Mistaking epilepsy for a divine gift, goes this argument, is no more interesting than mistaking whales for fish. Fair enough. But this brings us to straightforward, harder-to-dismiss examples to support my suggestion that we should be skeptical about assuming that medicalization is bad, full stop. Many feminists and fellow travelers have in the past, with good reason, lamented the medicalization of everything from childbirth, to menstruation, to menopause.23 More recently, the institution of medicine has brought within its purview ‘labia-plasty,’ which its practitioners say can be used to treat ‘emotional problems such as embarrassment, anxiety, and loss of self-esteem’24 related to the shape of one’s labia minora. The profound, amplysupported concern is that, by bringing ever more normal features of women’s bodies and lives within the purview of medicine, disease mongers diminish women’s power to control their own bodies and, more generally, diminish their ability to flourish. While there may be no better arena than what gets called ‘women’s health’ to witness dis-empowering forms of medicalization, there may also be no better place to see empowering forms. As feminist philosopher Laura Purdy has argued in this journal25 – and others have argued elsewhere26 – a blanket condemnation of medicalizing ‘normal facets’ of women’s (and men’s) lives fails to acknowledge the respect in which women (and men) use medical technologies to gain control over their lives to promote their own flourishing.27 Consider for example the normal human capacity of producing eggs (or sperm), or the normal capacity of bringing a fertilized egg to term. Given that those capacities can’t be construed as symptoms of disease, and given that becoming pregnant when one doesn’t want to is a perennial human problem, we must grant that **using medical technologies** to control those capacities (**from birth control** pills**, to vasectomies**, to IUDs) **are forms of medicalization** – forms of medicalization **that seem good** to many of us. Even many of us who are in general deeply, wholeheartedly critical of the idea that more control is always better, embrace technologies that allow women to determine if and when they will become pregnant. We embrace those technologies not only **because** we believe that **women have a right to self-determination**, but because we know that women who cannot control if and when they become pregnant are at significantly increased risk of living (along with their children) lives blighted by poverty. For this observer, **fertility control counts as a good form of medicalization**. Of course, ‘many of us’ isn’t all of us. Who, though, objects to the process whereby what once was considered chronic pain associated with normal aging came to receive labels like Complex Regional Pain Syndrome (CRPS)?28 Before we could do anything to treat such pain, we construed it as a normal, if difficult part of the aging process. But once it’s technically feasible for healthcare professionals to reduce such pain, the door swings wide open to new diagnostic labels and ‘treatments’. What was once a problem of everyday living becomes a medical problem. It is a classic example of the medicalization process – but, I am suggesting, an example of ‘good’ medicalization. IV. THE MEDICALIZATION OF LOVE In the conclusion of a forthcoming essay, ‘Bioethics and Medicalization,’ the sociologist John Evans, writes: Most scholars of medicalization seem to have reached the normative conclusion that they do not want to live in a world where increasing swaths of human experience are under the logic of medicine. There are, or should be, experiences that use an older logic, which are under the jurisdiction of another profession or under no jurisdiction at all. We can all fear the medicalization of love (emphasis added).29 At work in Evans’s claim, is the at-first seemingly obvious assumption that medicalizing love is bad, full stop. But I want to suggest that even in the case of love, we need to try to distinguish between good and bad forms of medicalization. Indeed, I want to suggest that in the bioethics literature we can already begin to glimpse progress toward making such a distinction. Even mortal academic foes can sometimes agree on the difference between good and bad forms of medicalization In its characteristically heterocentric and fuddy-duddy tone, in Beyond Therapy the President’s Council on Bioethics offers a scenario that makes a deeply important point. They invite us to imagine a young man at a party who is under the influence of Ecstasy and begins a conversation with a woman he has never met before. He tells her that he loves her and wants to marry her. The Council invites us to imagine that the man means what he says ‘insofar as the feeling he now has is indistinguishable from what he might one day feel when he truly falls in love with a woman.’30 Then the Council asks, ‘Should the fact that this man’s feelings are produced by the drug, rather than inspired by the woman, matter?’ The Council argues that it should matter to the woman and to the man. It should matter to her because she wants to be seen as she truly is, not as the drug makes her seem. She wants recognition. And it should matter to him, too, insofar as he should want his love to be real. As the Council puts it, ‘The young man’s drug induced ‘love’ is not just incomplete – an emotion unconnected with knowledge of and care for the beloved. It is also unfounded, not based on anything – not even visible beauty – from which such emotions normally grow.’ Even we post postmodernists are here thrown back on some version of the distinction between the true and false, authentic and inauthentic. Even we have to accept the inescapability of such a distinction in the context of thinking about the sort of love we want for ourselves and for those we love. We want our feelings of love to grow out of knowledge of and care for the other. We want them to grow out of engaging in activities with the person we love. We want the other’s love for us to be chosen freely. We, even we post postmodernists, don’t want to settle for the feelings that grow out of a drug alone. No one familiar with the bioethics literature will be surprised to find this sort of argument in a report by the President’s Council, which is known both for its critique of self-shaping in general and medicalization in particular. It may be more surprising, however, to find a similar argument being made by enthusiasts about technological self-shaping. In a recent paper, Julian Savulescu and Anders Sandberg define a good marital relationship as ‘one which both parties desire and which gives each pleasure, and allows or facilitates each to lead lives which are objectively valuable.’31 To advance their argument, they make a distinction, which reveals an important value commitment they share with their academic foes, The President’s Council. Savulescu and Sandberg distinguish between using a drug to maintain a loving attachment and using a drug to create such an attachment. Specifically, they endorse using technology to maintain a relationship that is founded on shared perceptions of the goodness of the other, and the shared experiences that grow out of such perceptions, but they reject using technology to create the feelings normally associated with such perceptions and experiences. As the President’s Council might put it, we don’t want the illusion of love, we want the real thing. To make their point, Savulescu and Sandberg even use the language of authenticity, which is as unusual for them as it is usual for the Council. They write, ‘The use of drugs to instill a new love is more likely to create inauthentic love, since the causal reasons for the love may lie in the drug . . . , rather than the particular person loved.’ So at least we can say that, insofar as being without love is a normal, human, non-medical problem, and insofar as both sides would oppose using a technology to remedy that problem by creating a love out of whole cloth (i.e. in the absence of the feelings and experiences normally associated with love), it is fair to say that both sides agree that using a technology to create love out of whole cloth would be a bad form of medicalization. The problem is normal but the medical-technological solution is bad. But can both sides agree on a good form of medicalization? Well, Savulescu and Sandberg say that marriage counseling is a perfectly fine way to maintain a love relationship. The President’s Council doesn’t speak directly to this issue, but I see no evidence that they would disagree. Insofar as relationship difficulties are a normal human problem, and insofar as marriage counseling is sometimes done by people with medical degrees, it seems fair to say that both sides could in principle agree that relationship counseling to maintain a marriage relationship could be a good form of medicalization. While both sides might agree that using words (as in counseling) to treat relationship problems is a good form of medicalization – or at least is not a form of ‘overmedicalization’ – things might become more contested if someone proposed using drugs to remedy those problems. For example, would both sides agree that it is a good form of medicalization for marriage counselors to use Ecstasy to facilitate marriage counseling? (This is not hypothetical; Ecstasy has been used for this purpose.)32 30 President’s Council on Bioethics. 2003. Beyond Therapy: Bioetechnology and the Pursuit of Happiness New York, NY, Regan Books: 253. This is of course a variation on Robert Nozick’s famous ‘experience machine’ thought experiment in Anarchy, State, and Utopia. 31 J. Savulescu & A. Sandberg. Neuroenhancement of Love and Marriage: The Chemicals between Us. Neuroethics 2008; 1: 33–44. 32 S. Braun. 2001. Seeking Insight by Prescription. Cerebrum. 1 April. Available at: http://www.dana.org/news/cerebrum/detail.aspx?id=3046 [accessed 20 Jan 2011]. On Good and Bad Forms of Medicalization 34 © 2011 Blackwell Publishing Ltd. We can imagine that whereas the President’s Council might object, Savulescu and Sandberg would not. Indeed, even if Savulescu and Sandberg would oppose the creation of relationships with drugs, their conception of the appropriate use of drugs to maintain a relationship is far more expansive than the Council’s. Indeed, they invite their readers to imagine a woman who takes herself to be in a good and loving relationship with a man who happens to be promiscuous, and then invite us to accept that, in an effort to maintain her relationship, this woman might autonomously choose to take a drug that allowed her to tolerate her husband’s promiscuity. It strikes me that, for Savulescu and Sandberg to be consistent, they should reject the promiscuity-toleration pill on the same grounds that they rejected a pill that created the feelings of love out of whole cloth. In both cases, rather than facilitating engagement with the world as it really is, the pill distances the relevant parties from the world as it is. Again, however, their published article indicates that they could condone a drug that made the promiscuity of one partner tolerable for the other. But even if Savulescu and Sandberg agreed that, to be consistent, they should reject the promiscuity-toleration drug, I am surely not suggesting that they and the President’s Council agree on precisely how to articulate the difference between good and bad forms of medicalization – or between ‘medicalization’ and ‘over-medicalization.’ I am only suggesting that self-shaping critics and selfshaping enthusiasts do agree – at least implicitly – that we should attempt to articulate that difference. Insofar as some forms of medicalization can maintain or facilitate, as opposed to create or thwart, human relationships and experience, both sides – no matter how different their tones – need some version of that distinction. CODA Early on in this paper, I mentioned Jonah Lehrer’s example of the unhappy woman who was married to an alcoholic man. Following Lehrer, I suggested that construing her normal human unhappiness as depression would be a distressingly bad form of medicalization. No matter how much the medication might attenuate her suffering, that could not justify her becoming complicit in cutting herself off from an important feature of her life as it truly was. In that case, however, ‘the alcoholic husband’ was a sort of prop (not unlike ‘the promiscuous husband’ was for Savulescu and Sandberg). Lehrer and I were using the alcoholic husband to try to understand what we thought of the woman using an antidepressant to manage her unhappiness. But now we can ask, What should our attitude be toward her husband? Would it be bad to construe his alcoholism – and his accompanying unhappiness – as a medical disorder? Would it be bad to medicalize his bad behavior? I don’t think it would. Above I rehearsed some of the ever-present, very real social and philosophical dangers associated with medicalizing such behavior. I think, however, that if we remain vigilant about the ever-present dangers associated with the process of medicalization, and if the medical model of alcoholism can help someone to remedy the common human problem of excessive drinking, then medicalizing the alcoholic husband’s bad behavior might be good. To the extent that construing his bad behavior as a ‘medical’ problem can help him to take responsibility for his life and to start engaging in the sorts of meaningful relationships and activities that human beings seem to need and want, this seems to be a good form of medicalization This may make me a prime exhibit for (the sociologist) John Evans’s case that ‘bioethics’ has itself become an ‘engine’ of medicalization.33 And perhaps beginning to say out loud that some medicalization can be good puts us at still greater risk of creating exactly what Goethe feared: a world turned into one huge hospital, where everyone is everybody else’s humane nurse. I don’t dismiss or minimize either of those concerns. On the contrary, they trouble me deeply. But if we are committed to ‘ambiguity and complexity’ (as Evans says sociologists are, and I would say we all should be), if we are committed to helping flesh-and-blood human beings to engage in meaningful activities and relationships, then we might have to try to distinguish between good and bad forms of medicalization. That would take time and energy, and would delay the rest we all desire, but it might also be what we owe each other if flourishing for all is what we’re really after.