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#### India’s COVID crisis has killed Modi’s appetite for international adventurism, but increasing vaccine production reverses the trend.

Singh ’21 (Sushant; senior fellow with the Centre for Policy Research in India; 5-3-2021; “The **End** of Modi’s **Global Dreams**”; Foreign Policy; https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/05/03/india-vishwaguru-modi-second-wave-soft-power-self-sufficiency/; Accessed: 8-27-2021)

India’s prime minister advanced a **muscular foreign policy**, but his mishandling of the pandemic is an **embarrassing step back**. In December 2004, when an earthquake and tsunami struck Asia, then-Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh decided it was high time for India to stop accepting aid from other countries to deal with disasters and rely on itself instead. “We feel that we can cope with the situation on our own,” he said, “and we will take their help if needed.” It was a pointed political statement about India’s growing economic heft, and it wasn’t the last. Singh’s government offered aid to the United States in the wake of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and to China after the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. Seen as a matter of national pride, an indicator of self-sufficiency, and a snub to nosy aid givers, the practice continued under Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi despite pressure to change course during floods in the southern state of Kerala in 2018. Modi, who has consistently campaigned on **virulent nationalism** captured by the slogan “Atmanirbhar Bharat” (or self-reliant India), has been forced to abruptly change policy. Last week, with images of people dying on roads without oxygen and crematoriums for pet dogs being used for humans’ last rites as the second wave of the COVID-19 pandemic overwhelmed the country, his government accepted offers of help from nearly 40 other nations. Its diplomats have lobbied with foreign governments for oxygen plants and tankers, the arrival of medicines, and other supplies hailed on social media. “We have given assistance; we are getting assistance,” said Harsh Vardhan Shringla, the country’s top diplomat, to justify the embarrassing U-turn. “It shows an interdependent world. It shows a world that is working with each other.” The world may be working with each other, but it is not working for Modi in the **realm of foreign policy**. Rather, this is a moment of reckoning, triggered by the rampaging coronavirus. After seven years as prime minister, Modi’s **hyper-nationalistic** domestic agenda—including his ambition of making the country a “Vishwaguru” (or **master to the world**)—now lies in tatters. India, which has been envisaged since former U.S. President Donald Trump’s administration became the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue’s lynchpin and focused other efforts in the Indo-Pacific strategy to counter China, will have to work harder to justify that role. Meanwhile, China has redoubled its efforts in India’s neighborhood since the second wave began, strengthening its existing ties with South Asian countries and contrasting its strength and reliability with India’s limitations. No doubt, New Delhi will be able to regain a certain sense of normalcy in a few months, but the **mishandling of the pandemic** has dealt it a weaker hand in **ongoing backchannel talks with Islamabad** and border negotiations with Beijing. But even **longer-lasting damage** has been done to India’s soft power, which was already dented under Modi’s authoritarian regime. This is a big problem for the government as it was soft power that allowed New Delhi to assert itself for a seat at the global high table to begin with. Front page images and video clips of constantly burning pyres and dying patients may recede from the foreground with time, but rebuilding India’s diplomatic heft and geopolitical prominence will need more than the passage of months and years. It will take a concerted effort, and S. Jaishankar, Modi’s chosen man to be India’s foreign minister, has so far appeared unequal to the task. In March, when the second wave of the pandemic started unfolding in India, Jaishankar’s ministry was busy issuing official statements and organizing social media storms against popstar Rihanna and climate change activist Greta Thunberg. On Thursday, at the peak of the health crisis, Jaishankar’s focus in a meeting with all the Indian ambassadors to various global capitals was on countering the so-called “one-sided” narrative in international media, which said Modi’s government had failed the country by its “incompetent” handling of the second pandemic wave. Until recently, Jaishankar was also the most enthusiastic promoter of the government’s Vaccine Maitri (or “Vaccine Friendship”) program, under which New Delhi supplied around 66.4 million doses of the India-made AstraZeneca vaccine to 95 countries in packing boxes marked prominently with large pictures of Modi. These vaccines were either commercially contracted, given as bilateral grants, or transferred under the World Health Organization’s COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access (COVAX) scheme for poorer countries. Meanwhile, India’s own vaccination rollout has been **dismal**. Around 2 percent of Indians have been fully vaccinated, despite the country being the world’s biggest vaccine manufacturer—a misstep that has emerged as one of the key culprits for India’s uncontrolled second wave. Having exported doses in a quest for personal glory, Modi is now awaiting 20 million doses of AstraZeneca vaccines from the United States after abruptly reversing 16 years of policy, as indicated in its disaster management documents, against **accepting bilateral aid**. It is bad enough that India is getting help from traditional partners like the United States and Russia, but it is also accepting supplies coming from China, with which India’s relationship has been increasingly strained under Modi. And it must have been particularly galling to the prime minister that **even Pakistan** made an offer to help with medical supplies and equipment. So woeful is India’s situation that it has started importing 88,000 pounds of medical oxygen daily from the tiny Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan. Most Indians acknowledge their country was in an economic recession last year, and accepting bilateral aid is more of a compulsion than a choice. But how will they reconcile that with the fact that work on a $2 billion project to reconstruct a government office complex in the national capital, including building a new residence for Modi, continues unabated as an “essential service” during the pandemic? Modi boasted of having made India a **Vishwaguru** and personally enhancing national prestige through his numerous global trips. His ultranationalist supporters had started assuming India was already a **global power** in the same league as the United States and China. This feeling tied in with his domestic political positioning. Hindutva, or homogenized Hindu nationalism, was offered as the ideology that had made this supremacy possible. But now Modi’s supporters find their dreams of a **global power shattered.** They must instead confront the harsh reality of being citizens of a so-called “third world country,” which is dependent once again on the largesse of others. As the Indian economy continues to be hammered by the pandemic, there is little Modi can offer economically to his base. The edifice of **nationalist** pride, prestige, and **global respect** built by Modi on his so-called foreign-policy prowess has been demolished by the pandemic. The pandemic has hurt India in other ways too. Australia, a member of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (or Quad), has imposed a ban on its citizens from returning home, threatening five-year prison sentences, if they have spent time in India. In its first leaders’ summit in March, the grouping decided to provide a billion doses of the COVID-19 vaccine to the Indo-Pacific region by 2022. The vaccines were to be produced in India, funded by the United States and Japan, and distributed by Australia, in what was seen as the showpiece initiative to move the Quad away from its security-centric approach and soften its reputation as an anti-China grouping. With India struggling to produce vaccines for its own citizens hit by the pandemic, it is unlikely the Quad will be able to keep its scheme on schedule. In the bargain, New Delhi’s position as the lynchpin of the Quad stands considerably diminished. If India stumbles, the American dream of the Quad can never become a reality. Beijing has already moved in to take advantage of India’s misfortune to strengthen its ties with other South Asian countries. Last Tuesday, the Chinese foreign minister held a meeting with his counterparts from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka for cooperation against COVID-19. India was absent from the meeting. And although Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka have received some vaccine supplies from India and expect more, these countries are now looking toward Beijing for doses after New Delhi failed to keep up its commercial and COVAX commitments. In the race between the two Asian giants to be an attractive and reliable partner in South Asia, India seems to have finished behind China. China has also pressed its advantage along its restive border with India. After an initial disengagement in Ladakh, India, China refused to pull back any further from other Indian-held territories it had moved into last summer. It stonewalled Indian attempts to discuss these areas in the last round of talks between the two sides, and it has constructed permanent military infrastructure and deployed troops close to the disputed border. If there were ever a time for India to demonstrate its strength, it would be now. But the second wave of COVID-19 has forced **the opposite**. A similar impact will be felt during New Delhi’s ongoing backchannel talks with Islamabad, where Pakistan will likely try to take **full advantage** of any **chinks in India’s armor**. India cannot afford to walk away from those talks as it has already been forced to engage with Islamabad due to its own inability to handle a two-front threat from China and Pakistan. An economy and a country ravaged by the pandemic makes the dual threat an even more **challenging proposition** for India—and hands Pakistan an unexpected advantage in the talks.

#### Indo-Pak war’s on the brink now – successes at home push it over.

Panda ’19 (Ankit; writer for The Atlantic; 2-28-2019; “Ending the India-Pakistan Crisis Requires a **Courageous Narendra Modi**”; The Atlantic; https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/02/india-modi-pakistan-crisis/583840/; Accessed: 8-27-2021)

The standoff between India and Pakistan would be hard enough to resolve if the two countries did not have **nuclear weapons**. That’s before you factor in a jingoistic media scene, the rapid spread of rumors and disinformation on messaging and social-media apps, and the fact that India’s **nationalist** prime minister is heading into parliamentary elections. The result: the **worst military crisis** between the countries in nearly two decades. Stepping back from the brink now will require political courage in New Delhi and reciprocity in Islamabad. This latest dispute has **several causes**. First, there’s the historical, territorial, and fundamental national-identity issues that remain unresolved between them. Then there’s the Pakistani military-intelligence complex’s use of non-state actors against India over a span of several years. And finally, there’s the proximal cause of today’s crisis—that after years of absorbing terrorist attacks conceived and planned on Pakistani soil, India chose to say enough was enough. The Pakistan-based group Jaish-e-Mohammed has claimed responsibility for an attack two weeks ago that struck a convoy of Indian paramilitary personnel, killing 40 Indians. New Delhi promised retaliation, and delivered with air strikes against what it said was a terrorist camp near the Pakistani town of Balakot—the first such move involving the use of conventional airpower by one nuclear-armed state against the territory of another. The Indian foreign ministry claimed the strikes were “preemptive” and the targets “non-military.” The choice of target, similarly, was based on what the Indian foreign secretary said was credible intelligence. Above all, the Indian side emphasized the status of Jaish-e-Mohammed as a repeat offender. India had endured a 2001 attack on its parliament planned by the group and a January 2016 assault on an airbase—both without retaliating, even as the 2001 incident brought both sides to the brink of war. Other attacks, in July 2015 and September 2016, had been carried out by Pakistan-based militants, with the latter prompting India to take limited military action in the form of what it called “surgical strikes.” In November 2008, most infamously, terrorists belonging to Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba staged an attack on civilians in Mumbai. Given this history, India’s latest strike was not, in the country’s view, an act of war, but one of self-defense. India’s broad practice of strategic restraint since the 2002 crisis had, in a way, allowed it to accumulate years of credibility on the international stage that was, in effect, “spent” this week with its strike at Balakot. Nevertheless, the ingress into Pakistani territory for the first time since the 1971 war between the two countries left the Pakistani military **embarrassed**. Swift retaliation was promised—and Pakistan delivered with strikes of its own across the Line of Control, the de facto border. Indian jets pursued the Pakistani fighters that had conducted the strikes, suffering losses in the process. One Indian pilot was captured alive and remains in Pakistani custody. The ingredients are **now present** for an **all-out conflagration**. Headlines the world over have emphasized the countries’ status as nuclear powers, underscoring the stakes. But there’s a choice now over how this might end—and it is largely India’s to make. Pakistan’s response has reset the onus for retaliation on New Delhi, and finding a way out that’s acceptable to both countries will not be easy. India’s action is without precedent since the nuclear age began in South Asia. True, the two countries fought a war in 1999 under the nuclear overhang, but that conflict took place within politically proscribed limits, with then–Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee having specifically instructed the military to not cross the Line of Control at any cost. While New Delhi’s latest decision to retaliate was based on national security, its leadership had to concern itself with more mundane questions of political expediency too. India is just weeks away from a general election that will once again see the world’s largest exercise in democracy take place. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his nationally dominant Bharatiya Janata Party could have faced **electoral trouble** if they mismanaged the response. And though much about the current crisis has its roots in familiar issues, what is different this time for the two countries rattling sabers, after their respective nuclear breakouts, is the proliferation of social media and the growth of **nationalistic** television-news networks—primarily in India. The Indian government is culpable too for **egging on** the sort of public opinion that now **corners** it ahead of the election; the 2016 “surgical strikes” were immortalized in a Bollywood film recently.

#### **Revitalized risk-taking risks Indo-Pak confrontations – those go nuclear.**

Roblin ‘20 [Sebastien; university instructor for the Peace Corps in China, master’s degree in conflict resolution from Georgetown University; 3-16-2020; "Yes a Pakistani-Indian Nuclear War Would Kill People All Over the Planet"; National Interest; https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/yes-pakistani-indian-nuclear-war-would-kill-people-all-over-planet-133642; accessed 3-17-2020]

Such assessments are not only shockingly callous but shortsighted. In fact, several studies have modeled the global impact of a “limited” ten-day nuclear war in which India and Pakistan each exchange fifty 15-kiloton nuclear bombs equivalent in yield to the Little Boy uranium bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Their findings concluded that spillover would in no way be “limited,” directly impacting people across the globe that would struggle to locate Kashmir on a map. And those results are merely a conservative baseline, as India and Pakistan are estimated to possess over 260 warheads. Some likely have yields exceeding 15-kilotons, which is relatively small compared to modern strategic warheads. Casualties Recurring terrorist attacks by Pakistan-sponsored militant groups over the status of India’s Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir state have repeatedly led to threats of a conventional military retaliation by New Delhi. Pakistan, in turn, maintains it may use nuclear weapons as a first-strike weapon to counter-balance India’s superior conventional forces. Triggers could involve the destruction of a large part of Pakistan’s military or penetration by Indian forces deep into Pakistani territory. Islamabad also claims it might authorize a strike in event of a damaging Indian blockade or political destabilization instigated by India. India’s official policy is that it will never be first to strike with nuclear weapons—but that once any nukes are used against it, New Dehli will unleash an all-out retaliation. The Little Boy bomb alone killed around 100,000 Japanese—between 30 to 40 percent of Hiroshima’s population—and destroyed 69 percent of the buildings in the city. But Pakistan and India host some of the most populous and densely populated cities on the planet, with population densities of Calcutta, Karachi and Mumbai at or exceeding 65,000 people per square mile. Thus, even low-yield bombs could cause tremendous casualties. A 2014 study estimates that the immediate effects of the bombs—the fireball, over-pressure wave, radiation burns etc.—would kill twenty million people. An earlier study estimated a hundred 15-kiloton nuclear detonations could kill twenty-six million in India and eighteen million in Pakistan—and concluded that escalating to using 100-kiloton warheads, which have greater blast radius and overpressure waves that can shatter hardened structures, would multiply death tolls four-fold. Moreover, these projected body counts omit the secondary effects of nuclear blasts. Many survivors of the initial explosion would suffer slow, lingering deaths due to radiation exposure. The collapse of healthcare, transport, sanitation, water and economic infrastructure would also claim many more lives. A nuclear blast could also trigger a deadly firestorm. For instance, a firestorm caused by the U.S. napalm bombing of Tokyo in March 1945 killed more people than the Fat Man bomb killed in Nagasaki. Refugee Outflows The civil war in Syria caused over 5.6 million refugees to flee abroad out of a population of 22 million prior to the conflict. Despite relative stability and prosperity of the European nations to which refugees fled, this outflow triggered political backlashes that have rocked virtually every major Western government. Now consider likely population movements in event of a nuclear war between India-Pakistan, which together total over 1.5 billion people. Nuclear bombings—or their even their mere potential—would likely cause many city-dwellers to flee to the countryside to lower their odds of being caught in a nuclear strike. Wealthier citizens, numbering in tens of millions, would use their resources to flee abroad. Should bombs beginning dropping, poorer citizens many begin pouring over land borders such as those with Afghanistan and Iran for Pakistan, and Nepal and Bangladesh for India. These poor states would struggle to supports tens of millions of refugees. China also borders India and Pakistan—but historically Beijing has not welcomed refugees. Some citizens may undertake risky voyages at sea on overloaded boats, setting their sights on South East Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. Thousands would surely drown. Many regional governments would turn them back, as they have refugees of conflicts in Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar in the past. Fallout Radioactive fallout would also be disseminated across the globe. The fallout from the Chernobyl explosion, for example, wounds its way westward from Ukraine into Western Europe, exposing 650,000 persons and contaminating 77,000 square miles. The long-term health effects of the exposure could last decades. India and Pakistan’s neighbors would be especially exposed, and most lack healthcare and infrastructure to deal with such a crisis. Nuclear Winter Studies in 2008 and 2014 found that of one hundred bombs that were fifteen-kilotons were used, it would blast five million tons of fine, sooty particles into the stratosphere, where they would spread across the globe, warping global weather patterns for the next twenty-five years. The particles would block out light from the sun, causing surface temperatures to decrease an average of 2.7 degrees Fahrenheit across the globe, or 4.5 degrees in North American and Europe. Growing seasons would be shortened by ten to forty days, and certain crops such as Canadian wheat would simply become unviable. Global agricultural yields would fall, leading to rising prices and famine. The particles may also deplete between 30 to 50 percent of the ozone layer, allowing more of the sun’s radiation to penetrate the atmosphere, causing increased sunburns and rates of cancer and killing off sensitive plant-life and marine plankton, with the spillover effect of decimating fishing yields.

### 1NC – OFF

#### Climate Patents and Innovation high now and solving Warming but patent waivers set a dangerous precedent for appropriations - the mere threat is sufficient is enough to kill investment.

Brand 5-26, Melissa. “Trips Ip Waiver Could Establish Dangerous Precedent for Climate Change and Other Biotech Sectors.” IPWatchdog.com | Patents & Patent Law, 26 May 2021, www.ipwatchdog.com/2021/05/26/trips-ip-waiver-establish-dangerous-precedent-climate-change-biotech-sectors/id=133964/. //sid

The biotech industry is making remarkable advancestowards climate change solutions, and it is precisely for this reason that it can expect to be in the crosshairs of potential IP waiver discussions. President Biden is correct to refer to climate change as an existential crisis. Yet it does not take too much effort to connect the dots between President Biden’s focus on climate change and his Administration’s recent commitment to waive global IP rights for Covid vaccines (TRIPS IP Waiver). “This is a global health crisis, and the extraordinary circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic call for extraordinary measures.” If an IP waiver is purportedly necessary to solve the COVID-19 global health crisis (and of course [we dispute this notion](https://www.ipwatchdog.com/2021/04/19/waiving-ip-rights-during-times-of-covid-a-false-good-idea/id=132399/)), can we really feel confident that this or some future Administration will not apply the same logic to the climate crisis? And, without the confidence in the underlying IP for such solutions, what does this mean for U.S. innovation and economic growth? United States Trade Representative (USTR) [Katherine Tai](https://www.ipwatchdog.com/2021/05/05/tai-says-united-states-will-back-india-southafrica-proposal-waive-ip-rights-trips/id=133224/) was subject to questioning along this very line during a recent Senate Finance Committee hearing. And while Ambassador Tai did not affirmatively state that an IP waiver would be in the future for climate change technology, she surely did not assuage the concerns of interested parties. The United States has historically supported robust IP protection. This support is one reason the United States is the center of biotechnology innovation and leading the fight against COVID-19. However, a brief review of the domestic legislation arguably most relevant to this discussion shows just how far the international campaign against IP rights has eroded our normative position. The Clean Air Act, for example, contains a provision allowing for the mandatory licensing of patents covering certain devices for reducing air pollution. Importantly, however, the patent owner is accorded due process and the statute lays out a detailed process regulating the manner in which any such license can be issued, including findings of necessity and that no reasonable alternative method to accomplish the legislated goal exists. Also of critical importance is that the statute requires compensation to the patent holder. Similarly, the Atomic Energy Act contemplates mandatory licensing of patents covering inventions of primary importance in producing or utilizing atomic energy. This statute, too, requires due process, findings of importance to the statutory goals and compensation to the rights holder. A TRIPS IP waiver would operate outside of these types of frameworks. There would be no due process, no particularized findings, no compensationand no recourse. Indeed, the fact that the World Trade Organization (WTO) already has a process under the TRIPS agreement to address public health crises, including the compulsory licensing provisions, with necessary guardrails and compensation, makes quite clear that the waiver would operate as a free for all. Forced Tech Transfer Could Be on The Table When being questioned about the scope of a potential TRIPS IP waiver, Ambassador Tai invoked the proverb “Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.” While this answer suggests primarily that, in times of famine, the Administration would rather give away other people’s fishing rods than share its own plentiful supply of fish (here: actual COVID-19 vaccine stocks), it is apparent that in Ambassador Tai’s view waiving patent rights alone would not help lower- and middle-income countries produce their own vaccines. Rather, they would need to be taught how to make the vaccines and given the biotech industry’s manufacturing know-how, sensitive cell lines, and proprietary cell culture media in order to do so. In other words, Ambassador Tai acknowledged that the scope of the current TRIPS IP waiver discussions includes the concept of forced tech transfer. In the context of climate change, the idea would be that companies who develop successful methods for producing new seed technologies and sustainable biomass**,** reducing greenhouse gases in manufacturing and transportation, capturing and sequestering carbon in soil and products, and more, would be required to turn over their proprietaryknow-how to global competitors. While it is unclear how this concept would work in practice and under the constitutions of certain countries, the suggestion alone could be devastating to voluntary international collaborations. Even if one could assume that the United States could not implement forced tech transfer on its own soil, what about the governments of our international development partners? It is not hard to understand that a U.S.-based company developing climate change technologies would be unenthusiastic about partnering with a company abroad knowing that the foreign country’s government is on track – with the assent of the U.S. government – to change its laws and seize proprietary materials and know-how that had been voluntarily transferred to the local company. Necessary Investment Could Diminish Developing climate change solutions is not an easy endeavor and bad policy positions threaten the likelihood that they will materialize. These products have long lead times from research and development to market introduction, owing not only to a high rate of failure but also rigorous regulatory oversight. Significant investment is required to sustain and drive these challenging and long-enduring endeavors. For example, synthetic biology companies critical to this area of innovation [raised over $1 billion in investment in the second quarter of 2019 alone](https://www.bio.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/Climate%20Report_FINAL.pdf). If investors cannot be confident that IP will be in place to protect important climate change technologies after their long road from bench to market, it is unlikely they will continue to investat the current and required levels**.**

#### Cross apply the 1AC climate impact

### 1NC – OFF

#### Counterplan text: during pandemics The member nations of the WTO should impose a mandatory lockdown until there is no more than one new case per day per 100,000 people after which local officials will modulate lockdown levels based on local case numbers. Governments should compensate both individual workers and small businesses that suffer substantial or irreparable economic loss as a result of lockdowns. The WTO should publicly declare this policy and every member nation should announce it is in accordance with the WTO

#### Only the lockdown solves- it curbs Disease spread until the vaccine

Osterholm, 20 -- Regents Professor and Director of the Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy at the University of Minnesota

[Michael T. and Mark Olshaker, writer and documentary filmmaker, "America Needs to Lock Down Again," Foreign Affairs, 9-16-20, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-09-16/coronavirus-america-needs-lock-down-again, accessed 10-29-20]

In our essay “Chronicle of a Pandemic Foretold,” for the July/August issue of Foreign Affairs, we described the struggle against COVID-19 in terms of a baseball game and estimated that the United States was in about the third inning of a nine-inning contest. At this point, however, it may be more helpful to shift to an altogether different analogy. The unfolding story of the pandemic is a three-act play, in which the country is now midway through the second act.

The first act saw the disease spread from China to the rest of the world and to a woefully unprepared United States. The second witnessed Americans tire of restrictions and effectively surrender to the pandemic. Infection rates across the country soared during the summer and will likely rise again in the autumn as schools and universities reopen. To truly get the novel coronavirus under control, the United States must do what it has not done so far: impose real and stringent lockdowns across the country for roughly two months. Controlling the spread of the disease in this way will save lives ahead of the eventual end of this drama in the pandemic’s final act—the arrival of a safe, effective vaccine.

THE CURTAIN RISES

Act I opened in late 2019 with the emergence in China of a novel coronavirus that spread throughout much of the world with breathtaking speed and effect. Nations and regions faced the challenge in different ways and with varying levels of success. After a horrendous start, for example, Italy managed to get transmission substantially under control by imposing a near-complete shutdown of the northern part of the country. In the United States, both New York City and New York State saw catastrophic levels of infection that overwhelmed the entire health-care system. It is difficult to forget the images of refrigerated trailers sitting outside hospital emergency rooms to accommodate the dead. But under the leadership of Governor Andrew Cuomo—and thanks to a coordinated state public health response—New York locked down to get the number of cases to a manageable level and then maintain the low numbers, turning a disaster into a model for the rest of the United States.

The issue of testing loomed over Act I. Some Asian nations that had experience with SARS began widespread testing of possible cases early and therefore were able to do contact tracing and largely control viral transmission. The United States did not do that. The White House denied the potential seriousness of the coronavirus (allegedly in a bid to prevent “panic”), while the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) developed a test for national use that was faulty, leaving the virus difficult to track and making case isolation and contact tracing ineffective as a means to control transmission. That forced the country onto a much more disruptive path: an attempt to control and mitigate the virus’s effects through a national lockdown of all nonessential personnel.

The price was steep, with millions of jobs lost, schools closed, and all public events and gatherings officially canceled. In mid-April, the United States was seeing 32,000 new cases a day. But a month later, that figure had dropped to 22,000 and Americans felt they had turned a corner, that the pandemic was subsiding and the battle was won.

THE DISTANT PEAK

Act II of this drama began around Memorial Day weekend in late May. Pandemic fatigue had set in. Americans seemed to collectively declare, “We’re done,” taking any decrease in daily case counts or deaths as a sign that the virus had been curtailed. The warm-weather months drew people into social settings, and the White House and a host of pundits encouraged this natural yearning to get back to business—and leisure—as usual. The administration and its allies posited a zero-sum choice between continuing to slow transmission of the disease and saving the economy. In fact, the country had the fire only under limited control, and if you stop fighting a fire at that point, it will naturally flare up again and continue to burn.

By July 20, with people resuming socializing in large groups, the country’s daily new case count shot up to more than 66,000. It should be noted that the many protests that followed the death of George Floyd in late May did not contribute much to the spread since the demonstrations occurred outdoors, where the virus rapidly dissipates in the air. The spring weekend beach gatherings of young people, by contrast, led to more serious transmissions because revelers often ended up indoors, particularly in close and crowded confines such as bars and houses.

The rate of daily new cases dipped to a little over 42,000 by the end of August, largely because of major containment efforts in California, Florida, Georgia, and Texas. As encouraging as that was on the face of it, the United States was still seeing about 1,000 COVID-19-related deaths per day, hardly a victory by any standard. Americans can expect these crests and troughs in new infections to continue, with each successive peak higher than the one before, until either an effective vaccine becomes widely available or herd immunity is established in the population through person-to-person transmission.

Herd immunity is often discussed but widely misunderstood. Each infectious disease has a different threshold for what percentage of a given population must be immune before the rate of transmission begins to drop. For a highly infectious agent transmitted through the air, such as measles, that percentage can be as high as 95 percent. For COVID-19, most public health infectious disease experts estimate it to be between 50 and 70 percent. One theory holds that the best way to approach the virus is to try to achieve herd immunity as quickly as possible through natural infection so everything can get back to normal, while protecting the older and most vulnerable people. This is the method seemingly employed by Sweden. Its transmission and mortality rates were significantly higher than those of neighboring Denmark and Norway, but the country does not appear to be substantially closer to reaching herd immunity than its Scandinavian neighbors, all of which are still far short of the threshold. Moreover, there is emerging evidence that exposure to the virus may confer only temporary immunity, possibly as brief as several months. And achieving herd immunity—if that is even possible—would only slow transmission, not halt it.

By the most liberal estimates, only about ten to 12 percent of the U.S. population has been infected thus far and, as Sweden’s experience has shown, reaching the threshold will be a long-drawn-out process that could result in the deaths of more than two million Americans. As it is, with about four percent of the world’s population, the United States has racked up about a quarter of all confirmed COVID-19 fatalities. The country failed to protect vulnerable populations, as witnessed in the many outbreaks in nursing homes and extended-care facilities. The virus has also taken a toll on young and healthy individuals; even some with mild or asymptomatic variants of the disease have become “long haulers,” who experience a range of symptoms, including chronic fatigue and cardiac and respiratory issues, weeks or months after getting infected.

SHUT IT DOWN

Herd immunity is a distant and unrealistic prospect, but Americans still have the opportunity to mitigate the suffering and death caused by the disease. The reality is that the only way for the United States to get through Act II with low levels of morbidity and mortality is through more complete lockdowns than were previously implemented in areas with high incidence of infection. Currently, the upper Midwest is the “hottest” area in the country for community-wide transmission, but other areas will see increasing case totals deeper into the fall. The aim at this point, quite simply, should be to cut transmission of the virus as much as possible until the creation and distribution of an effective vaccine.

Such lockdowns should last six to eight weeks with a goal of reaching no more than one new case per day per 100,000 people. This low rate is necessary for testing and contact tracing to have any meaningful effect. Once that rate is achieved, however, local officials will be able to adjust lockdown measures more accurately and with the flexibility the pandemic demands. If the White House and federal government will not lead, which is unfortunately likely under the current administration, the governors of each state, in coordination with their neighboring states, must take the initiative themselves. Some might think this is unrealistic, but New York has been able to maintain this low rate of new infections for the past three months.

Stringent lockdowns, of course, would depend on the continued labor of essential workers, a category we estimate to be no more than 35 percent of the workforce and possibly less. What about other workers? As part of its broader anti-COVID-19 strategy, the federal and state governments should compensate both individual workers and small businesses that suffer substantial or irreparable economic loss as a result of lockdowns. Such support negates the false choice between public and economic health. If carried out successfully, the near-complete shutdowns would be not open-ended but limited in time. And the government has the means to prop up adversely affected workers and businesses. As Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank President Neel Kashkari outlined in an op-ed in The New York Times cowritten with one of us (Osterholm), this fiscal obligation could be covered by the money most Americans who have not lost income are saving by not spending as much during the pandemic—the personal savings rate of Americans has grown from eight percent in January to 20 percent in August. Domestic savings can fund investment in the national economy, a concept that should work equally well in other developed nations. Banks, whose holdings have been boosted by the additional savings, could loan the money necessary for protecting jobs and businesses; Americans would essentially be repaying themselves rather than taking the more traditional route of incurring foreign debt. We believe many people would support a more robust lockdown if they understood that they would not suffer financially. Such a subsidy will actually save money in the long term by preserving jobs and small businesses.

The alternatives to serious lockdowns are insufficient. In areas where the disease is still rampant, masks and physical distancing alone will not get the job done. Business as usual for another six to eight months—until an effective vaccine is widely available—will send current rates of transmission even higher, especially as schools and colleges reopen. By the middle of September, some universities had already canceled in-person classes owing to widespread transmission on campus. Consider how much pain, suffering, and death Americans have endured so far, with no more than ten to 12 percent of the population infected. The next phase could be overwhelming and make Americans look back with nostalgia at the time when new infection rates were still under 100,000 per day.

A DIFFICULT DENOUEMENT

The final act will begin when—and if—one vaccine or more becomes broadly available. A vaccine will eventually bring this long drama to an end, but it will raise a whole new set of questions. Will enough Americans be willing to take it, given our national schizophrenic view of vaccines and science in general? How effective will a vaccine be, and how long will it confer immunity? What will the rules be for approving the vaccine, in the United States and the rest of the world? Who should, or will, get it first? There has been little official or public discussion about answers to these important questions.

It would be dangerous if a possible vaccine became politicized, either to achieve power, prestige, and influence for the country that produces it or to gain partisan advantage within the United States. Many in the public health sphere are afraid that a vaccine will be made available for use before it has been demonstrated to be safe and effective. Never before has the authority and confidence in U.S. government scientific institutions been so undermined by real or perceived political pressure from the White House. At the beginning of September, the CDC directed localities to prepare for the distribution of a vaccine in two months, at the beginning of November, right around the time of the presidential election. One possible mechanism for this expedited rollout would require the president to direct the Food and Drug Administration or the secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services to grant Emergency Use Authorization for a vaccine candidate that looks promising but has not been through the entire validating process.

There is indeed an inescapable tension between wanting a vaccine as soon as possible to prevent further transmission of the disease (and the resulting illnesses and deaths) and taking the necessary time to produce a safe vaccine, whose efficacy and effects on people of various ages and health situations are well understood. But public health and political officials should be extremely wary of any attempt to grant Emergency Use Authorization to a vaccine that hasn’t completed phase three trials, the final and most rigorous stage in which the product is tested over a broad range of thousands of subjects. In most instances in which such authorization is granted, it is for extremely sick or even dying patients. In this case, it would be granted to administer a vaccine to healthy people before the formula is perfected and before any potential negative effects have been documented. In 1955, one company’s production of the original Salk polio vaccine turned out to be defective, causing 40,000 cases of polio. Ten children died. In 1976, a rush to produce a vaccine against a perceived threat of swine flu left approximately 450 recipients with Guillain-Barré Syndrome paralysis.

One of the key reasons for a full phase three review, which includes at least 30,000 test subjects in a double-blind administration (meaning neither the subject nor the administrator knows who has been given the vaccine and who has been given a placebo), is to determine the vaccine’s impact and effects, positive and negative, on a range of different risk groups. What might be safe and effective for young adults, for example, might be ineffective or even harmful for seniors or those with certain underlying conditions. It is also possible that the effect on children could be different or unpredictable. These results will probably take months to sort out. Even more troubling, present plans do not call for either children or the elderly to be included in the phase three test group. Moreover, the first vaccines for this virus probably won’t be home runs (to go back to baseball analogies for a moment) like the smallpox, polio, and measles vaccines. They are more likely to be singles and doubles like the annual influenza vaccine, which in a good year is about 50 percent effective. Americans won’t be going back to the “old normal” anytime soon.

The best outcome in Act III will be the development and distribution of the vaccine as quickly and widely as possible, without shortcuts on safety or testing for effectiveness. The U.S. government should establish and publicize the criteria by which a vaccine will be considered ready for wide-scale public use as well as make clear which groups of people will receive the vaccine first. A proven safe and effective vaccine should first be given to physicians, hospital personnel, and first responders; then to essential workers with underlying risks for serious disease; and after that, to children so that they can stay in school.

But right now, the United States should just be trying to get through the rest of Act II—the coronavirus winter—and hold out until the arrival of a vaccine-enabled spring. It must impose severe lockdowns to truly curb the spread of the disease. New York has shown it can be done. It remains to be seen whether the rest of the country possesses the collective grit and determination to follow suit. A happy ending to this drama will very much be determined by how Americans decide to craft the rest of this current act.

### 1NC – OFF

#### Text: The member nations of the World Trade Organization ought to appoint an international panel of scientists including National Academies and corresponding organizations to decide if they should [reduce intellectual property protections by implementing a one and done approach to patent protections] and manage similar conflicts of interest between intellectual property. Member states must abide by that ruling

#### International panel of science diplomats can rule over IP---that’s key to science diplomacy.

Hajjar and Greenbaum 18 [David; Dean Emeritus and University Distinguished Professor, and Professor of Biochemistry and Pathology at Weill Cornell Medicine, Cornell University. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, a Jefferson Science Fellow of the National Academies at the U.S. Department of State, and a recent Senior Fellow in Science Policy at the Brookings Institute; Steven; Professor and Chair of the Department of Physics and Astronomy at Hunter College of the City University of New York and a Fellow of the American Physical Society. He was a Jefferson Science Fellow of the National Academies at the U.S. Department of State; “Leveraging Diplomacy for Managing Scientific Challenges,” American Diplomacy; September 18; <https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2018/09/leveraging-diplomacy-for-managing-scientific-challenges-an-opportunity-to-navigate-the-future-of-science/>] Justin

At the global level, science diplomacy is defined as cooperation among countries in order to solve complex problems through scientific research and education (1). For example, science diplomacy plays an important role in resolving global issues related to the ecosystem (such as clean water, food safety, energy conservation, and preservation of the environment). It also addresses problems related to the healthcare industry. For example, scientists have served at the international level to forge the Middle Eastern Cancer Consortium a decade ago to facilitate better healthcare and improve cancer research in the region. Whether one considers science for diplomacy or diplomacy for science, international science collaborations benefit from allowing science diplomats (broadly defined as science envoys, science attaches, embassy fellows) to help establish positive international relationships between the U.S., Europe, Latin America, Africa or Asia, particularly when proprietary disputes arise (2, 3). These various types of science diplomats already exist; some, like embassy fellows and science envoys, have one-year appointments so their role may be limited, while attaches usually have two or three year appointments that may allow them to be more successful in long, protracted negotiations. In any event, we believe that scientists can play more of a role in advancing international scientific cooperation. A key point addressed here is how to balance security concerns against the need for free exchange of information needed for innovation and growth.

Both the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health are already engaged in supporting American science and strengthening collaborations abroad. Such efforts take advantage of international expertise, facilities, and equipment. Here, we provide a rationale for the use of diplomacy to address scientific challenges. This approach allows some scientists working as diplomats to help manage complex and potentially conflicting situations that arise between scientific communities and their governments. Such issues include managing disputes such as licensing agreements for intellectual property (IP) and providing protection of IP.

International collaborations can not only support but also accelerate the advancement of science. However, collaborations may carry risk if IP is misappropriated for other purposes. International collaborations should have a basis in strategy and specific goals (for example, drug discovery) in order to justify the use of government and/or corporate funds.

About a decade ago, a group of academics from the University of Manchester in the United Kingdom assembled the “Manchester Manifesto,” subtitled “Who Owns Science” (6). This document addressed the lack of alignment between commercial interests, intellectual rights, and credit to the researcher. In our (and commonly held) view, the groups representing these disparate values could benefit from diplomatic mediation. More recently, it has become increasing apparent that managing China as a science and technology superpower represents another challenge for the U.S. Resolution of issues such as ownership of IP, rights to reagents, or use of skilled laboratory personnel from international collaborations may require the efforts of science diplomats. There are few international offices or “guardians” to protect junior and senior scientists in corporate or academic sectors from misuse of reagents or piracy.

China’s failure to respect IP rights, and the resulting piracy, has drawn much attention. The media have also focused on the failure of watchdog government agencies to detect and manage these unwanted activities. Industrial espionage compromises U.S. interests. Moreover, Chinese and Russian hackers have cyberattacked U.S. technology companies, financial institutions, media groups, and defense contractors. In 2018, industrial spying was even reported in a major medical school in New York City where scientists were alleged to have illegally shared research findings with Chinese companies.

The U.S. has a long history of hiring research personnel from other countries to staff its laboratories and industrial R&D centers. These scientists and engineers have made critical contributions to our nation’s well-being and security. These young Chinese and South Asian graduates of U.S. programs a generation ago now staff our research enterprise. However, recent trends in U.S. graduate school applications in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) reflect a downturn in foreign applicants, particularly from China. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the number of American-born students seeking STEM degrees is not sufficient to satisfy future demands of our high-tech workforce. While our own educational reforms must be augmented, we cannot ignore the need to continue to recruit overseas talent.

We believe that foreign scientists can continue to make critical discoveries in the U. S. provided that their talent is nurtured, developed, and harnessed for the common good. At the same time, American companies cannot hire foreign scientists if they take the ideas they generate in U.S. laboratories back to their home countries without proper credit or permission. If the advancement of science is to succeed, greater diplomatic cooperation is needed to solve and manage proprietary issues for the benefit of all (5, 6).

So, how does one strike the proper balance between security and growth? Science is a universal social enterprise; international conferences lead to friendships and productive collaborations between nations. Given that the U.S. and Chinese governments recognize the need for international communication and collaboration then surely there should be a mechanism for adjudicating anticipated conflicts. One approach would be for government, industrial, and academic stakeholders to form an international panel of scientists and engineers to manage any conflicts of interest between the need to protect proprietary information crucial to a company’s competitive edge, and the need for students and young faculty members to publish their findings. Smaller scale efforts along these lines have recently given rise to unique global partnerships, such as fellowship support by major pharmaceutical companies, which aim to address these conflicts to the benefit of both parties. An added feature of such arrangements is that they often provide corporate financing for research (9). Can this corporate-academic partnership model be adapted to multinational joint R&D efforts while protecting IP? This question falls squarely within the purview of international science diplomacy, whereby science diplomats can establish rules of conduct governing joint global technology development with proper IP protection.

Despite the highly publicized and legitimate piracy allegations against China, at least some data indicates that the Chinese legal system is responding positively to worldwide pressure to honor foreign IP. A 2016 study by Love, Helmers, and Eberhardt, for example, found that between 2006 and 2011, foreign companies brought over 10 percent of patent infringement cases in China, and won over 70 percent of those cases (10). Today, “win rates” average around 80 percent, and “injunction rates,” around 98 percent (10). As Chinese scientists and engineers increasingly enter the top tier of the innovation space, their growing awareness of their own need for IP protection could be a powerful motivating force for the protection of all IP. As stated earlier, science diplomats could catalyze this progress even further by direct negotiations with those parties involved in the conflicts. An obvious flaw in this optimistic outlook is that scientists in the U.S. wield more influence with their government than scientists in China wield with theirs. And to the extent that the Chinese government could be encouraging IP theft, this must be addressed first by those international companies/firms who want to do business with the Chinese. Chinese investments, as well as tech incubators and targeted acquisitions, can enable access to U.S. technologies for commercial development. Although this conveys a level of risk to the developers, it may provide valuable opportunities for U.S. companies as well. In many respects, the extensive engagement and collaboration in innovation between the U.S. and China, often characterized by open exchanges of ideas, talent, and technologies, can be mutually beneficial in enriching and accelerating innovation in both countries.

In summary, we believe that science diplomats could help address the increasingly complex issues that arise between accelerating scientific and engineering advances, and the need to protect national security and corporate IP. We also propose that this might be accomplished by asking the National Academies to **recommend** academic, corporate, and government scientific leaders to serve on an international scientific advisory board, and for the corresponding organizations in other countries to do the same. Access to the free flow of information promotes new knowledge and innovation. A return to a more restrictive intellectual environment is not only harmful to progress, but also nearly impossible to manage in the current internet age. A good place to start would be to engage the newly appointed head of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy (the Science Advisor to the President of the United States), and working groups within established organizations. These organizations include the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) or the National Academies of Science, Engineering and Medicine, and corresponding international organizations. What incentive is there for a busy and successful scientist to serve in such capacity? It is the same altruism that motivates us to accept assignments as journal editors, manuscript reviewers, or funding agency panelists for the advancement of science toward the greater good.

#### Solves every existential threat.

Haynes 18—research associate in the Neurobiology Department at Harvard Medical School (Trevor, “Science Diplomacy: Collaboration in a rapidly changing world,” <http://sitn.hms.harvard.edu/flash/2018/science-diplomacy-collaboration-rapidly-changing-world/>, dml) // Re-Cut Justin

Today’s world is extremely interconnected. Most of us take this fact for granted, but its implications cannot be overstated. The rate at which information, resources, and people are able to move from one part of the world to another continues to accelerate at an alarming rate. Undoubtedly, this development has done society immense good. In the last century, global life expectancy has doubled, the percentage of people living in extreme poverty has dropped by about 60%, and world literacy rates have increased by a similar margin. But while these statistics paint a promising picture of human civilization, human progress rests on a fragile foundation of international cooperation; the challenges presented by an interconnected world are immense. War, natural disasters, and economic collapse now exert their effects globally, creating economic and ecological disasters and mass human migrations on an unprecedented scale. And with the US pulling out of major multilateral agreements on trade, climate change mitigation, and denuclearization, you might wonder if our ability to collaborate across borders productively is really up to the task.

Global challenges require global solutions, and global solutions require collaboration between countries both big and small, rich and poor, authoritative and democratic. There are few human enterprises capable of providing continuity across these differences, and as technological solutions are becoming available to some of our most pressing issues, two in particular will be necessary to getting the job done: science and diplomacy. While science has long been utilized as a means to reach political ends—think of British explorer James Cook’s mapping of unexplored continents or the United States’ Manhattan Project—a more formal integration of scientists into the diplomatic process is being undertaken. This effort, which has led to scientists and academics playing a direct role in foreign policy development and international relations, has given birth of a new branch of diplomacy: science diplomacy.

What is science diplomacy?

As both the term and concept of science diplomacy have only recently gained traction in scientific and diplomatic circles, it’s been given a variety of definitions. But common to them all is the focus on applying scientific expertise to an international effort. The focus of these efforts is to solve international problems collaboratively while balancing economic prosperity, environmental protection, and societal wellbeing. The challenge of reaching this balance in the face of a booming global population cannot be understated, but this new branch of diplomacy is already at work and is producing results. International agreements such as the Paris Climate Agreement and the Iran Nuclear Deal are two famous examples, and science diplomacy is also establishing international collaboration in many other important arenas. While these lesser known efforts may not dominate the headlines, they are quietly tackling the global issues of today and preparing us for those of tomorrow.

Natural disasters don’t respect national boundaries (and neither does the aftermath)

In 2013, the number of refugees displaced by natural disasters—hurricanes, droughts, earthquakes—outnumbered those displaced by war. Current projections estimate as many as 1 billion people may be displaced by natural disasters by the year 2050. That would mean 1 in 9 people on the planet displaced and looking for a home. Compare this to the estimated 12 million refugees displaced by the war in Syria, and a frightening picture begins to form. As natural disasters continue to increase in both their frequency and intensity, solutions for mitigating the risk of total catastrophe will be underpinned by science, technology, and the ability of the international community to collaborate. Many organizations are starting to tackle these problems through the use of science diplomacy. The center for Integrated Research on Disaster Risk (IRDR) is composed of ten national committees—a network of government sponsored research institutions across the world in countries ranging the political and economic scale. These working groups have committed to improving disaster-risk-reduction science and technology while providing guidance to policy makers charged with implementing disaster prevention and mitigation strategies.

IRDR is governed by a committee comprising experienced scientists and natural disaster experts. Its members come from all over the world—the US, China, Uganda, Norway, Mexico, Venezuela, and more. The diversity of this organization starts at the top and is crucial to developing comprehensive risk-reduction strategies. Data and insights from countries with varying areas of expertise are being shared and built upon, facilitating more accurate natural disaster forecasting and better strategies for mitigating their destructive power. And by including representatives from countries of varying political and economic power in its leadership, IRDR ensures that its work will consider the needs of the global community at large, rather than just nations with considerable wealth and political standing.

The results of this type of international collaboration speak for themselves. Although humanity is grappling with more natural disasters than ever before, deaths related to these incidents continue to trend downward. Operating outside of the typical political framework that dominates foreign relations, IRDR provides a model for effective collaboration across the geopolitical spectrum in the face of a major global issue.

Explore or Exploit? Managing international spaces

Over the last few decades the polar ice cap that covers much of the Arctic Ocean has been shrinking. So much so, that during the warm season vast areas of previously solid ice have become open waters, creating opportunities for new trade routes and exposing the Arctic’s enormous reserves of oil and natural gas. Depending on your values, this will sound either like an opportunity for huge economic development of the region or the inevitable exploitation of one of the last untouched natural territories on the planet. And if you live there, like the half a million indigenous people who currently do, how this territory is managed will determine where you can live, how (and if) you can make a living, and what the health of the ecosystems that have supported Arctic life for millennia will look like.

Luckily, such a scenario was predicted decades ago. In 1987, Mikhail Gorbachev, then leader of the then Soviet Union, delivered a speech outlining his aspirations for the arctic to be explored rather than exploited—to radically reduce military presence, create a collaborative multinational research effort, cooperate on matters of environmental security, and open up the Northern Sea Route for trade. This speech laid the foundation for the Arctic Council (Figure 1), which is one of the most successful examples of science diplomacy at work. Composed of the eight Arctic nations, including geopolitical rivals US and Russia, and numerous groups of indigenous peoples, the Arctic Council was established to maintain Gorbachev’s vision for the region while giving the indigenous peoples a seat at the negotiating table. The council’s activities are conducted by six scientific and technology-based working groups who conduct research in the area and provide knowledge and recommendations to the council members. As a result of this research, and allowing scientists to take part in the negotiations, the Arctic council has enacted several legally binding agreements regarding the sustainable development and environmental protection of the Arctic Ocean. These agreements have facilitated cooperation on a number of important issues including search and rescue operations, prevention and containment of maritime oil pollution, and, most recently, enhanced data sharing and scientific research collaborations. Against a backdrop of rapidly deteriorating diplomatic relations, the US and Russia have co-chaired task forces that laid the foundation for these agreements, proving to the world that meaningful results can be achieved through the avenue of science diplomacy, regardless of geopolitics.

Science diplomacy going forward

The technical expertise that characterizes science diplomacy will continue to be in demand across many realms of foreign policy. For example, synthetic biology and gene-editing technology continue to factor into matters regarding agriculture and trade. Also, digital currencies, such as bitcoin, have changed the way economists and businesses are approaching markets. Finally, machine learning and artificial intelligence are being used by governments as a means for population control, giving rise to a new type of governance—digital authoritarianism.

While this expertise will be necessary for managing such issues, building international coalitions can’t be done through a purely scientific and technical lens. Convincing others to cooperate means providing them with a convincing argument to do so, and in terms they understand and find compelling. To achieve this, scientists must be trained to communicate their expertise in a way that moves stakeholders in policy discussions to act. This means appealing to motivations they have been largely taught to put to the side—whether they be political, economic, or emotional in nature—without obscuring the data and insights they have to offer.

For our leaders, policy makers, and diplomats to effectively understand issues underpinned by science and technology, experts in these fields must continue to be integrated into the mechanisms of governance. With scientists in the US running for elections in numbers like never before, we can expect this trend to continue. And in the face of a rising wave of nationalism across the world, it is crucial that we do everything we can to foster collaboration. The future of human civilization depends on it.

#### Reject 1AR theory- A] 7-6 time skew means it’s endlessly aff biased B] I don’t have a 3nr which allows for endless extrapolation C] 1AR theory is skewed to the aff because they have a 2ar judge psychology warrant which is also a reason why they shouldn’t get 2ar weighing

#### Infinite abuse claims are wrong- A] Spikes solve-you can just preempt paradigms in the 1AC B] Functional limits- 1nc is only 7 minutes long

## Case

### 1NC – AT: Pandemics

#### COVID dies out – low virulence + lockdown efforts – mutations flip the other way.

JSP 20 6-22-2020 "COVID-19 is weakening, could die out without vaccine, specialist claims" <https://www.jpost.com/health-science/covid-19-is-weakening-could-die-out-without-vaccine-specialist-claims-632324> (Jerusalem Staff Post)//Elmer

The **coronavirus** has **weakened over time**, and it **could die out without the need for a vaccine**, a leading Italian infectious disease specialist told The Telegraph. The coronavirus outbreak has spread all over the world, infecting millions of people and resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths. As a result, it has sparked a major effort by researchers worldwide to develop an effective vaccine. But according to Prof. Matteo Bassetti, head of the infectious diseases clinic at Italy's Policlinico San Martino Hospital, this may not be necessary. Bassetti explained to The Telegraph that the **virus has changed** in recent months. "The clinical impression I have is that the virus is changing **in severity**," he said. "In March and early April, the patterns were completely different. People were coming to the emergency department with a very difficult-to-manage illness, and they needed oxygen and ventilation; some developed pneumonia. "Now, in the past four weeks, the picture has completely changed in terms of patterns. There could be a **lower viral load** in the respiratory tract, probably due to a **genetic mutation** in the virus which has not yet been demonstrated scientifically. Also, we are now more aware of the disease and able to manage it," he said. "It was like an aggressive tiger in March and April, but now it's like a wild cat. Even elderly patients, aged 80 or 90, are now sitting up in bed, and they are breathing without help. The same patients would have died in two or three days before," Bassetti said. "I think the virus has mutated because **our immune system reacts to the virus**, and we have a **lower viral load** now **due to** the **lockdown, mask-wearing** [and] **social distancing**. We still have to demonstrate why it's different now," he said. "Yes, probably it could go away completely without a vaccine. We have fewer and fewer people infected and it could end up with the virus dying out." This is not the first time a health expert has theorized that the virus is weakening. In May, Prof. Karol Sikora, an oncologist and the chief medical officer at Rutherford Health in the UK told The Telegraph that **the pandemic could end up "petering out by itself**."

#### AT McPherson - Second Wave won’t cause end of “industrial activity” which is their Internal Link.

Villegas 8-1 Paulina Villegas 8-1-2021 "Fauci says shutdowns probably won't return, despite more 'suffering' ahead from delta variant" <https://archive.is/Z9TBg#selection-279.0-668.0> (Reporter covering breaking news and national stories for the Washington Post)//Elmer

At the beginning of the summer, many Americans sighed with relief, thinking the worst of the coronavirus pandemic was over. But as the **delta variant** of the virus **surges** nationwide, fears about returning to the dark days of shutdowns have also spread. But **shutdowns** probably **will not return**, **despite more “pain and suffering**” on the horizon, Anthony S. **Fauci**, the **White House’s chief medical adviser**, **said** Sunday during an interview on ABC’s “This Week.” “**I don’t think we’re going to see lockdowns.** I think we have enough of the percentage of people in the country — not enough to crush the outbreak — but I believe enough to not allow us to get into the situation we were in last winter,” said Fauci, who is also the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

#### Disease doesn’t cause extinction

Adalja 16 [Amesh Adalja is an infectious-disease physician at the University of Pittsburgh. Why Hasn't Disease Wiped out the Human Race? June 17, 2016. https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/06/infectious-diseases-extinction/487514/]

But when people ask me if I’m worried about infectious diseases, they’re often not asking about the threat to human lives; they’re asking about the threat to human life. With each outbreak of a headline-grabbing emerging infectious disease comes a fear of extinction itself. The fear envisions a large proportion of humans succumbing to infection, leaving no survivors or so few that the species can’t be sustained.

I’m not afraid of this apocalyptic scenario, but I do understand the impulse. Worry about the end is a quintessentially human trait. Thankfully, so is our resilience.

For most of mankind’s history, infectious diseases were the existential threat to humanity—and for good reason. They were quite successful at killing people: The 6th century’s Plague of Justinian knocked out an estimated 17 percent of the world’s population; the 14th century Black Death decimated a third of Europe; the 1918 influenza pandemic killed 5 percent of the world; malaria is estimated to have killed half of all humans who have ever lived.

Any yet, of course, humanity continued to flourish. Our species’ recent explosion in lifespan is almost exclusively the result of the control of infectious diseases through sanitation, vaccination, and antimicrobial therapies. Only in the modern era, in which many infectious diseases have been tamed in the industrial world, do people have the luxury of death from cancer, heart disease, or stroke in the 8th decade of life. Childhoods are free from watching siblings and friends die from outbreaks of typhoid, scarlet fever, smallpox, measles, and the like.

So what would it take for a disease to wipe out humanity now?

In Michael Crichton’s The Andromeda Strain, the canonical book in the disease-outbreak genre, an alien microbe threatens the human race with extinction, and humanity’s best minds are marshaled to combat the enemy organism. Fortunately, outside of fiction, there’s no reason to expect alien pathogens to wage war on the human race any time soon, and my analysis suggests that any real-life domestic microbe reaching an extinction level of threat probably is just as unlikely.

Any apocalyptic pathogen would need to possess a very special combination of two attributes. First, it would have to be so unfamiliar that no existing therapy or vaccine could be applied to it. Second, it would need to have a high and surreptitious transmissibility before symptoms occur. The first is essential because any microbe from a known class of pathogens would, by definition, have family members that could serve as models for containment and countermeasures. The second would allow the hypothetical disease to spread without being detected by even the most astute clinicians.

The three infectious diseases most likely to be considered extinction-level threats in the world today—influenza, HIV, and Ebola—don’t meet these two requirements. Influenza, for instance, despite its well-established ability to kill on a large scale, its contagiousness, and its unrivaled ability to shift and drift away from our vaccines, is still what I would call a “known unknown.” While there are many mysteries about how new flu strains emerge, from at least the time of Hippocrates, humans have been attuned to its risk. And in the modern era, a full-fledged industry of influenza preparedness exists, with effective vaccine strategies and antiviral therapies.

HIV, which has killed 39 million people over several decades, is similarly limited due to several factors. Most importantly, HIV’s dependency on blood and body fluid for transmission (similar to Ebola) requires intimate human-to-human contact, which limits contagion. Highly potent antiviral therapy allows most people to live normally with the disease, and a substantial group of the population has genetic mutations that render them impervious to infection in the first place. Lastly, simple prevention strategies such as needle exchange for injection drug users and barrier contraceptives—when available—can curtail transmission risk.

Ebola, for many of the same reasons as HIV as well as several others, also falls short of the mark. This is especially due to the fact that it spreads almost exclusively through people with easily recognizable symptoms, plus the taming of its once unfathomable 90 percent mortality rate by simple supportive care.

Beyond those three, every other known disease falls short of what seems required to wipe out humans—which is, of course, why we’re still here. And it’s not that diseases are ineffective. On the contrary, diseases’ failure to knock us out is a testament to just how resilient humans are. Part of our evolutionary heritage is our immune system, one of the most complex on the planet, even without the benefit of vaccines or the helping hand of antimicrobial drugs. This system, when viewed at a species level, can adapt to almost any enemy imaginable. Coupled to genetic variations amongst humans—which open up the possibility for a range of advantages, from imperviousness to infection to a tendency for mild symptoms—this adaptability ensures that almost any infectious disease onslaught will leave a large proportion of the population alive to rebuild, in contrast to the fictional Hollywood versions.

#### COVID dies out – low virulence + lockdown efforts – mutations flip the other way.

JSP 20 6-22-2020 "COVID-19 is weakening, could die out without vaccine, specialist claims" <https://www.jpost.com/health-science/covid-19-is-weakening-could-die-out-without-vaccine-specialist-claims-632324> (Jerusalem Staff Post)//Elmer

The **coronavirus** has **weakened over time**, and it **could die out without the need for a vaccine**, a leading Italian infectious disease specialist told The Telegraph. The coronavirus outbreak has spread all over the world, infecting millions of people and resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths. As a result, it has sparked a major effort by researchers worldwide to develop an effective vaccine. But according to Prof. Matteo Bassetti, head of the infectious diseases clinic at Italy's Policlinico San Martino Hospital, this may not be necessary. Bassetti explained to The Telegraph that the **virus has changed** in recent months. "The clinical impression I have is that the virus is changing **in severity**," he said. "In March and early April, the patterns were completely different. People were coming to the emergency department with a very difficult-to-manage illness, and they needed oxygen and ventilation; some developed pneumonia. "Now, in the past four weeks, the picture has completely changed in terms of patterns. There could be a **lower viral load** in the respiratory tract, probably due to a **genetic mutation** in the virus which has not yet been demonstrated scientifically. Also, we are now more aware of the disease and able to manage it," he said. "It was like an aggressive tiger in March and April, but now it's like a wild cat. Even elderly patients, aged 80 or 90, are now sitting up in bed, and they are breathing without help. The same patients would have died in two or three days before," Bassetti said. "I think the virus has mutated because **our immune system reacts to the virus**, and we have a **lower viral load** now **due to** the **lockdown, mask-wearing** [and] **social distancing**. We still have to demonstrate why it's different now," he said. "Yes, probably it could go away completely without a vaccine. We have fewer and fewer people infected and it could end up with the virus dying out." This is not the first time a health expert has theorized that the virus is weakening. In May, Prof. Karol Sikora, an oncologist and the chief medical officer at Rutherford Health in the UK told The Telegraph that **the pandemic could end up "petering out by itself**."

### 1NC – AT: WTO

#### Conceding WTO Credibility – the WTO is bad – yes the I/L is reverse causal since 1AC Meyer says collapse will happen in the Status Quo and the Plan prevents it.

#### Low WTO causes regional trade – yes trade-off

Isfeld 14 Gordon Isfeld 3-17-2014 business.financialpost.com/2014/03/17/with-rise-of-shot-gun-trade-agreements-is-the-wto-even-relevant-anymore/ “With the rise of 'shot-gun' trade agreements, is the WTO even relevant anymore” //Elmer

OTTAWA — It’s getting awfully crowded out there in the free-trading world. The seemingly endless hunt for new global partners is redefining the traditional and hard-fought rules of engagement between nations. So much so, observers say, the old world order — remember the WTO, and GATT before it — has increasingly become a sideshow to the proliferation of bilateral, **trilateral** **and**, often, **multi-lateral** agreements. Even the term “free trade” no longer accurately describes the “new world” of negotiations — one that encompasses far more than what and how products are permitted to slide under domestic tariff radars. For Canada, we can now add South Korea and the European Union — deals long in the making but only weeks in the signing — after a string of minor agreements since the landmark free trade act 25 years ago with the United States, and later to include Mexico. Now, as the growing mass of country-to-country, region-to-region agreements has made apparent, it’s open season on anything that moves between borders — not only products, investments and intellectual property, but also new rules on competition, and the inclusion of labour laws and environmental guidelines. These are just some of the areas of possible disputes that the World Trade Organization “does not deal with,” said Debra Steger, a professor of law at University of Ottawa, specializing in international trade and development. “These are new models. These are not traditional trade agreements, per se.” Ms. Steger, who worked for the federal government on the Uruguay Round of negotiations that led to formation of the WTO, said the framework of recent deals goes “way beyond subjects that NAFTA dealt with.” “Trade, even in the WTO, isn’t only about tariffs. It’s not just about customs and border measures,” she said. “But it’s not about behind-the-border regulatory matters, like environmental regulation and labour standards, competition policy and human rights, corruption, and on and on it goes.” Free trade, between where ever, has become the go-to issue for politicians, business leaders, public-policy makers and private interest groups. Note, this month’s sudden but long-rumoured announcement by the Harper government of a free-trade deal with South Korea, nearly 10 years after talks began and stumbled, and resumed again. Arguably, the deal was finally done as a result of the resolution to Canada’s drawn-out dispute with Seoul over our beef exports — the so-called “mad cow” disease leading to a ban in that county and others. Of course, the United States, the European Union and Australia, among others, already had agreements in hand with South Korea. A few months earlier, Ottawa inked its EU deal — the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement — which was again the outcome of a seemingly endless circle of negotiations that still left Canada trailing similar pacts by the U.S. and others. Even so, these pacts “affect the WTO and WTO negotiations for a number of reasons. That’s a major problem,” said Ms. Steger. “The major developed countries have gone off and started these efforts to negotiate these big FTAs [free trade agreements] as a response to the declining situation in the Doha Round. The WTO — reborn in 1995 out of the General Agreement and Tariffs and Trade, the original body created in 1948 — has been struggling to maintain its relevance as the global arbiter of trade agreements and dispute resolution. The cachet of the 159-member body, however, has been diminished in recent years as countries moved to seal their own free-trade deals with major partners in the absence, some would argue, of any significant movement by the WTO on its own 2001 trade liberalization initiative, launched in Doha, Qatar. Late last year, members managed to agree to only limited movement on trade under the Doha Round of talks. Even now, details remain to be worked out. “One of the reasons why we’re seeing this sort of shot-gun approach [to trade agreements outside of the WTO] is because a number of countries are concerned that the big global deals are probably next to impossible at this stage, given how the Doha Round went and what we ended up with there, which was next to nothing,” said Douglas Porter, chief economist at BMO Capital Markets in Toronto. “They did manage to reach a tiny deal when all was said and done, but it was very modest in terms of its scope.” The move toward bilateral or multi-lateral agreements “is a symptom of the problems that we were running into at the WTO,” Mr. Porter said. “Important players are probably quietly questioning the future for the WTO…. Is it that death knell for the WTO? I don’t think so. [But] it just means we might not be able to accomplish grand, global deals in the future.” However, “there’s really no other way to approach trade disputes with, say, a country like China, then through that body at this point.” “Even 10 years ago, I think it was more straightforward to come to global trade rules. You had two major players, Europe and the U.S., and a few next tier players, including Japan,” Mr. Porter said. “Now, though, you have all kinds of important big players that have a huge chunk of global trade, and have very different goals and aims, and it might be the nature of the global economy now — the reality that we have many different groups in many different regions. “It might be impossible to square that circle.” Over the course of 25 years, Canada has piled on more than a dozen free trade agreements. The first — taking effect on Jan. 1, 1989 — was with the United States. A heated political issue in the 1988 federal election, which Brian Mulroney’s Conservatives won, the FTA was expanded in 1994 to include Mexico and rebranded as NAFTA. Other free trade deals, though much smaller, were signed in subsequent years, some yet to take effect: Israel, Jordan and Chile, followed later by Costa Rica, Peru, Panama, Honduras and Colombia, leading up to the pacts with EU and South Korea. Negotiations are ongoing for at least another dozen agreements. For countries such as Colombia, which has had an agreement in effect with Canada since 2011, the goal is “to insert our economy into the world economy,” said Alvaro Concha, trade commissioner of Proexport Colombia, based in Toronto. “At the beginning of this decade, we had only our preferential access to over 500 million consumers,” Mr. Concha said. “With all the potential FTAs we’ve been signing with potential markets and with potential partners, we believe that not just the potential buyers of our products, but also the potential investors in our country, we have opened our preferential access to over 1.5 billion consumers.” Likely to push the WTO further into the shadows of global trade will be the Trans Pacific Partnership. “In many ways, the Trans Pacific Partnership will be, if it is successful, an updating of the NAFTA, because the U.S. and Mexico are involved, as well as some [trading] partners we already have within Latin America, like Peru,” said Ms. Steger, at the University of Ottawa. “But [there are] also some key countries in Asia that we don’t have agreements with yet. And some other developed countries in that regional, New Zealand and Australia, that we don’t have agreements with,” she adds. “So that [TPP] agreement is very, very important. It’s also the first major plur-lateral agreement that the world has seen.”

#### Regionalism promotes trade and stops war – avoids their impact because our regionalism is different than protectionist blocs.

Brkić 13, Snježana, and Adnan Efendic. "Regional Trading Arrangements–Stumbling Blocks or Building Blocks in the Process of Global Trade Liberalization?." 5th International Conference «Economic Integration, competition and cooperation», Croatia, Opatija. 2013. papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2239275 (Economics Prof at U of Sarajevo) //Elmer

Besides those advocating the optimistic or pessimistic view on regionalism effect on global trade liberalization, some economists, such as Frankel and Wei, hold a neutral position, in a way. Frankel and Wei believe that forms and achievements of international economic integrations can vary and that, for this reason, regionalism can be – depending on circumstances – linked to greater or smaller global trade liberalization. In the years-long period of regional integration development, four periods have been identified during which the integration processes were becoming particularly intensive and which have therefore been named "waves of regionalism". The first wave was taking place during the capitalism development in the second half of the 19th century, in the course of British sovereign domination over the world market. Economic integrations of the time primarily had the form of bilateral customs unions; however, owing to the comparative openness of international trading system based on the golden standard automatism, this period is called the "era of progressive bilateralism". The next two waves of **regionalism** occurred in the years following the world wars. Since the disintegration processes caused by the wars usually spawned economic nationalisms and autarchic tendencies, it is not surprising that post-war regionalisms were marked by discriminatory international economic integrations, primarily at the level of so-called negative integration, with expressedly “beggar-thy-neighbor” policies that resulted in considerable trade deviations. This particularly refers to the regionalism momentum after the First World War, which was additionally burdened by the consequences of Big Economic Crisis. The current wave of regionalism started in late 1980s and spread around the world to a far greater extent than any previous one did: it has covered almost all the continents and almost all the countries, even those which have mis to join all earlier regional initiatives, such as the USA, Canada, Japan and China. Integration processes, however, do not show any signs of flagging. Up till now, over 200 RTAs have been registered with GATT/WTO, more than 150 of them being still in force, and most of these valid arrangement have been made in the past ten years. Specific in many ways, this wave was dubbed "new regionalism". The most specific **characteristics** of new regionalism **include: geographic spread** **of RTAs** **in** terms of **encompassing entire continents;** **greater speed**; integration forms success; deepening of integration processes; **and**, the most important for this theoretical discussion, generally **non-negative impact on outsiders, world economy as a whole, and** the **multilateral liberalization** process. Some theorists (Gilpin) actually distinguish **between** the "**benign**" **and** "**malign**" **regionalism**. On the one hand, **regionalism can advance** the **international economic stability**, multilateral liberalization **and world peace**. On the other, it can have mercantilist features leading to economic well-being degradation and increasing international tensions and conflicts. Analyses of trends within the contemporary integration processes show that they mainly have features of "benign" regionalism. Reasons for this are numerous. **Forces driving** the **contemporary** **regionalism** development **differ from** those that used to drive **earlier** regionalism periods in the 20th century. The **present regionalism emerged in** the period characterized by the **increasing economic inter-dependence** between different world economy subjects, countries attempts to resolve trade disputes and multilateral framework of trade relations. As opposed to the 1930s episode, contemporary regional initiatives represent **attempts to make** the members' **participation in the world economy easier**, rather than make them more distant from it. As opposed to 1950s and 1960s episode, new **initiatives** are **less frequently motivated** **exclusively by political interests**, and are **less frequently** being used **for mercantilist purposes**. After the Second World War, more powerful countries kept using the economic integration as a means to strengthen their political influence on their weaker partners and outsiders. The examples include CMEA and European Community arrangements with its members' former colonies. As opposed to this practice, the new regionalism, mostly driven by common economic interests, yielded less trade diversion than previous one, and has also **contributed to** the **prevention of military conflicts of greater proportions**. Various analyses have shown that many regional integrations in earlier periods resulted in trade deviations, particularly those formed between less developed countries and between socialist countries. In recent years, however, the newly formed or revised regional **integrations** primarily seem to **lead to trade creation**. Contrary to the “beggar thy- neighbor” model of former international economic integrations, the integrations now offer certain advantages to outsiders as well, by stimulating growth and spurring the role of market forces. The analyses of contemporary trends in world economy also speak in favor of the "optimistic" proposition. The structural analysis shows that the world trade is growing and that this growth results both from the increase in intra-regional and from the increase in extra-regional trade value (Anderson i Snape 1994.)28. Actually, the intraregional trade has been growing faster, both by total value and by its share in world GDP. The extra-regional trade share in GDP was increasing in some regions – in North America, Asia-Pacific and Asian developing countries. However, the question arises as to whether the extra-regional trade would be greater without regional integrations or not? The answer would primarily depend both on the estimate of degree of some countries' trade policy restrictedness in such circumstances, and on factors such as geographic distance, transport communications, political relations among states. One should also take into account certain contemporary integration features – the primarily economic, rather than strategic motivation, and continuous expansion, which mostly includes countries that are significant economic partners. With respect to NAFTA, many believe that the negative effects on outsiders will be negligible, since the USA and Canada have actually been highly integrated economies for a long time already, while the Mexican economy is relatively small. The same view was pointed out by the EU, with respect to its expansion. It particularly refers to the inclusion of the remaining EFTA countries, because this will actually only complete, in institutional terms, the EU strong economic ties with these countries. Most EFTA countries have been part of the European economic area (EEA), i.e. the original EC-EFTA agreement, for a few years already, and conduct some 70% of their total international exchange with the Union countries. EU countries are also the most significant foreign-trade partners of Central and East Europe countries, and the recent joining the Union of several of them is not expected to cause a significant trade diversion. Besides, according to some earlier studies, during the previous wave of regionalism, in the 1967-70 period, the creation of trade in EEC was far greater than trade diversion: trade creation ranged from 13 to 23% of total imports, while trade diversion ranged from 1 to 6%. In Latin America, the new regionalism resulted in the faster growth of intra-regional trade, while the extra-regional exports and imports also continued to grow. Since early 1990s, the value of intra-regional imports registered the average annual growth of 18%. In the same time, the extra-regional exports were also growing, although at a lower rate of 9% average a year; its share in the total Latin America exports at the end of decade amounted to 18% as compared to 12% in 1990. In the 1990-1996 period, the intraregional imports grew by some 18% a year. The extra-regional imports were also growing very fast, reaching the 14% rate. These data reflect a great unbalance in the trade with extra-regional markets, since the imports from countries outside the region grew much faster the exports.30 Since the described trends point to the continued growth of extra-regional imports and exports, they also show that regional integration in Latin America has had the open regionalism character. Besides, the pending establishment of FTAA – Free Trade Area of Americas will gather, in the same group, the so-called "natural" trade partners – countries that have had an extremely extensive mutual exchange for years already, and the outsiders are therefore unlikely to be affected by strengthening of regionalism in this part of the world. Contemporary research shows that intra-regional trade is growing, however, same as interdependence between North America and East Asia and between the EU and East Asia. It can also be seen that the biggest and the **most powerful** countries, i.e. **blocs**, **are extremely dependent** **on the rest of the world in terms of trade.** For the EU, besides the intra-European trade, which is ranked first, foreign trade has the vital importance since it accounts for 10% of European GDP. In early 1990s, EU exchanged 40% of its foreign trade with non-members, 16% out of which with North America and East Asia together. EU therefore must keep in mind the rest of the world as well. The growing EU interest in outsiders is confirmed by establishing "The Euro-Med Partnership", which proclaimed a new form of cooperation between the EU and the countries at its South periphery32. Besides, the past few years witnessed a series of inter-regional agreements between the EU on the one hand, and certain groups from other regions on the other (MERCOSUR, CARICOM, ASEAN and GCC). In case of North America the ratio between intra-regional and inter-regional trade is 40:60, and in East Asia, it is 45:55. Any attempt to move towards significantly closed blocs ("fortresses") would require overcoming the significant inter-dependence between major trading blocs. Besides the analysis of contemporary trends in extra- and intra-regional trade, other research was conducted that was supposed to point to the reasons why the **new regionalism has** mainly a **non-negative impact on** outsiders and **global liberalization**. The distinctive features of new regionalism were also affected to characteristics of international economic and political environment it sprouted in. In the 1980s, economic nationalisms were not so expressed as in the interventionism years following the Second World War; however, the neo-liberalism represented by GATT activities did not find the "fertile ground” in all parts of the world. Regionalism growth in the circumstances of multilateral system existence is, among other things, the consequence of distrust in multilateralism. „The revival of the forces of regionalism stemmed from frustration with the slow pace of multilateral trade liberalization... If the world trade regime could not be moved ahead, then perhaps it was time for deeper liberalization within more limited groups of like-minded nations... Such efforts would at least liberalize some trade... and might even prod the other nations to go along with multilateral liberalization.“33 Kennedy's round and Tokyo round of trade negotiations under GATT auspices brought a certain progress in the global trade liberalization. However, the 1980s witnessed significant changes in the world economy that the GATT trade system was not up to. Besides. GATT had not yet managed to cover the entire trade in goods, since there were still exceptions in the trade in agricultural and textile products that particularly affected the USA and developing countries. GATT system of conflict resolutions, and its organizational and administrative mechanism in general also required revision. In this vacuum that was created in promoting trade and investment multilateralism from the point when GATT inadequacy became obvious until the start of the Uruguay round and the establishment of World Trade Organization, the wave of regionalism started spreading across the world again. Prodded by the Single European Act and the success of European integration, many countries turned to an alternative solution – establishment of new or expansion and deepening of the existing economic integrations. Even the USA, the multilateralism bastion until then, made a radical turn in their foreign-trade policy and started working on designing a North American integration.

#### That outweighs—multilateral trade causes wars with a larger impact

Thoma 7 Mark Thoma July 2007 “Trade Liberalization and War” <http://economistsview.typepad.com/economistsview/2007/07/trade-liberaliz.html> (Economics Professor at the University of Oregon)//Elmer

Globalisation is by construction an increase in both bilateral and multilateral trade flows. What then was the net effect of increased trade since 1970? We find that it **generated an increase in the probability of a bilateral conflict by** around **20%** for those **countries separated by less than 1000kms,** the group of countries for **which the risk of disputes that can escalate militarily is the highest.** The effects are much smaller for countries which are more distant. Contrary to what these results (aggravated by our nationality) may suggest, we are not anti-globalisation activists even though we are aware that some implications of our work could be (mis)used in such a way. The result that bilateral trade is pacifying brings several more optimistic implications on globalisation. First, if we think of a world war as a war between two large groups or coalitions of countries, then globalisation makes such a war less likely because it increases the opportunity cost of such a conflict. Obviously, this conclusion cannot be tested but is a logical implication of our results. From this point of view, our work suggests that globalisation may be at the origin of a change in the nature of conflicts, less global and more local. Second, our results do confirm that increased trade flows **created by regional trade agreements** (such as the EU) are indeed **pacifying** as intended. Given that most military conflicts are local, because they find their origins in border or ethnic disputes, **this is not a small achievement**. These beneficial political aspects of regional trade agreements are not usually considered by economists who often focus on the economic distortions brought by their discriminatory nature. Given the huge human and economic costs of wars, this political effect of regional trade agreements should not be discounted. This opens interesting questions on how far these regional trade agreements should extend – a topical issue in the case of the EU. The entry of Turkey in the EU would indeed pacify its relations with EU countries (especially Greece and Cyprus), but also increase the probability of a conflict between Turkey and its non-EU neighbours. However, our simulations suggest that in this case, the first effect dominates the second by a large margin. More generally, our results should be interpreted as a word of caution on some political aspects of globalisation. As it proceeds and weakens the economic ties of proximate countries, those with the highest risk of disputes that can escalate into military conflicts, local conflicts may become more prevalent. Even if they may not appear optimal on purely economic grounds, regional and bilateral trade agreements, by strengthening local economic ties, may therefore **be a necessary political counterbalance to economic globalisation**.

#### Stronger Dispute Mechanism deters Multilateral Environmental Agreements – threats are enough.

Chaytor 3, Beatrice, Alice Palmer, and Jacob Werksman. "Interactions with the World Trade Organisation: The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety and the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas." Berlin: Ecologic, http://www. ecologic. de/projekte/interaction/results. htm (2003). (International Trade Lawyer)//Elmer

The international trading regime governed by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) interacts with many international environmental regimes. The WTO is often a source of the interaction, invoking reactions from international environmental regimes in the design and implementation of rules which is responsive to WTO prescriptions. The vast number of WTO Members, the institution’s economic significance and its unparalleled ability to enforce its rules through its rigorous dispute settlement mechanism, contribute to the WTO’s tendency to be more effective as a source of interaction rather than as a target. Nevertheless, the WTO is also a target of interaction by international environmental regimes which are typically more proactive in seeking to inform and co-operate with the WTO. The effect of the interaction with the WTO as a source is largely disruptive, in the sense that **the WTO’s** primary objective of facilitating free trade **generates conflicts with** the principal objectives of **environment regimes** **aimed at promoting environmental protection and sustainable development**. The **mere possibility of a WTO challenge** **can inhibit negotiations and** the **implementation** of measures under the international environmental regimes. Moreover, **ambiguities in** the meaning and application of the **WTO rules** with respect to environmental measures **make it difficult to design** and implement the international **environmental regimes** in a manner that complements the WTO system. Despite these challenges, compromises are generally reached that ensure the complementary co-existence of the international trade and environment regimes This chapter examines the nature and effects of interaction between the WTO and two international environmental regimes in particular: the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety and the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT). It commences with a description of the WTO in Part 1 and follows in Part 2 with a summary of the experience of interaction between the WTO and each of the environmental regimes considered in the GATT/WTO “inventory” which was prepared in the research for this chapter. In Part 3, the interaction between the WTO and the Biosafety Protocol and ICCAT is studied in-depth, and general observations about the interaction between the WTO and the two environment regimes are set out in Part 4. 1. Introduction to World Trade Organisation 1.1 General The WTO is an intergovernmental organisation established in 1995 and has a Membership of over 140 countries and customs territories.1 The WTO is responsible for administering the multilateral trade agreements regulating the international trade in goods and services and the protection of intellectual property rights, for providing a forum for the negotiation of new trade rules, and for operating procedures for the settlement of disputes among its Members (the WTO Agreements). The WTO aims to liberalise markets, recognising the need to make “use of the world’s resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development” and to “protect and preserve the environment… in a manner consistent with [the Members’] respective needs and concerns at different levels of economic development”.2 The WTO’s institutional framework comprises its governing body, the General Council, and several other councils and committees that are supported by the Secretariat in Geneva. The principal organ responsible for trade and environment issues at the WTO is the Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE). Other WTO bodies that consider issues of environmental relevance include the Committee on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT Committee) and the Committee on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS Committee). The General Council and specialist councils and committees administer the WTO Agreements on a day-to-day basis and Members convene a Ministerial Conference approximately every two years.3 1.2 The WTO Agreements The WTO Agreements will interact with any environmental regulation that has an impact on the international trade in goods and services among its Members, including those regulations enacted pursuant to multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). The WTO pursues its objective of market liberalisation by requiring its Members to maintain both relative and absolute standards of treatment of goods and services in the international and domestic market place. The WTO’s relative standards prohibit WTO Members from the discriminatory treatment of “like” goods, services and service suppliers on the basis of country of origin. The WTO’s absolute standards prohibit or discourage Members from putting in place certain types of measures that directly or indirectly interfere with the trade in products and services. The three main WTO Agreements that have been of particular relevance to international environmental regimes are the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 (GATT), the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT Agreement), and the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS Agreement).4 At the most basic level, all three agreements share the common purpose of ensuring that measures that affect the trade in products do not discriminate on the basis of a product’s country of origin (National and Most-Favoured Nation Treatment), and that these measures are no more trade restrictive than is necessary to achieve the purpose for which they were designed. Each agreement has detailed rules, and a growing body of practice that develops these disciplines further. The so-called environmental exceptions in Article XX of the GATT and similar provisions in the TBT and SPS Agreements deserve special mention. 5 Under Article XX, a measure which is “necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health” or which relates to “the conservation of exhaustible natural resources” is permitted under the GATT provided it is not being applied in an arbitrary or unjustifiable manner, or as a disguised restriction on international trade.6 The WTO Agreements are backed by a compulsory dispute settlement system with the ability to authorise bilateral trade sanctions (known as suspensions of concessions). Any Member that feels benefits it expected to derive from the WTO Agreements have been undermined by a trade measure put in place by another Member can initiate dispute settlement procedures. If the Members are unable to settle their differences between themselves, an ad hoc arbitral Panel of trade experts will be established, and will seek to resolve the dispute. The report of the Panel can be appealed to a permanent Appellate Body of seven independent trade jurists, appointed by the WTO Membership. The outcome is formally reviewed by the WTO Dispute Settlement Body, a committee of all Members, which can only reverse the conclusion of a Panel or the Appellate Body by consensus. The main objective of the dispute settlement system is to ensure that any trade measure that is found to be inconsistent with WTO rules be removed or made consistent. If a Member fails to correct the offending measure, it can agree to compensate the affected Member, or find itself subject to trade sanctions imposed by the affected Member at a level equivalent to the continuing harm done by the offending measure.7 The WTO Agreements, both on paper and in practice, also anticipate the need to take into account other existing international agreements, such as MEAs, and other relevant state practice. Both the SPS and the TBT Agreements make reference to international standards developed by competent international organisations operating outside the WTO system. Under the SPS Agreement, a WTO Member is required (unless it can justify the need for a higher standard) to base its SPS measures on international standards, guidelines or recommendations adopted by those international agencies specifically identified in the SPS Agreement or that may be later agreed by the SPS Committee (Article 3.1). SPS measures that are in conformity with these international standards are rebuttably presumed to be consistent with the SPS Agreement (Article 3.2). No MEA has thus far been recognised as a standard setting instrument under the SPS Agreement. Under the TBT Agreement, a WTO Member is also required to use international standards as the basis of its technical regulation (Article 2.4). A technical regulation that is put in place for an identified “legitimate objective” (which includes the protection of human heath or safety, animal or plant life or health, or the environment) and is in accordance with “relevant international standards” is rebuttably presumed to be TBT compatible (Article 2.5). Unlike the SPS Agreement, the TBT does not identify which international standards would qualify for this presumption. Many MEAs would, however, appear to meet the TBT’s general requirement that standards derive from a recognised “body or system whose membership is open to the relevant bodies of at least all of the Members.”8 1.3 Institutional Development of Trade and Environment Agenda Since the WTO’s establishment, its Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE) has had the mandate to explore the relationship between the WTO and MEAs.9 In the CTE, and other WTO organs dealing with environmental matters, Members have discussed a range of trade and environment issues. These include: the application of the WTO rules to trade measures taken pursuant to a MEA; the application of the WTO rules to measures based on process and production methods (PPMs); environmental (or eco) labelling (especially with respect to genetically modified organisms); the relevance of the precautionary principle to risk assessments based on scientific evidence (particularly in the context of the SPS Agreement); and the environmental impacts of certain subsidies, especially fisheries subsidies.10 Most observers acknowledge the usefulness of the CTE’s work in promoting a better understanding of the WTO-MEA relationship and acknowledging the legitimate role of MEAs in promoting environmental objectives. However, the CTE’s work has thus far been general and inconclusive, other than recognising that international trade rules and international environmental rules should be designed and implemented in a manner that is “mutually supportive”.11 The CTE has been widely criticised for failing to produce any conclusions or recommendations of a substantive nature that would, for example, instruct the WTO’s dispute settlement system on how to deal with a conflict should one arise.12 At the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha, November 2001, the WTO Membership agreed to include as part of a new round, substantive negotiations: without prejudging their outcome, on [. . .] the relationship between existing WTO rules and specific trade obligations set out in multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). The negotiations shall be limited in scope to the applicability of such existing WTO rules. as among parties to the MEA in question. The negotiations shall not prejudice the WTO rights of any Member that is not a party to the MEA in question.13 The mandate is both vague and restrictive. It does, however, suggest that for the first time the WTO may produce substantive rules aimed directly and intentionally at trade-related measures contained in MEAs to which its Members are also parties. In fulfillment of the WTO’s obligation to make arrangements for cooperation with intergovernmental organisations,14 the CTE has granted observer status to intergovernmental organisations, including the Secretariats of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and ICCAT, and hosts meetings with MEA Secretariats to discuss issues relevant to the WTO and MEAs.15 The fourth WTO Ministerial Conference encouraged “efforts to promote cooperation between the WTO and relevant international environmental organisations”16 and launched negotiations between the Members on “procedures for regular information exchange between MEA Secretariats and the relevant WTO committees, and the criteria for the granting of observer status.”1 There is a wary co-existence between the WTO and the institutions overseeing the design and implementation of MEAs (environment regimes). The WTO Agreements anticipate the need to take into account MEAs, and the Appellate Body has been inclined to consider existing MEAs when clarifying relevant provisions of the GATT/WTO. Some recent MEAs, such as the Biosafety Protocol, have included language that acknowledges WTO rights and obligations. At the outset, the interaction between the WTO and environment regimes is generated by differences in regime objectives and by differences in the institutional features designed to achieve those objectives. **The WTO is designed to promote free trade; the environment regimes** in varying degrees **require** or authorise **trade restrictions** in order **to discourage** the production and consumption of specific **products with negative environmental consequences** The WTO Agreements are backed by a compulsory dispute settlement system with the ability to authorise bilateral trade sanctions, while the arrangements for dispute settlement within most MEAs are looser and less binding. Membership of the WTO and environment regimes substantially overlaps since each regime aims for universal membership. The WTO and the five environment regimes examined in the inventory prepared in researching this chapter – Montreal Protocol, Biosafety Protocol, Basel Convention, ICCAT and CCAMLR18 – have each played roles as a source and a target of interaction for the other. The GATT/**WTO** consistency of trade restrictions has been a concern that **has constrained** the respective rules and regulations of the **environment regimes (Biosafety, Montreal**, ICCAT). Yet, some environment regimes have been cited in the WTO as examples of properly functioning, multilaterally negotiated, and narrowly drawn exceptions to free trade rules (CCAMLR, Montreal).19 A summary of the nature of the interactions between the WTO and the five environment regimes is contained in Table 1. The effect of the WTO on the design of primary rules within the environment regimes has been viewed as “**chilling**”, disrupting or slowing negotiation processes (Montreal, Biosafety), and limiting the composition and reach of trade measures (Biosafety, Basel), and their further development and application (Montreal). The WTO and the Conferences of the Parties of the various environment regimes each has the mandate to act in areas that lie in the other’s jurisdiction. Thus the nature of their “influence” over each other, though implicit, is as powerful as if it were expressly stated. Although a dispute challenging a MEA provision has never been brought before the WTO dispute settlement system, the threat of a WTO “challenge” under the WTO’s dispute settlement system further influences the design of rules under the environment regimes, and the membership of the environment regimes remains acutely conscious of this interaction. While some rules and behaviour of the environment regimes have developed to accommodate WTO rules, adjustments have tended to come at the expense of the environment regimes’ objectives. In particular, there has been no satisfactory resolution of the distinctions, if any, to be made between otherwise like products on the basis of their process and production methods.

#### The Impact:

#### 1] No Brink Scenario – no explanations of conflicts/tensions that are escalating now.

#### 2] China thumps Compliance – your “no Alt Causes” card is about alt causes to credibility, not compliance which is the I/L to Hamaan – China is not listening because they don’t believe the WTO but because they simply don’t care.

Webster 14, Timothy. "Paper compliance: How China implements WTO decisions." Mich. J. Int'l L. 35 (2014): 525. (Director of East Asian Legal Studies & Assistant Professor of Law, Case Western Reserve University)//Elmer

Since the number of WTO cases involving China is small, certitude about China's future conduct in the DSB would be inapt. But certain patterns are clear. First, in the majority of cases, China has revised its legal and regulatory systems to comply with the DSB rulings. It has done so typically within the reasonable period of time in which it agreed to do so and has accumulated a strong record in terms of the quality of its implementation. Moreover, as of July 2013, no Chi-nese case has gone into compliance proceedings, wherein an arbitration panel determines the costs of one country's non-compliance to other WTO members. This is a significant difference from other major trading partners, such as the United States, E.U., and Japan, all of which have been respondents in compliance proceedings. n256 Some of these cases have dragged on for more than a decade, indicating a resistance to WTO rulings far and above anything that China has exhibited. Second, **China has found ways to resist WTO rulings** and norms. Inconsistent regulations remain in effect. In the three cases discussed above - DS 362 (intellectual property enforcement), DS 363 (trading rights for publications) DS 373 (financial information services) - inconsistent regulations either continue in effect or were revised so as not to ef-fectuate [\*573] the purpose of the ruling. This lacuna could be a function of institutional capacity. China's capa-cious bureaucratic institutions produce reams of regulations; it is unclear whether many of them keep close tabs on the various regulations they produce, and quite definite that some of them have not repealed regulations found to be in-consistent. Or there may be a more sinister explanation: **China wants to keep the inconsistent regulations** in place, and understands that its regulatory maze may be **too labyrinthine for** other **WTO** members **to navigate**. Whether by design or neglect, a number of inconsistent regulations continue to plague China's compliance record. Moreover, local and provincial-level regulations often amplify the effects of inconsistent national regulations. In cases such as DS 363 and DS 373, lower-level government agencies have promulgated policies that reference regulations that were either revoked or found inconsistent. This means that WTO-inconsistent regulations will cast a regulatory afterglow at various levels of the Chinese legal system. The most striking case of non-compliance, so far, has been the trading rights case (DS 363). The revisions suggest-ed by the DSB challenged China's censorship regime and long-held monopoly on cultural information. Not only did China not comply within a reasonable period of time, but it also left in place several regulations that the DSB deemed inconsistent with WTO disciplines. This suggests that, in particularly sensitive areas, China will not fulfill its implemen-tation obligations. **As China continues to gain experience with WTO litigation**, **instances of non-implementation are likely to increase**. China has, in essence, learned that it can "get away" without fully complying with DSB rulings and recommendations. Indeed, as noted above, two recent rulings show just how far China is willing to push the implemen-tation envelope. Third, reforming laws in China means less than it would in Western liberal democracies with robust legal institu-tions. One-party rule, coupled with a unitary governance structure, allow the party-state to control the passage of laws and regulations, dictate revisions to the domestic legal environment, and coordinate changes with a maximum of speed and minimum of institutional friction. **China** has tinkered with the literal letter of its law, but it **continues** to produce **a whole range of programs that violate WTO** principles. **It is** perhaps **unrealistic to think the DSB can induce compliance** more broadly, that is, outside of the regulation challenged. But it is doubtful that China's domestication of DSB rulings has meaningfully influenced the development of its political economy. Many basic norms - market capitalism, dereg-ulation, strong protection of intellectual property, limits on subsidies - remain alien to China. Fourth, many WTO violations take place in the interstices of law, areas where government officials exercise discre-tion: whether or not to register a foreign company, to issue it a business license, or to prosecute someone for IP theft. Likewise, **China distributes trade regulations to** governmental **agencies as "internal guidance"** (neibu cankao) that should be published under China's WTO transparency obligations, but in fact [\*574] never are. n257 The dispute set-tlement system provides a very rough tool by which to reshape a member's domestic legal system and to monitor its implementation of WTO commitments. A range of violations takes place, either below the radar or without meaningful recourse for investors or manufacturers outside of China. Finally, China deploys the tactical features of the dispute settlement system to buffer the ruling's impact. China settles "easy" cases early and prolongs decisions that seriously disrupt its political system, harm core economic interests, or require significant internal reform to implement. Like any other national actor, China seeks to maximize its interests and minimize disruptions that international law and institutions may inflict upon its domestic legal and regulatory sys-tems.

#### 3] No DSB usage even if it’s credible.

Alavi 7 Amin Alavi 2007 “African Countries and the WTO’s Dispute Settlement Mechanism” <http://www.worldtradelaw.net/articles/alaviafrica.pdf> (PhD Researcher @ Danish Institute for International Studies)//Elmer

The passing of time has modified most observers’ earlier enthusiasm about the DSM.3 It has become clear that **the DSM has shortcomings**. These include some **conflicting deadlines** (better known as sequencing), a **weak enforcement mechanism**, **questionable quality of some of its rulings**, and the **possibility of prolonging disputes** (see, for example, Mavroidis et al., 1998). Increasingly too, the absence from the scene of a majority of developing countries, including the SSA ones, has also been acknowledged.4 One question that is now raised is whether or not the DSM has in fact been a success, and especially whether it represents a gain for developing countries. But this latter discussion is only now emerging and only a few observers have taken part in it. Furthermore, it does not yet constitute a distinct field of debate. The prime focus of academic commentary on the DSM remains on how it has been used, rather than why it has not been used. A majority of researchers working on the DSM do so from within the legal tradition and have studied it as a litigation process by analysing case law and the rulings. They implicitly regard the system as a success in allowing countries to settle their disagreements. However, the DSM is also a political process, and cases have important economic impacts. Recently, lawyers have been joined by economists and political scientists in analysing the DSM. Unlike the lawyers, these last two groups are interested in determining the conditions under which countries participate in the DSM, and the costs and benefits of this participation. A first set of observations from this source concerns possible relations between countries’ levels of engagement in the DSM, their shares and patterns of trade, and the retaliation opportunities that these provide (Bown and Hoekman, 2005; Horn et al., 1999; Nordstrom, 2005). The authors cited consider countries’ shares of world trade, numbers of traded products and numbers of trading partners as determinants of their participation. Their hypothesis is that ‘the probability of encountering disputable trade measures is proportional to the diversity of a country’s exports over products and partners, which means that larger and more diversified exporters would be expected to bring more complaints than smaller and less diversified exporters’ (Horn et al., 1999: ii). They find that the hypothesis ‘goes quite far toward predicting the actual pattern of complaints across countries’ (ibid.),5 especially when the cost of litigation is controlled for. However, they also find that the **G4 countries**6 are **overrepresented** **in the DSM**, relative to their positions with regard to these attributes.7 A second, related set of observations regards the negative consequences a case may have as a reason why small developing countries especially have not been active in the DSM. Examples of this are provided by Bown (2005), who develops a model to analyse a subset of disputes, namely, those dealing with issues of market access. He finds that lost market access and economic losses determine countries’ decisions to initiate cases. However, ‘several other **political** economy **factors affect the decision not to litigate** ... Other things being equal, adversely affected exporters are less likely to participate when they are involved in a preferential trade agreement with the respondent, when they **lack the capacity to retaliate** against the respondent by withdrawing trade concessions, **when they are poor or small**, and when they are particularly reliant on the respondent for bilateral assistance’ (ibid.: 291). Bown’s arguments partly recapitulate those of Hoekman and Mavroidis (2000) whose list of countries’ reasons for not initiating cases includes practising policies similar to those that a case tries to change, and fear of the political as well as economic impact of a case on bilateral relations with another state. A final set of observations from this literature focuses on biases and inequalities within and between institutions managing trade, including the WTO in general and the DSM in particular (Busch and Reinhardt, 2003; Shaffer, 2003). Here, the main problem identified is that the **DSM** (and the WTO) has **become too technically complex and demanding for** most **developing countries** to use effectively in the absence of adequate assistance. Underlying this is the observation that there is too much law and too little politics in the system. Proponents of this position link these observations to others concerning developing countries’ typically weak trade-policy infrastructures, their shortage of trained personnel, and their lack of knowledge about the system. This view is systematically elaborated by Hoekman and Mavroidis (2000), who present the overall dispute process in two stages – ‘upstream’, which is that part of the process before a case is officially brought before the DSM, and ‘downstream’, which is after a case has been officially initiated. During the first stage, a country’s trade-policy infrastructure plays the central role. It is here that information is gathered, analysed and transferred to the government, which then decides whether to pursue a case or not. Not only the existence but also the functioning of trade-policy infrastructures is critical for countries’ engagement in the system, according to Shaffer (2003). His study of the infrastructures of the US and the EU finds that an institutionalised linkage between private companies and officials is a key characteristic of the major users of the system. While under existing WTO rules only member states may initiate a case, this generally occurs on the basis of persuasion from private companies. This is facilitated where local private companies are strong and where the established infrastructure gives private companies a voice and the chance to lead their case informally through the initial stage.

#### 4] Zero historic compliance

Lida 4, Keisuke. "Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effective?." global governance 10.2 (2004): 207-225. (Prof. Pol. Sci. @ Aoyama Gakuin U)//Elmer

What is the overall track record of dispute resolution? This question, while simple, is not so easy to answer. It depends on the analyst's judgment as to what counts as a "satisfactory" outcome. I have tried to rely on the parties' assessment as much as possible. There aretwo main categories of satisfactory outcome: (1) the parties have implemented the WTO rulings, and (2) the parties have settled the dispute between themselves, with or without WTO adjudication. While the first type is relatively easy to track, the second category is not. Therefore, I have relied on the parties' notification to the WTO as to whether or not they have reached a mutually agreed solution. A third "possibly satisfactory" category is one in which the WTO found no wrongdoing on the part of the defendants, and hence no action was required. This could be considered a "successful" dispute outcome, at least from a legal point of view. All of these cases are classified as "resolved" in Figure 1. There are two classes of pending cases. One is the class of cases that are still going through the adjudication procedures or have gone through adjudication and are in the implementation stage. The WTO allows a "reasonable period of time" for implementation, which ranges from several months to a maximum of fifteen months. Anumber of cases are at this stage. This class is named "ongoing" in Figure 1. The second class of pending cases (denoted as "pending" in Figure 1) comprises those cases on which consultations have been heldwithout reaching concrete agreement. It is possible that some of these cases have actually been settled, but the parties have not notified the WTO of that fact, thereby making the interpretation of this class of cases difficult. Finally, there are a few cases for which the final result is not known. Figure 1 shows the classification of disputes according to these criteria. (10) The complaints are divided according to the year in which they were initially filed. This shows that during the first two to three years of dispute settlement, the WTO had a good track record, but **from 1998** on, **the number of possibly unsatisfactory outcomes increased**. This may be partly due to the fact that not enough time has elapsed since the inception of disputes. This can be seen in the numberof "ongoing" cases since 1998. However, a majority of unresolved cases are so-called pending consultations cases, as seen in Figure 1. For this class of cases, especially those on which consultations were held in 1998 or 1999, it is hard to argue that the parties have not had enough time. I suspect that for a large proportion of cases in thiscategory, the complainants have all but abandoned the complaint, forone reason or another, but have not made this fact public. Based on this analysis, we could tentatively conclude that in the first few years of **dispute settlement**, the WTO performed well, whereas since 1998, it **has not been working as smoothly**. A comparison with the track record of GATT may be useful. Robert Hudec has assembled the most comprehensive data on GATT disputes, and of 207 cases that were filed at GATT from 1948 to 1989 (data for the cases from 1990 through 1994 are missing), there were 88 rulings, of which 20 were no-violation findings and 68 were violation findings. Since no action was required for the 20 no-violation cases, they wouldbe included in our "success" category. Of the 68 violation rulings, 45 led to fully satisfactory outcomes and 15 led to partly satisfactory outcomes. Of 64 cases that were settled or conceded without GATT rulings, 37 led to fully satisfactory outcomes and 25 reached partly satisfactory outcomes. Therefore, by the most conservative measure, the **overall success rate** of the GATT dispute system was 102 of 207 cases, **or 49 percent**. Hudec reports a different figure, using only the cases with known results (139 cases). According to his calculation (excluding those with nonviolation findings), the success rate is 60 percent. (11) That said, a decade-by-decade breakdown shows some fluctuations, with success rates lower in the 1950s and 1960s. [FIGURE 1 OMITTED] Therefore, the performance of the first few years of the WTO dispute settlement is comparable to, or above, the success rate of the GATT system, but the rate has been below that of GATT since 1998. It hasto be admitted that the number and nature of disputes filed are different and that no totally comparable analysis can be made. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the **conventional wisdom that the WTO is** extremely "**effective**" **in resolving disputes** (in particular, relative to GATT**) should be questioned**. (12) One possible explanation for the decline in the effectiveness of the WTO dispute system since 1998 is the complication of U.S.-EuropeanUnion relations. The WTO ruled on two of the most difficult cases in1997--bananas and beef hormones--and on finding the European Union'scompliance insufficient in the banana dispute and nonexistent in thebeef dispute, the United States resorted to sanctions in 1999 in both cases. This soured U.S.-European Union relations considerably. The subsequent case brought by the European Union against the United States over foreign sales corporations, (13) for example, is widely reputed to have been a retaliatory suit. In addition, according to negotiators in Geneva, political bargaining is often suspended during the panel and AB proceedings, with haggling restarting only after all the legal procedures are exhausted. This is not an efficient use of time, since it causes substantial delays.

### 1NC – AT: Vaccine Diplomacy

#### China Rise Good:

#### 1] Africa - Chinese replacement of US LIO uniquely key to poverty reduction and political stability in Africa

Hodzi 18, Obert. "Delegitimization and ‘re-socialization’: China and the diffusion of alternative norms in Africa." International Studies 55.4 (2018): 297-314. (postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki)//Elmer

As China’s global influence expands, its foreign policy is increasingly focused on advancing ideas, norms and values that are often at odds with the liberal international order. For instance, China’s model of governance and development is often advanced as an alternative to the Washington consensus giving Africa **an alternative source of norms**. Increasingly, African countries are looking to China for leadership and inspiration in poverty reduction and for a model to achieve rapid economic growth. The implication is an increased questioning of the human rights based approach to development dominance in the liberal order. China’s strong state backed by a single dominant stable ruling party driving the national economic development agenda is gradually seen as prerequisites for Africa’s extraordinary economic growth. Ethiopia and Rwanda, two countries with the highest economic growth in Africa, emphasize the Chinese model that **favours stability** over competitive electoral democracy and individual civil and political rights. Combined with China’s major investments in infrastructural development, such as the standard-gauge railway in East Africa, Beijing is carving out a significant zone of influence and shaping foreign policy orientations of African countries.

#### African instability causes terrorism and global war

Mead 13 Walter Mead 12-5-2013 “Peace In The Congo? Why The World Should Care” <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2013/12/15/peace-in-the-congo-why-the-world-should-care/> (Distinguished Fellow at Hudson Institute)//Elmer

One of the biggest questions of the 21st century is whether this destructive dynamic can be contained, or whether the demand for ethnic, cultural and/or religious homogeneity will continue to convulse world politics, drive new generations of conflict, and **create millions more victims**. The Congo conflict is a disturbing piece of evidence suggesting that, in Africa at least, there is potential for this kind of conflict. The Congo war (and the long Hutu-Tutsi conflict in neighboring countries) is not, unfortunately alone. The secession of South Sudan from Sudan proper, the wars in what remains of that unhappy country, the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia and the rise of Christian-Muslim tension right across Africa (where religious conflict often is fed by and intensifies “tribal”—in Europe we would say “ethnic” or “national”—conflicts) **are strong indications that the potential for huge and destructive conflict across Africa is very real**. But one must look beyond Africa. The Middle East of course is aflame in religious and ethnic conflict. The old British Raj including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma and Sri Lanka offers countless examples of ethnic and religious conflict that sometimes is contained, and sometimes boils to the surface in horrendous acts of violence. Beyond that, rival nationalisms in East and Southeast Asia are keeping the world awake at night. The Congo war should be a reminder to us all that the foundations of our world are dynamite, and that the potential for new conflicts on the scale of the horrific wars of the 20th century is very much with us today. The second lesson from this conflict stems from the realization of how much patience and commitment from the international community (which in this case included the Atlantic democracies and a coalition of African states working as individual countries and through various international institutions) it has taken to get this far towards peace. Particularly at a time when many Americans want the US to turn inwards, there are people who make the argument that it is really none of America’s business to invest time and energy in the often thankless task of solving these conflicts. That might be an ugly but defensible position if we didn’t live in such a tinderbox world. Someone could rationally say, yes, it’s terrible that a million plus people are being killed overseas in a horrific conflict, but the war is really very far away and America has urgent needs at home and we should husband the resources we have available for foreign policy on things that have more power to affect us directly. The problem is that these wars spread. They may start in places that we don’t care much about (most Americans didn’t give a rat’s patootie about whether Germany controlled the Sudetenland in 1938 or Danzig in 1939) but they tend to spread to places that we do care very much about. This can be because a revisionist great power like Germany in 1938-39 needs to overturn the balance of power in Europe to achieve its goals, or it can be because instability in a very remote place triggers problems in places that we care about very much. Out of Afghanistan in 2001 **came both 9/11 and the waves of insurgency and instability** that threaten to rip nuclear-armed Pakistan apart or trigger wider conflict with India. Out of the mess in Syria a witches’ brew of terrorism and religious conflict looks set to complicate the security of our allies in Europe and the Middle East and even the security of the oil supply on which the world economy so profoundly depends. Africa, and the potential for upheaval there, is of more importance to American security than many people may understand. The line between Africa and the Middle East is a soft one. The weak states that straddle the southern approaches of the Sahara are ideal **petri dishes for Al Qaeda** type groups to form and attract local support. There are networks of funding and religious contact that give groups in these countries potential access to funds, fighters, training and weapons from the Middle East. A war in the eastern Congo might not directly trigger these other conflicts, but it helps to create the swirling underworld of arms trading, money transfers, illegal commerce and the rise of a generation of young men who become experienced fighters—and know no other way to make a living. It destabilizes the environment for neighboring states (like Uganda and Kenya) that play much more direct role in potential crises of greater concern to us.

#### Unipolarity is specifically responsible for the globalization of extremism – that makes heg unsustainable.

Ibrahimi 18 (2/19/18; S. Yaqub Ibrahimi, [researcher and instructor of political science. PhD @ Carleton University] “Unipolar politics and global peace: a structural explanation of the globalizing jihad”; taylor and francis <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/17467586.2018.1428763?needAccess=true)>

* JSG = Jihadi-Salafi Groups

Three conclusions can be drawn from this paper. First, the peacefulness of the contemporary unipolar system could be discussed beyond the interstate conflict and the likelihood of great powers competition debate. The new forms of asymmetric warfare, particularly the emergence of JSGs and their violent activities at different levels of the global order, could be assessed as another variable in debates on the peacefulness of the system. These actors DYNAMICS OF ASYMMETRIC CONFLICT 59 emerged and operate under the unipolarity conditions. Unipolarity, in this sense, has generated conflict-producing mechanisms and nonstate actors that drove sovereign states in lengthy wars against JSGs. This argument makes a significant contribution to the unipolarity-peace puzzle, which is conventionally addressed from the interstate conflict perspective. Second, unipolarity transformed Islamist-oriented terrorism from domestic to global. In addition to other conflict-generating conditions produced under unipolarity, the United States’ unipolar policies in Muslim regions transformed the traditional near-enemy-centric narrative of jihad into a far-enemy-centric ideology. As a result of the transformation of this doctrine, new forms of JSGs emerged that posed a threat to peace and security at all levels. Finally, because of the unipolarity of the system, global peace depends largely on the sole great power’s foreign and military policies. The US interventionism, due to the absence of a challenging great power, might not generate interstate conflict. However, it would engage the US in asymmetric warfare with nonstate actors that would emerge independently or on behalf of states to disrupt the US hegemony through insurgency, terrorism, and other forms of violence at different levels. These all might not challenge the durability of unipolarity, drastically, but they would disrupt peace and security at all domestic, regional, and global levels.

#### 2] Structures - Chinese leadership solves existential threats.

Yamei 18 Shen Yamei 18, Deputy Director and Associate Research Fellow of Department for American Studies, China Institute of International Studies, 1-9-2018, "Probing into the “Chinese Solution” for the Transformation of Global Governance," CAIFC, <http://www.caifc.org.cn/en/content.aspx?id=4491>

As the world is in a period of great development, transformation and adjustment, the international power comparison is undergoing profound changes, global governance is reshuffling and traditional governance concepts and models are confronted with challenges. The international community is expecting China to play a bigger role in global governance, which has given birth to the Chinese solution. A. To Lead the Transformation of the Global Governance System. The “shortcomings” of the existing global governance system are prominent, which can hardly ensure global development. First, the traditional dominant forces are seriously imbalanced*.* The US and Europe that used to dominate the global governance system have been beset with structural problems, with their economic development stalling, social contradictions intensifying, populism and secessionism rising, and states trapped in internal strife and differentiation. These countries have not fully reformed and adjusted themselves well, but rather pointed their fingers at globalization and resorted to retreat for self-insurance or were busy with their own affairs without any wish or ability to participate in global governance, which has encouraged the growth of “anti-globalization” trend into an interference factor to global governance. Second, the global governance mechanism is relatively lagging behind. Over the years of development, the strength of emerging economies has increased dramatically, which has substantially upset the international power structure, as the developing countries as a whole have made 80 percent of the contributions to global economic growth. These countries have expressed their appeal for new governance and begun policy coordination among themselves, which has initiated the transition of global governance form “Western governance” to “East-West joint governance”, but the traditional governance mechanisms such as the World Bank, IMF and G7 failed to reflect the demand of the new pattern, in addition to their lack of representation and inclusiveness. Third, the global governance rules are developing in a fragmented way, with governance deficits existing in some key areas. With the diversification and in-depth integration of international interests, the domain of global governance has continued to expand, with actors multiplying by folds and action intentions becoming complicated. As relevant efforts are usually temporary and limited to specific partners or issues, global governance driven by requests of “diversified governance” lacks systematic and comprehensive solutions. Since the beginning of this year, there have been risks of running into an acephalous statein such key areas as global economic governance and climate change*.* Such emerging issues as nuclear security and international terrorism have suffered injustice because of power politics*.* The governance areas in deficit, such as cyber security, polar region and oceans, have “reversely forced” certain countries and organizations to respond hastily*.* All of these have made the global governance system trapped in a dilemma and call urgently for a clear direction of advancement. B. To Innovate and Perfect the International Order. Currently, whether the developing countries or the Western countries of Europe and the US are greatly discontent with the existing international order as well as their appeals and motivation for changing the order are unprecedentedly strong. The US is the major creator and beneficiary of the existing hegemonic order, but it is now doubtful that it has gained much less than lost from the existing order, faced with the difficulties of global economic transformation and obsessed with economic despair and political dejection. Although the developing countries as represented by China acknowledge the positive role played by the post-war international order in safeguarding peace, boosting prosperity and promoting globalization, they criticize the existing order for lack of inclusiveness in politics and equality in economy, as well as double standard in security, believing it has failed to reflect the multi-polarization trend of the world and is an exclusive “circle club”. Therefore, there is much room for improvement. For China, to lead the transformation of the global governance system and international order not only supports the efforts of the developing countries to uphold multilateralism rather than unilateralism, advocate the rule of law rather than the law of the jungle and practice democracy rather than power politics in international relations, but also is an important subject concerning whether China could gain the discourse power and development space corresponding to its own strength and interests in the process of innovating and perfecting the framework of international order. C. To Promote Integration of the Eastern and Western Civilizations. Dialog among civilizations, which is the popular foundation for any country’s diplomatic proposals, runs like a trickle moistening things silently. Nevertheless, in the existing international system guided by the “Western-Centrism”, the Western civilization has always had the self-righteous superiority, conflicting with the interests and mentality of other countries and having failed to find the path to co-existing peacefully and harmoniously with other *civilizations.* So to speak, many problems of today, including the growing gap in economic development between the developed and developing countries against the background of globalization, the Middle East trapped in chaos and disorder, the failure of Russia and Turkey to “integrate into the West”, etc., can be directly attributed to lack of exchanges, communication and integration among civilizations. Since the 18th National Congress of CPC, Xi Jinping has raised the concept of “Chinese Dream” that reflects both Chinese values and China’s pursuit, re-introducing to the world the idea of “all living creatures grow together without harming one another and ways run parallel without interfering with one another”, which is the highest ideal in Chinese traditional culture, and striving to shape China into a force that counter-balance the Western civilization. He has also made solemn commitment that “we respect the diversity of civilizations …… cannot be puffed up with pride and depreciate other civilizations and nations”; “facing the people deeply trapped in misery and wars, we should have not only compassion and sympathy, but also responsibility and action …… do whatever we can to extend assistance to those people caught in predicament”, etc. China will rebalance the international pattern from a more inclusive civilization perspective and with more far-sighted strategic mindset, or at least correct the bisected or predominated world order so as to promote the parallel development of the Eastern and Western civilizations through mutual learning, integration and encouragement. D. To Pass on China’s Confidence. Only a short while ago, some Western countries had called for “China’s responsibility” and made it an inhibition to “regulate” China’s development orientation. Today, China has become a source of stability in an international situation full of uncertainties. Over the past 5 years, China has made outstanding contributions to the recovery of world economy under relatively great pressure of its own economic downturn. Encouraged by the “four confidences”, the whole of the Chinese society has burst out innovation vitality and produced innovation achievements, making people have more sense of gain and more optimistic about the national development prospect. It is the heroism of the ordinary Chinese to overcome difficulties and realize the ideal destiny that best explains China’s confidence. When this confidence is passed on in the field of diplomacy, it is expressed as: first, China’s posture is seen as more forging ahead and courageous to undertake responsibilities ---- proactively shaping the international agendas rather than passively accepting them; having clear-cut attitudes on international disputes rather than being equivocal; and extending international cooperation to comprehensive and dimensional development rather than based on the theory of “economy only”. In sum, China will actively seek understanding and support from other countries rather than imposing its will on others with clear-cut Chinese characteristics, Chinese style and Chinese manner. Second, China’s discourse is featured as a combination of inflexibility and yielding as well as magnanimous ---- combining the internationally recognized diplomatic principles with the excellent Chinese cultural traditions through digesting the Chinese and foreign humanistic classics assisted with philosophical speculations to make “China Brand, Chinese Voice and China’s Image get more and more recognized”. Third, the Chinese solution is more practical and intimate to people as well as emphasizes inclusive cooperation, as China is full of confidence to break the monopoly of the Western model on global development, “offering mankind a Chinese solution to explore a better social system”, and “providing a brand new option for the nations and peoples who are hoping both to speed up development and maintain independence”. II.Path Searching of the “Chinese Solution” for Global Governance Over the past years’ efforts, China has the ability to transform itself from “grasping the opportunity” for development to “creating opportunity” and “sharing opportunity” for common development, hoping to pass on the longing of the Chinese people for a better life to the people of other countries and promoting the development of the global governance system toward a more just and rational end. It has become the major power’s conscious commitment of China to lead the transformation of the global governance system in a profound way. A. To Construct the Theoretical System for Global Governance. The theoretical system of global governance has been the focus of the party central committee’s diplomatic theory innovation since the 18th National Congress of CPC as well as an important component of the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, which is not only the sublimation of China’s interaction with the world from “absorbing and learning” to “cooperation and mutual learning”, but also the cause why so many developing countries have turned from “learning from the West” to “exploring for treasures in the East”. In the past 5 years, the party central committee, based on precise interpretation of the world pattern today and serious reflection on the future development of mankind, has made a sincere call to the world for promoting the development of global governance system toward a more just and rational end, and proposed a series of new concepts and new strategies including engaging in major power diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, creating the human community with common destiny, promoting the construction of new international relationship rooted in the principle of cooperation and win-win, enriching the strategic thinking of peaceful development, sticking to the correct benefit view, formulating the partnership network the world over, advancing the global economic governance in a way of mutual consultation, joint construction and co-sharing, advocating the joint, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security concept, and launching the grand “Belt and Road” initiative. The Chinese solution composed of these contents, not only fundamentally different from the old roads of industrial revolution and colonial expansion in history, but also different from the market-driven neo-liberalism model currently advocated by Western countries and international organizations, stands at the height of the world and even mankind, seeking for global common development and having widened the road for the developing countries to modernization, which is widely welcomed by the international community. B. To Supplement and Perfect the Global Governance System. Currently, the international political practice in global governance is mostly problem-driven without creating a set of relatively independent, centralized and integral power structures, resulting in the existing global governance systemcharacterized as both extensive and unbalanced**.** China has been engaged in reform and innovation, while maintaining and constructing the existing systems, producing some thinking and method with Chinese characteristics. First, China sees the UN as a mirror that reflects the status quo of global governance, which should act as the leader of global governance, and actively safeguards the global governance system with the UN at the core. Second, China is actively promoting the transforming process of such recently emerged international mechanisms as G20, BRICS and SCO, perfecting them through practice, and boosting Asia-Pacific regional cooperation and the development of economic globalization. China is also promoting the construction of regional security mechanism through the Six-Party Talks on Korean Peninsula nuclear issue, Boao Forum for Asia, CICA and multilateral security dialog mechanisms led by ASEAN so as to lay the foundation for the future regional security framework. Third, China has initiated the establishment of AIIB and the New Development Bank of BRICS, creating a precedent for developing countries to set up multilateral financial institutions. The core of the new relationship between China and them lies in “boosting rather than controlling” and “public rather than private”, which is much different from the management and operation model of the World Bank, manifesting the increasing global governance ability of China and the developing countries as well as exerting pressure on the international economic and financial institution to speed up reforms. Thus, in leading the transformation of the global governance system, China has not overthrown the existing systems and started all over again, but been engaged in innovating and perfecting; China has proactively undertaken international responsibilities, but has to do everything in its power and act according to its ability. C. To Reform the Global Governance Rules. Many of the problems facing global governance today are deeply rooted in such a cause that the dominant power of the existing governance system has taken it as the tool to realize its own national interests first and a platform to pursue its political goals. Since the beginning of this year, the US has for several times requested the World Bank, IMF and G20 to make efforts to mitigate the so-called global imbalance, abandoned its commitment to support trade openness, cut down investment projects to the middle-income countries, and deleted commitment to support the efforts to deal with climate change financially, which has made the international systems accessories of the US domestic economic agendas, dealing a heavy blow to the global governance system. On the contrary, the interests and agendas of China, as a major power of the world, are open to the whole world, and China in the future “will provide the world with broader market, more sufficient capital, more abundant goods and more precious opportunities for cooperation”, while having the ability to make the world listen to its voice more attentively. With regard to the subject of global governance, China has advocated that what global governance system is better cannot be decided upon by any single country, as the destiny of the world should be in the hands of the people of all countries. In principle, all the parties should stick to the principle of mutual consultation, joint construction and co-sharing, resolve disputes through dialog and differences through consultation. Regarding the critical areas, opening to the outer world does not mean building one’s own backyard, but building the spring garden for co-sharing; the “Belt and Road” initiative is not China’s solo, but a chorus participated in by all countries concerned. China has also proposed international public security views on nuclear security, maritime cooperation and cyber space order, calling for efforts to make the global village into a “grand stage for seeking common development” rather than a “wrestling arena”; we cannot “set up a stage here, while pulling away a prop there”, but “complement each other to put on a grand show”. From the orientation of reforms, efforts should be made to better safeguard and expand the legitimate interests of the developing countries and increase the influence of the emerging economies on global governance. Over the past 5 years, China has attached importance to full court diplomacy, gradually coming to the center stage of international politics and proactively establishing principles for global governance. By hosting such important events as IAELM, CICA Summit, G20 Summit, the Belt and Road International Cooperation Forum and BRICS Summit, China has used theseplatforms to elaborate the Asia-Pacific Dream for the first time to the world, expressing China’s views on Asian security and global economic governance, discussing with the countries concerned with the Belt and Road about the synergy of their future development strategies and setting off the “BRICS plus” capacity expansion mechanism, in which China not only contributes its solution and shows its style, but also participates in the shaping of international principles through practice. On promoting the resolution of hot international issues, China abides by the norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and insists on justice, playing a constructive role as a responsible major power in actively promoting the political accommodation in Afghanistan, mediating the Djibouti-Eritrea dispute, promoting peace talks in the Middle East, devoting itself to the peaceful resolution of the South China Sea dispute through negotiations. In addition, China’s responsibility and quick response to international crises have gained widespread praises, as seen in such cases as assisting Africa in its fight against the Ebola epidemic, sending emergency fresh water to the capital of Maldives and buying rice from Cambodia to help relieve its financial squeeze, which has shown the simple feelings of the Chinese people to share the same breath and fate with the people of other countries. D. To Support the Increase of the Developing Countries’ Voice. The developing countries, especially the emerging powers, are not only the important participants of the globalization process, but also the important direction to which the international power system is transferring. With the accelerating shift of global economic center to emerging markets and developing economies, the will and ability of the developing countries to participate in global governance have been correspondingly strengthened. As the biggest developing country and fast growing major power, China has the same appeal and proposal for governance as other developing countries and already began policy coordination with them, as China should comply with historical tide and continue to support the increase of the developing countries’ voice in the global governance system. To this end, China has pursued the policy of “dialog but not confrontation, partnership but not alliance”, attaching importance to the construction of new type of major power relationship and global partnership network, while making a series proposals in the practice of global governance that could represent the legitimate interests of the developing countries and be conducive to safeguarding global justice, including supporting an open, inclusive, universal, balanced and win-win economic globalization; promoting the reforms on share and voting mechanism of IMF to increase the voting rights and representation of the emerging market economies; financing the infrastructure construction and industrial upgrading of other developing countries through various bilateral or regional funds; and helping other developing countries to respond to such challenges as famine, refugees, climate change and public hygiene by debt forgiveness and assistance.

#### China is not revisionist and committed to peaceful rise.

Bo 20 Dr. Hu Bo 20, Director of the Center for Maritime Strategy Research and Research Professor at the Institute of Ocean Research at Peking University, Director of the South China Sea Strategic Situation Probing Initiative, “China-US Military Confrontation in the South China Sea: Fact and Fiction”, The Diplomat, 6/12/2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/china-us-military-confrontation-in-the-south-china-sea-fact-and-fiction/>

But neither side seems to have much to offer other than peaceful coexistence. If both sides develop normally, in terms of power, the future of the South China Sea would be a bipolar region, regardless what kind of intentions they have. Moreover, most countries in the region are reluctant to take sides in the China-U.S. power competition. Therefore, it is hard for either side to re-establish a dominant order here. As the power distribution becomes more balanced, the idea of a managed military conflict is fanciful. One side’s provocation will inevitably invite the other’s retaliation, where spiral escalation is highly possible. Considering that both sides have so many weapon platforms and both are major nuclear powers, the feasibility of a military solution has greatly diminished. The China-U.S. rivalry in the South China Sea is certainly growing, but war is still some way off. There are several maritime encounters between the two sides every day, and thousands every year. Most of them are professional and safe; only a few have involved some risks. The recent pandemic has made both countries and militaries more sensitive, which, to some extent, has heightened the tension of the situation. Because of COVID-19, China and the United States are more concerned and anxious about each other. In addition to maintaining daily operations in the western Pacific, both sides have some new worries. The United States is concerned that China would take advantage of the temporary power vacuum; thus it has deliberately shown more force and given China more diplomatic pressure. China feels that Washington’s South China Sea policy is increasingly desperate to the point that, even during the pandemic, the United States has not forgotten to provoke China. Beijing is also convinced that the U.S., motivated by power competition, is focusing on China’s activities and ignoring the actions of other claimants. From mid-April to early May, the U.S. Navy dispatched several warships, including USS America LHA-6, to the so-called standoff area between the Haiyang Dizhi 8 and the West Capella to deter China’s operations. The PLA Navy was believed to have a similar number of warships there at the same time, which aroused heated discussion among the media and experts. Another less publicized but more intense case was the reconnaissance and counter-reconnaissance of China’s aircraft carrier Liaoning formation when it was conducting open sea cross-region mobile training while followed by American warships and multiple military aircraft. An anonymous PLA Navy officer revealed that the confrontation was so intense that one U.S. warship even once came within 100 meters of the Chinese carrier. Even so, both sides have remained largely professional and restrained. In fact, neither the Chinese military nor the American military has increased its activity significantly compared with the same period of 2019, despite the impression given by most media reports and expert commentaries.

#### Defense –

#### Covid has made China’s rise inevitable.

**Hass 21** [Ryan Hass, Ryan Hass is a senior fellow and the Michael H. Armacost Chair in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, where he holds a joint appointment to the John L. Thornton China Center and the Center for East Asia Policy Studies. He is also the Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies. He was part of the inaugural class of David M. Rubenstein fellows at Brookings and is a nonresident affiliated fellow in the Paul Tsai China Center at Yale Law School. Hass focuses his research and analysis on enhancing policy development on the pressing political, economic, and security challenges facing the United States in East Asia. 3-1-2021, accessed on 8-8-2021, Brookings, "How China is responding to escalating strategic competition with the US", <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-china-is-responding-to-escalating-strategic-competition-with-the-us/>] Adam

China’s leaders now often refer to “profound changes unseen in a century” to describe their evaluation of the current fluidity IN the international system. These changes often are presented as a paradox, presenting both risks and opportunities for China.

​On one side of the coin, “profound changes unseen in a century” portend dangerous challenges to China. Politburo member and top diplomat Yang Jiechi framed the challenges by noting, “The world economy has been hit hard. …The pandemic has had a tremendous impact on international trade, investment, consumption, and other economic activities. …The pandemic [also] has exacerbated social cleavages, ethnic conflicts, and political confrontations. …The number of international security risks has increased.”[[10]](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-china-is-responding-to-escalating-strategic-competition-with-the-us/#footnote-10) On the other side of the coin, Yang observed, “Reform of the international order has sped up. The PRC has taken the lead in controlling the epidemic on a global scale, and in achieving full resumption of work and production, all parties have increased their expectation and reliance on China.”[[11]](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-china-is-responding-to-escalating-strategic-competition-with-the-us/#footnote-11)

​Thus, despite expectations of a protracted struggle with the United States, a view of China as an ever more central actor in the international system appears to be gaining traction inside China. At least outwardly, China’s leaders have grown self-congratulatory in their assessment of global trends working in China’s favor. In October, Xi Jinping told cadres at the 5th Plenum that “time and momentum are on our side.”[[12]](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-china-is-responding-to-escalating-strategic-competition-with-the-us/#footnote-12) Similarly, Chen Yixin, secretary general of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission – the top oversight body for China’s domestic security – told a study session on January 15, “The rise of China is a major variable [in the world today]…the rise of the East and decline of the West has become a trend; changes of the international landscape are in our favor.”[[13]](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-china-is-responding-to-escalating-strategic-competition-with-the-us/#footnote-13)

#### The Transition has already Happened

Hallman 18 [Retired Col. Wesley Hallman is the senior vice president of policy at the National Defense Industrial Association. He served in the U.S. Air Force for 27 years.] “Defense and delusion: America‘s military, industry are falling behind,” https://www.defensenews.com/opinion/commentary/2018/06/13/defense-and-delusion-americas-military-industry-are-falling-behind/, Defense News, 6-14-2018 Justin

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Three great misconceptions of America’s martial power delude both the public and our decision-makers into thinking, and too often acting, as if our nation’s military preeminence is permanent, a preordained birthright. Americans believe we are ― and always will be ― more capable than our adversaries and can rapidly build up to overcome any threat. Without [significant investments](https://www.c4isrnet.com/news/pentagon-congress/2018/06/03/reports-google-wont-renew-pentagon-contract-to-use-ai/), we’re probably wrong. In fact, America’s 2018 military is a smaller, more expensive force largely operating Desert Storm vintage equipment. The lack of a serious conventional foe in either Iraq or Afghanistan masks the real state of the U.S. military. For example, the Air Force went into the first Gulf War with 134 fighter squadrons in its arsenal; of that, 32 deployed and fought. The average age of those fighters was 10 years. Today, the Air Force has only 55 fighter squadrons, average age of 27 years, with one we fund through contingency resources. Because of readiness gaps, the Air Force couldn’t deploy 32 fighter squadrons today without destroying airplanes and risking aircrew lives. Desert Storm also informed the world about U.S. advances in technology and operational concepts ― new capabilities that enabled U.S. forces to dominate Iraq’s military, the fifth-largest in the world in 1990. Unfortunately, our success led us not only to accept America’s lead in technology and innovation, but to assume we’d always retain it — a feeling reinforced by the experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina and early on in Afghanistan and then Iraq. Simultaneously, however, our competitors recognized our capabilities and refused to cede the advantages we had created. They’ve invested heavily to counter our edge. When seeking its cancellation, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates famously called the F-22 a Cold War relic, saying we were generations ahead of both the Chinese and Russians, so that such a massive investment was foolhardy in the face of ongoing counterinsurgencies. Instead, we now see [both China and Russia](https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/eurosatory/2018/06/08/why-arent-russian-chinese-firms-bringing-weapons-to-a-military-trade-show/) gearing up production lines to deliver stealthy counters to the F-22, while we closed the F-22 production line after buying less than half of what Air Force leadership said we needed simply to sustain a “high” risk level. For the first time since 1953, there’s now a chance that an airplane above American surface forces may be hostile. Perhaps more dangerously, in some critical emerging technologies such as [hypersonics](https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/03/06/hypersonics-highest-technical-priority-for-pentagon-rd-head/), the United States finds itself behind. Both in terms of innovation and fielding existing technology, our sclerotic acquisition system has throttled our industrial base, increasing the rate at which our military superiority erodes. Finally, most American’s believe our nation enjoys the same defense-industrial base that served as the “arsenal of democracy” in World War II, capable of scaling up production and innovation when truly needed, or the so-called military-industrial complex that powered the United States through the Cold War. Today, instead of a robust bench of large and mid-sized companies and their myriad small-business suppliers competing and producing new capabilities at the speed of information-age innovation, our defense industry **has shrunk** to a few standout corporations. This has obscured fragile supply chains that are hampered by a risk-averse government acquisition system that takes 10 years to field a replacement handgun for the services. Should a real national emergency occur, our industrial base does not have the capacity to surge, leaving our defense at significant risk. These three misperceptions — the military’s capacity, its relative capabilities and industry’s ability to supply it quickly with weapons systems that can dominate our peers — have **put the United States in a precarious position**. Today’s increasingly chaotic and dangerous set of national security threats coupled with a return to great power competition challenge the U.S.-led international order that delivered relative peace and prosperity to this nation, and much of the world, for almost four generations.

#### China’s rise is peaceful and won’t escalate – there’s a distinction between war and aggressive talking.

Medin 20, John. Rising Tensions: The Effects of China’s Rise on the United States, China’s Regional Neighbors, and the International System. Diss. Johns Hopkins University, 2020. (Master of Arts in Government at John Hopkins)//Elmer

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The international system, which can be defined as the western-backed liberal system that has existed since the end of World War II, is being impacted in subtle ways due to China’s rise. China's rise will harm the current western-backed international system because China has utilized its newfound strength the erode the liberal norms and values which the system is based on. China has looked for ways to contribute to the international system while altering the system to suit its ideals of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign nations. China has used its growing influence to curtail and limit attempts by the international system to deal with a variety of issues, including human rights. It has also looked for ways to undermine the Washington Consensus, which advocates for political and economic reforms in nations, for its own Beijing Consensus that only focuses on the economic growth of nations. This new concept has further undermined the norms and values of the international system as other nations can look for aid and funding from an alternative source which is not as concerned about social and political reforms such as environmental protections, anti-corruption measures, and human rights. However, the international system is still principally controlled by the Western powers of the United States and the European Union who maintain a distinct **advantage over China economically, politically, and militarily**. Their extensive system of alliances, which have been cultivated over the last several decades, also means that the international system has a loyal following of supporters committed to its maintenance and continuance. China's rise will allow it greater power and flexibility to allow it to alter the international system along the edges. However, overall, the rise of China will have a limited adverse impact on the international system as China alters the system around the edges by looking for ways to erode the values and norms, such as human rights and democracy, using its influence. However, it will not be a severe threat to the existing global order or its institutions because it has an **interest in maintaining the status quo and does not have the power to alter it** drastically. In conclusion, China’s rise will have a limited negative impact on the United States, China’s regional neighbors, and the international system. These impacts include unfair economic trade practices that hurt the United States and other nations around the world while continuing to fund its rise. This economic growth enables China to increasingly challenge the United States and bully its regional neighbors in pursuit of China’s national interests and the growing ability to withstand diplomatic pressure attempting to China’s bad behavior, such as its aggressive actions in the South China Sea and flagrant violations of human rights. China also uses this economic power to pressure other nations, fearful of economic repercussions, into altering key aspects of the international system to better suit China’s interests and condone bad behavior. However, the United States, China’s neighbors, and the international community have the power to limit and roll back these short-term negative effects. Policymakers and scholars are becoming increasingly aware that China is actively trying to alter the global order to suit its national interests and cannot be ignored. China’s current capabilities may not allow it to pursue its national interests aggressively, but if its capabilities increase, it will most likely change its behavior and show different motives. The United States and international community can continue to work constructively with China on a variety of issues of mutual interest such as counterterrorism and North Korea. However, they can no longer be afraid to push back against China’s actions. The top priorities should target China’s main source of power, its economy, by forcing China to end its long-standing unfair trade practices. It should also enforce the international norms and standards that the international system claims to stand by publicly calling out China for any of its offenses. Working constructively with China should not mean giving in to China’s demands as it so frequently has in the past. Now is the time for the United States and the international community to create a united front to firmly reject when China oversteps while the US and the international community have the upper hand.

#### Best data proves unipolar systems are four times more war-prone than multipolar alternatives

Nuno P. Monteiro 12, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Yale University, “Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is Not Peaceful,” International Security, Winter 2012, Vol. 36, No. 3, p. 9-40

How well, then, does the argument that unipolar systems are peaceful account for the first two decades of unipolarity since the end of the Cold War? Table 1 presents a list of great powers divided into three periods: 1816 to 1945, multipolarity; 1946 to 1989, bipolarity; and since 1990, unipolarity.46 Table 2 presents summary data about the incidence of war during each of these periods. Unipolarity is the most conflict prone of all the systems, according to at least two important criteria: the percentage of years that great powers spend at war and the incidence of war involving great powers. In multipolarity,18 percent of great power years were spent at war.In bipolarity, the ratio is 16 percent**.** In unipolarity, however, a remarkable 59 percent of great power years until now were spent at war. This is by far the highest percentage in all three systems. Furthermore, during periods of multipolarity and bipolarity**,** the probability that war involving a great power would break out in any given year was, respectively, 4.2 percent and 3.4 percent. Under unipolarity, it is 18.2 percent—or more than four times higher.47 These figures provide no evidence that unipolarity is peaceful.48

#### China lashes out to geopolitical pushback with gray zone aggression – war in SCS, ECS, Japan, and Taiwan

Hal Brands 18, the Henry Kissinger Distinguished Professor at Johns Hopkins-SAIS, senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 10/24/18, “Danger: Falling Powers,” https://www.the-american-interest.com/2018/10/24/danger-falling-powers/

Beneath the façade of stability imposed by increasingly repressive governance, moreover, dissatisfaction with a corrupt and autocratic elite is increasing: Chinese officials stopped publicly reporting the number of “mass incidents” in 2005, but the frequency of such incidents is widely believed to be rising. If the drastic domestic security measures taken in areas such as Xinjiang and Tibet are any indication, major sections of the country seem to be seething with discontent. Add in the fact that China’s behavior is stirring greater fears not just in Washington but throughout the Asia-Pacific and beyond, and Beijing may soon find itself dealing with greater geopolitical pushback, including the development of military capabilities designed specifically to neutralize the leverage provided by China’s own build-up. As unlikely as it may seem right now, it is entirely possible that sometime in the next decade or two, Chinese leaders may have to face a future that is not so bright and shining as seems the case now.

When this happens, will Beijing become more or less aggressive on the global stage? The answer may well be “more.” Xi Jinping and other Chinese leaders have been promising that the nation is on the verge of achieving national rejuvenation, that it can now take center stage in world affairs. The regime has assiduously stoked Chinese nationalism; it has staked out inflexible positions on maritime disputes and other issues; it has even begun to issue soft deadlines for reunification with Taiwan. It has done so on the assumption that the continued growth of national power will enable Beijing to make good on its pledges and back up its demands.

If that assumption does not hold, if the “Chinese Dream” begins to elude its dreamers, Chinese leaders may be tempted to take more dramatic steps rather than admitting that they cannot deliver. In these circumstances, an attempt to retake Taiwan by force or coercion, to teach Japan a lesson in the East China Sea, to break Vietnamese or Filipino resistance in the South China Sea, or to rupture America’s alliance system in the Asia-Pacific would still be highly dangerous. But these initiatives might come to seem more attractive than simply remaining passive while Beijing’s relative power fades.

Robert Kaplan has put it aptly: If a confident China has been pursuing a “methodical, well-developed” strategy of revisionism, an insecure China could shift to “daring, reactive, and impulsive behavior.”10 Limiting the damage done to U.S. interests by a rising China will be a test of epic dimensions for American policymakers. But the moment of peak danger in the relationship may actually come when China starts to fade from its own wishful trajectory.