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#### 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 internationalcollaborations. 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**.**

#### Climate change destroys the world.

Specktor 19 [Brandon writes about the science of everyday life for Live Science, and previously for Reader's Digest magazine, where he served as an editor for five years] 6-4-2019, "Human Civilization Will Crumble by 2050 If We Don't Stop Climate Change Now, New Paper Claims," livescience, <https://www.livescience.com/65633-climate-change-dooms-humans-by-2050.html> Justin

The current climate crisis, they say, is larger and more complex than any humans have ever dealt with before. General climate models — like the one that the [United Nations' Panel on Climate Change](https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/) (IPCC) used in 2018 to predict that a global temperature increase of 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit (2 degrees Celsius) could put hundreds of millions of people at risk — fail to account for the **sheer complexity of Earth's many interlinked geological processes**; as such, they fail to adequately predict the scale of the potential consequences. The truth, the authors wrote, is probably far worse than any models can fathom. How the world ends What might an accurate worst-case picture of the planet's climate-addled future actually look like, then? The authors provide one particularly grim scenario that begins with world governments "politely ignoring" the advice of scientists and the will of the public to decarbonize the economy (finding alternative energy sources), resulting in a global temperature increase 5.4 F (3 C) by the year 2050. At this point, the world's ice sheets vanish; brutal droughts kill many of the trees in the [Amazon rainforest](https://www.livescience.com/57266-amazon-river.html) (removing one of the world's largest carbon offsets); and the planet plunges into a feedback loop of ever-hotter, ever-deadlier conditions. "Thirty-five percent of the global land area, and **55 percent of the global population, are subject to more than 20 days a year of** [**lethal heat conditions**](https://www.livescience.com/55129-how-heat-waves-kill-so-quickly.html), beyond the threshold of human survivability," the authors hypothesized. Meanwhile, droughts, floods and wildfires regularly ravage the land. Nearly **one-third of the world's land surface turns to desert**. Entire **ecosystems collapse**, beginning with the **planet's coral reefs**, the **rainforest and the Arctic ice sheets.** The world's tropics are hit hardest by these new climate extremes, destroying the region's agriculture and turning more than 1 billion people into refugees. This mass movement of refugees — coupled with [shrinking coastlines](https://www.livescience.com/51990-sea-level-rise-unknowns.html) and severe drops in food and water availability — begin to **stress the fabric of the world's largest nations**, including the United States. Armed conflicts over resources, perhaps culminating in **nuclear war, are likely**. The result, according to the new paper, is "outright chaos" and perhaps "the end of human global civilization as we know it."

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#### Counterplan Text: The member nations of the World Trade Organization ought to 1] reduce intellectual property protections except for dual-use biotechnologies and 2] offer a 3 year patent extension on dual use biotechnologies conditioned on accompanying countermeasures.

#### The counterplan incentivizes development into countermeasures and removes terrorist access to biotechnologies.

Million-Perez, H. (2016). Addressing duel-use technology in an age of bioterrorism: Patent extensions to inspire companies making duel use technology to create accompanying countermeasures. AIPLA Quarterly Journal, 44(3), 387-436. Rachael Million-Perez is an associate with Fitzpatrick, Cella, Harper & Scinto and a graduate of the George Washington University Law School. //sid

Although previous congressional proposals, Acts, and committees aimed to fund and incentivize countermeasures, each failed to target dual-use technology countermeasure development. This article proposes, therefore, that the USPTO offer a patent-term extension for patents directed to dual-use technology on the condition that the patent owner creates an accompanying countermeasure. This article argues for an extension of three years 251 for patent owners who meet this condition in addition to any patent-term adjustments afforded to the patent owner pursuant to Title 35 of the U.S. Code or legislative acts. A. Patent Extension for Dual-Use Technologies in Exchange for an Accompanying Countermeasure is an Appropriate and Realistic Incentive that Could Yield Significant Benefit The conditional patent-term extension proposed here provides an incentive that will: (1) reduce unbridled accessibility to dual-use technologies, (2) make countermeasure development an attractive and cost-effective business investment, and (3) take advantage of companies and individuals who currently specialize in the dual-use technology field, and who possess the necessary resources to create accompanying counter-measures. The conditional patent-term extension proposed here provides an incentive that will reduce unbridled accessibility to dual-use technologies. Although accessibility to dual-use technology is essentially ungovernable in the Internet age, providing a three-year patent-term extension to a dual-use technology will motivate companies to collaborate with the U.S. Government to identify and enjoin individuals infringing their patented dual-use technology. As a result, biohackers and terrorist organizations will have diminished access to these technologies. Dissimilar to previous and current countermeasure incentives, the conditional patent-term extension proposed here will make countermeasure development an attractive and cost-effective business investment, because it will be easily applicable, lower the financial risk of countermeasure development, and potentially lead to profits. Unlike previous incentives, a patent-term extension on a dual-use technology in exchange for creating a countermeasure to that technology presents a simple and easily-applicable business model. Private companies need not contort themselves to meet the demands of legislation, like Project BioShield. Rather, a patent-term extension on the dual-use technology will be granted when the company identifies a dual-use quality of one of its innovations and opts to develop a countermeasure to the dual use of that specific innovation. Upon successful development of a countermeasure, the USPTO will then extend the company's dual use technology patent. Because the company likely has already received approval of the dual-use technology, it need not worry about whether the extension is affected by the countermeasure's approval time. The simplicity of this proposed regime would attract companies and individuals frustrated with other complicated or inapplicable incentives. In addition, the length and specificity of this proposed extension renders it a strong incentive that will lower the financial risk of countermeasure investment. The length of patent-term extension incentive must be able to generate participation by virtually guaranteeing a return on the company's investment in countermeasure production. As discussed above, the risk of countermeasure development is incredibly high, and thus the promise that a company may recoup or even profit from developing a countermeasure will entice companies who had previously avoided countermeasure investment.253 For these reasons, this article proposes a three-year patent term extension. Recent studies showed an increase in domestic R&D investment and new pharmaceutical product development when the patent-term extension changed from seventeen years to twenty years in both the United States and Canada.254 A similar surge may occur for dual-use technology countermeasure investment under the proposed extension. Over the additional three years of the patent term, companies are likely to receive the benefit of extending their monopoly on a profitable dual-use technology such that the company will likely recoup countermeasure development costs and, potentially, profit. As a result, dual-use technology countermeasure production is likely to increase. Additionally, proponents of patent extension, like Dr. Josh Bloom, Director of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Sciences at the American Council on Science and Health, contend that three-year patent extensions are likely appropriate for patents related to the company's portfolio.255 Unlike previous and current countermeasure incentives, the extension proposed here would neither under- nor over-compensate companies. For example, the six-month to two-year extension- offered in S. 975 and S. 3-are too short in length to ensure both that small and large companies find the incentive desirable.25 6 A three-year extension, however, would further assure that any size company would recoup its investment. Furthermore, unlike a wild card patent extension, which would permit a company to extend the life of any blockbuster product and thus accrue arguably unwarranted financial gain, under this proposal a company can only extend the life of a narrowly defined dual-use technology. A dual-use technology may or may not be a blockbuster. The chances that a dual-use technology has blockbuster status, however, are slim, considering only around 30 percent of newly-introduced pharmaceutical drugs have profits that exceed average R&D costs.257 As a result, large companies do not have an unfair advantage, nor do small companies have an unfair disadvantage. Rather, if a dual-use technology is not a blockbuster, both smaller biotechnology companies, with less than $500 million in annual revenue, and large companies will need a patent extension lengthy enough to guarantee cost recoup.258 Therefore, unlike the previously proposed extensions, three-year extensions to a dual-use technology patent will afford companies a considerable, yet fair, return on their investment in countermeasure development. A conditional patent-term extension like the one proposed here will also leverage companies' expertise and resources. Because a countermeasure to a dual-use technology will likely require the same expertise and resources used to develop the dual-use technology, a company may avoid some R&D costs when it develops both. Furthermore, tapping into a company's foundation of expertise and resources may expedite production of countermeasures to dual-use technology. Unlike acquiring separate countermeasures via mergers or acquisitions, using this expertise and resources springboard for countermeasure 259 The Monsanto herbicide, Roundup@, and the Roundup Ready@ crops genetically modified to be resistant to Roundup illustrates when a patent owner could be taking advantage of her expertise and resources. In the 1970s, Monsanto created the Roundup herbicide farmers use today.260 By the mid-90's, Monsanto neared the expiration date on its patent of Roundup and faced the possibility of losing the production rights of the blockbuster.261Yet Monsanto was able to use genetic engineering to create Roundup-Ready crops resistant to Roundup in 1996.262 In particular, Monsanto was able to create these plants after working on its herbicide when one of its scientists accidentally discovered Roundup-resistant bacteria. 263 Exploiting this discovery, the company worked diligently to splice the 26 resistant gene into a working plant model. 4 Because these crops were resistant to Roundup, a farmer used the herbicide in the fields to eliminate unwanted foliage while not harming the main crop. 265 Notably, Monsanto did not make a countermeasure to its herbicide, but similar to Monsanto's ability to create two technologies from a single concept, companies producing dual-use technologies can exploit discoveries made in their pursuit of creating a dual-use technology to eventually create an accompanying countermeasure. In sum, unlike previous countermeasure incentives, the conditional patent-term extension proposed here provides an incentive that reduces terrorist or biohacker accessibility to dual-use technologies, makes countermeasure development an attractive investment, and takes advantage of companies' resources and expertise.

#### Vulnerabilities exposed by COVID have invigorated availability and interest in bioterror, but technical challenges remain as barriers to acquisition.

Koblentz and Kiesel 7/14 [Gregory D. Koblentz (Deputy Director of the Biodefense Graduate Program and Assistant Professor of Government and Politics in the Department of Public and International Affairs at George Mason University) and Stevie Kiesel (Biodefense PhD Student, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University). “The COVID-19 Pandemic: Catalyst or Complication for Bioterrorism?”. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism. Published online 14 Jul 2021. Accessed 7/22/21. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1057610X.2021.1944023?journalCode=uter20> //Xu]

Since COVID-19 was declared a pandemic in March 2020, there has been no major bioterrorist incident that challenges or validates the core beliefs of the optimists, pessimists, or pragmatists. Extremists with violent apocalyptic or accelerationist ideologies—chiefly jihadists and far-right extremists—have sought to capitalize on the pandemic, but they still rely on conventional weapons. Based on available open-source information, terrorist interest in weaponizing SARS-CoV-2 seems limited. While some individuals and groups who subscribe to violent apocalyptic or accelerationist ideologies have shown some interest in crudely spreading the virus, most terrorists have sought to exploit the conditions the pandemic created rather than the virus itself. An increase in the risk of bioterrorism cannot be completely discounted as the equipment, knowledge, and expertise to work with high-risk pathogens is increasingly available and there are a small number of groups with the ideologies and objectives consistent with the use of biological weapons. Still, important technical barriers to acquiring and using a biological weapon capable of causing mass casualties, even far below the effects of a pandemic pathogen, will remain even after the pandemic is contained. While COVID-19 graphically demonstrated the vulnerability of modern societies to infectious diseases, the lessons learned from this experience, if properly implemented, should significantly improve the capability of governments around the world to detect and respond to future pandemics as well as deliberate disease outbreaks. Counterterrorism and biodefense efforts should not be dictated by the latest “‘risk of the month’ policies crafted in the wake of visible or highly publicized events.”117 Instead, strategies for reducing the likelihood and consequences of bioterrorism in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic should be based on a realistic appraisal of the risk and investments should be optimized to strengthen preparedness against the full spectrum of biological threats.

#### IP protections are the only limit on proliferating dual-use biotech – losing patents puts financial pressure on companies to outsource R&D, which skyrockets bioterror acquisition.

Finlay 10 [Brian Finlay (President and Chief Executive Officer of the Stimson Center, M.A. from the Norman Patterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, a graduate diploma from the School of Advanced International Studies, the Johns Hopkins University and an honors B.A. from Western University in Canada). “The Bioterror Pipeline: Big Pharma, Patent Expirations, and New Challenges to Global Security”. The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs. Vol. 34, No. 2 (Summer 2010), pp. 51-64. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45289504?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> //Xu]

Until recently, these investment risks were frequently mitigated by income generated from past drug development successes. In most markets, that income was guaranteed by strict patent protections that closed the window to outside competition for a set period of time. More recently, however, the uncertainty of R&D investments has been complicated not only by the global economic downturn, but more importantly by looming patent expirations that will open many of big pharma's patent-protected drugs to generic competition. Between 2007 and 2012, more than three dozen drugs will lose patent protection, removing an estimated $67 billion from big pharma's annual sales.33 With existing drug development pipelines unable to fill the gaps, biopharmaceutical companies are under intense pressure not only to cut costs - which would provide only temporary relief to the bottom line - but also to rapidly replenish their development pipelines. Some industry analysts have described this "perfect storm" as an "existential" moment for big pharma.34 Many pharmaceutical companies have approached this challenge by accelerating and widening the outsourcing and off-shoring of both R&D and manufacturing, and by aggressively buying promising assets from small biotech companies through acquisitions and strategic alliances. Interestingly, these partnerships are less frequently linked with American or even Western-owned and-operated companies than in the past. Many pharmaceutical giants like Indiana-based Eli Lilly are turning to alliances with firms in Asia and elsewhere around the world, outsourcing key technical operations. Instead of functioning as fully integrated firms, big pharma companies have found value in networked relationships with independent small to large firms, universities, and non-profit biotechnology laboratories around the globe.35 The net result has accelerated technology proliferation - for both beneficial and nefarious uses - far beyond the traditional hubs for biotech innovation. Pharma's increasingly desperate search to seed and ultimately acquire innovative new biotechnologies means that foreign (non- Western) markets are pulling ahead in biotech innovation. Indeed, the quantity of biotech companies outside the United States has grown remarkably in recent years: in Israel, the number grew from 30 in 1990 to about 160 in 2000; in Brazil, from 76 in 1993 to 354 in 2001; and remarkably, in South Korea, from one in 2000 to 23 in 2003. 36 More generally, the Asia-Pacific region has emerged as one of the world s fastest-growing biotechnology hubs, with the growth of publicly traded companies handily outpacing growth in the United States and Europe over recent years.37 As fruitful partnerships lead big pharma to increasingly generate resources, technologies, and knowledge, these capacities spin off new competitor firms in a self-executing multiplier effect. With the number of facilities and highly trained individuals increasing, the likelihood of a serious biological accident or nefarious incident will similarly rise, which will be particularly risky when dual-use technologies are introduced into insufficiently regulated markets. CONCLUSIONs In statements, U.S. officials continue to cite several countries believed to have or to be pursuing a biological weapons capability.38 But globalization exports the challenge of bioproliferation far beyond these geographic boundaries and transcends multiple societal layers well beyond government actors. As a result, it is increasingly clear that states no longer have a monopoly on dual-use biological R&D. Recent evidence suggests a growing threat of terrorist acquisition of biological weapons. As technological advancement in the life sciences is progressively pushed into countries of the Global South, some of which are also potential hotbeds for terrorist activity, the nexus of science and terrorism becomes especially acute. While far from perfect, the current system of stringent controls levied by Western governments over the biopharmaceutical sector has proven remarkably effective, especially given the diffusion of technologies and the ease of their redirection for hostile purposes. As the biotech revolution continues to widen, however, advanced industrialized governments are increasingly playing catch-up with changing technological realities. As these technologies proliferate, security analysts have become uneasy with the lack of controls in many states. The dearth of legal controls, the lack of rigor in their enforcement, and the growth in private-actor involvement in dual-use activities has sobering implications for global security.

#### Bioterrorism causes Extinction – overcomes any conventional defense.

Walsh 19, Bryan. End Times: A Brief Guide to the End of the World. Hachette Books, 2019. (Future Correspondent for Axios, Editor of the Science and Technology Publication OneZero, Former Senior and International Editor at Time Magazine, BA from Princeton University)//Elmer

I’ve lived through disease outbreaks, and in the previous chapter I showed just how unprepared we are to face a widespread pandemic of flu or another new pathogen like SARS. But a deliberate outbreak caused by an engineered pathogen would be far worse. We would face the same agonizing decisions that must be made during a natural pandemic: whether to ban travel from affected regions, how to keep overburdened hospitals working as the rolls of the sick grew, how to accelerate the development and distribution of vaccines and drugs. To that dire list add the terror that would spread once it became clear that the death and disease in our midst was not the random work of nature, but a deliberate act of malice. We’re scared of disease outbreaks and we’re scared of terrorism—put them together and you have a formula for chaos. As deadly and as disruptive as a conventional bioterror incident would be, an attack that employed existing pathogens could only spread so far, limited by the same laws of evolution that circumscribe natural disease outbreaks. But a virus engineered in a lab to break those laws could spread faster and kill quicker than anything that would emerge out of nature. It can be designed to evade medical countermeasures, frustrating doctors’ attempts to diagnose cases and treat patients. If health officials manage to stamp out the outbreak, it could be reintroduced into the public again and again. It could, with the right mix of genetic traits, even wipe us off the planet, making engineered viruses a genuine existential threat. And such an attack may not even be that difficult to carry out. Thanks to advances in biotechnology that have rapidly reduced the skill level and funding needed to perform gene editing and engineering, what might have once required the work of an army of virologists employed by a nation-state could soon be done by a handful of talented and trained individuals. Or maybe just one. When Melinda Gates was asked at the South by Southwest conference in 2018 to identify what she saw as the biggest threat facing the world over the next decade, she didn’t hesitate: “A bioterrorism event. Definitely.”2 She’s far from alone. In 2016, President Obama’s director of national intelligence James Clapper identified CRISPR as a “weapon of mass destruction,” a category usually reserved for known nightmares like nuclear bombs and chemical weapons. A 2018 report from the National Academies of Sciences concluded that biotechnology had rewritten what was possible in creating new weapons, while also increasing the range of people capable of carrying out such attacks.3 That’s a fatal combination, one that plausibly threatens the future of humanity like nothing else. “The existential threat that would be most available for someone, if they felt like doing something, would be a bioweapon,” said Eric Klien, founder of the Lifeboat Foundation, a nonprofit dedicated to helping humanity survive existential risks. “It would not be hard for a small group of people, maybe even just two or three people, to kill a hundred million people using a bioweapon. There are probably a million people currently on the planet who would have the technical knowledge to pull this off. It’s actually surprising that it hasn’t happened yet.”

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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.

#### **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

#### CP Text – The United States federal government ought to establish a global leadership role in production and distribution of COVID-19 vaccines and treatments by engaging in talks with NATO and the G-7 and expanding support of COVAX including at minimum, vaccinating one billion people around the globe by November 2021 and encourage public-private partnerships and facilitate overseas licensing agreements without reducing intellectual property rights.

#### The CP solves vaccine distribution and re-vitalizes American influence BUT US leadership is key.

Gayle et Al 21 Helene Gayle, Gordon LaForge, and Anne-Marie Slaughter 3-19-2021 "American Can-and Should-Vaccinate the World" <https://archive.is/wtVC2#selection-1369.0-1369.54> (Helene D. Gayle, MD, MPH, has been president and CEO of The Chicago Community Trust, one of the nation’s oldest and largest community foundations, since October 2017. Under her leadership, the Trust has adopted a new strategic focus on closing the racial and ethnic wealth gap in the Chicago region. For almost a decade, Dr. Gayle was president and CEO of CARE, a leading international humanitarian organization. An expert on global development, humanitarian, and health issues, she spent 20 years with the Centers for Disease Control, working primarily on HIV/AIDS.)//Elmer

After a virtual “Quad summit” last Friday, the leaders of the United States, India, Japan, and Australia announced that they would cooperate to deliver **one billion vaccine doses** in the Indo-Pacific, directly countering China’s lead in distributing vaccines to the region. The agreement brings together Indian manufacturing and U.S., Japanese, and Australian financing, logistics, and technical assistance to help immunize hundreds of millions of people by the end of 2022. Headlines over the weekend proclaimed that the administration of U.S. President Joe Biden was preparing to catch up in global vaccine diplomacy. Yesterday the administration took a further step in this direction, leaking to reporters that it would lend four million AstraZeneca doses to Mexico and Canada. These initiatives come not a moment too soon. In tackling the worst global crisis of a lifetime, the United States has so far been upstaged. Russia and China have aggressively marketed and distributed their vaccines to foreign countries, largely **to advance foreign policy goals**. Russia is using the jab to **bolster** its **image** and investment prospects and to drive a **wedge between EU countries**. China is donating doses to gain leverage **in territorial disputes** and expand its influence under the Belt and Road Initiative. Both Moscow and Beijing have moved to undercut the United States **in its own backyard by supplying vaccines to Latin America**. The Biden administration is right to want to take the lead in vaccinating the world, for a host of reasons both self-interested and altruistic. But it should not fall into the trap of trying to beat Russia and China at their own game—handing out vaccines to specific countries based on their geostrategic importance and the amount of attention they are receiving from rival powers. Rather, Biden should pursue **abroad the sort of “all in” unity** approach that he has proclaimed at home. His administration should focus less on strategic advantage than on vaccinating the largest number of people worldwide in the shortest amount of time. In so doing, the United States would concentrate on what the world’s peoples have in common—susceptibility to this and many other viruses—regardless of the nature of their governments. ALL IN AND ALL OUT The United States has successfully mobilized its own and international resources to respond to regional crises in the past. In 2003, President George W. Bush started the U.S. President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the largest global health program focused on a single disease in history. PEPFAR brought together U.S. agencies, private companies, and local civil society groups to help sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia get the AIDS crisis under control, saving millions of lives. In 2004, a tsunami in the Indian Ocean caused more than 220,000 deaths and billions in damage, and the United States led an urgent, similarly inclusive humanitarian relief and recovery effort that rescued victims, hastened reconstruction, and built lasting goodwill in South and Southeast Asia. Biden can improve on Bush’s precedent by going global, and he has already taken steps toward doing so. Under President Donald Trump, the United States refused to participate in the COVID-19 Vaccine Global Access (COVAX) Facility, an international partnership that aims to guarantee COVID-19 vaccine access for the entire world. The Biden administration reversed this stance immediately and contributed $4 billion, making the United States the largest donor to the effort. Still, even if COVAX meets the ambitious target of delivering two billion doses to developing nations by the end of 2021, it will be able to vaccinate only 20 percent of those countries’ populations. Just imagine, however, what could happen if Washington were to treat COVID-19 as **the equivalent** of the enemy in a world war or the pandemic as a global version of the regional AIDS and Ebola epidemics of years past. Imagine, in other words, what all-out mobilization would look like if the United States treated the COVID-19 pandemic like the global threat that it is. Washington would lead a multilateral, whole-of-society effort **to help COVAX vaccinate** the world. The government would activate the military and call upon allies in the G-7 and NATO for a major assistance operation that speeds the **flow of vaccine supplies** and **strengthens delivery systems**. As it has pledged to do in the Quad summit deal, the U.S. government would use the State Department, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and other civilian agencies and development programs to help countries with their national vaccination programs. And it would enlist companies, nonprofits, and civil society organizations to help increase vaccine production, raise funding, and provide technical assistance to foreign counterparts. The U.S. government should undertake exactly such an effort, right now: **an all-out response for an all-in global vaccination campaign.** Such a campaign would advance **U.S. economic and security interests** and reboot American global leadership after years of decline. Rather than perpetuate the transactional, friend-by-friend vaccine diplomacy of China and Russia, a U.S.-led vaccine effort could invigorate a new multilateralism that is more pragmatic and inclusive than the twentieth-century international order and better adapted to tackling twenty-first-century global threats. Washington would do well to remember that if COVID-19 does come back, authoritarian governments will be able to lock down their populations more quickly and effectively than democracies will, so even in competitive terms, America’s best bet really is to eradicate the novel coronavirus. The United States has a momentous opportunity to prove both that democracy can deliver and that **American ideals truly are universal**. By offering a model of global cooperation that draws on a far wider range of resources than any one government can provide, the United States can lead a vaccine effort that builds on the strengths of its open and pluralist society. President Biden would demonstrate unequivocally that the United States is not only “back” but looking—and leading—far ahead. THE CASE FOR GOING REALLY BIG The COVID-19 pandemic is the most extensive humanitarian and economic catastrophe of modern times. Though it lacks the cataclysmic impact of a natural disaster, its toll is far worse and more widespread. A reported 2.6 million have died from COVID-19, though that is certainly an undercount; one analysis of premature and excess mortality estimates 20.5 million years of life have been lost. According to the World Bank, the pandemic pushed as many as 124 million into extreme poverty in 2020, the first year of increase in two decades. The Economist estimates that two years of COVID-19 will cost the world $10.3 trillion—a downturn the World Bank says is twice as deep as the Great Recession. Ultimately, the only way to arrest, let alone reverse, this collapse is global vaccination. The Biden administration learned an important lesson from the government’s response to the 2008 financial crisis: do not be afraid to go big. The American Rescue Plan does just that, funneling $1.9 trillion into many different parts of the economy. The administration should heed the same advice when it comes to vaccinating the world. An all-out effort will have the **greatest and quickest impact** on the fight against COVID-19—and the impact it will have is squarely in America’s self-interest. The United States has much to gain from an accelerated recovery of the global economy. A study from the Eurasia Group estimated that vaccinating low- and middle-income nations would generate at least $153 billion for the United States and nine other developed economies in 2021 and up to $466 billion by 2025. Even if the United States vaccinates its entire population, its economic recovery will still drag so long as its trading partners don’t have full access to the vaccine and the pandemic continues. As Biden has said, “We’re not going to be ultimately safe until the world is safe.” Moreover, today’s pandemic will not be the last. The partnerships and public health infrastructure that the United States builds to inoculate the world from this coronavirus will also defend it against the next deadly pathogen or health threat. Protecting the nation against disease cannot be separated from protecting the world.

#### Waiving IP rights undercuts the perception of American medical innovation superiority which allows China and Russia to expand influence – a unilaterally-led global effort jumpstarts Vaccine Diplomacy in the face of Chinese and Russian weakness

Sasse 5-17 Ben Sasse 5-17-2021 "U.S. Can Stop the Pandemic and Counter China" <https://archive.is/NOKMj#selection-4197.0-4265.96> (Ben Sasse has a bachelor's degree in government from Harvard University, a Master of Arts in liberal studies from St. John's College and master's and doctoral degrees in American history from Yale University. He taught at the University of Texas and served as an assistant secretary in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.)//Elmer

Covid-19 exploded in part because the Chinese Communist Party was apathetic about other nations’ health and covered up the pandemic during its initial months by lying to and through international public-health organizations. The vaccines that will now beat Covid-19 should likewise **spread rapidly world-wide because the U.S. cares for the health of our neighbors around the globe**. The world should know that this virus grew deadlier because of a **tyrannical system’s paranoia**, and the life-saving remedy is emerging from the **innovative power of democratic capitalism**. Washington is late **to vaccine diplomacy** but not too late. The framing of every new program as a “Marshall Plan” for this or that is overused, but this is a genuine **once-in-a-generation opportunity** to show the world **what U.S. leadership looks** like. Covid-19 came from China. The most effective vaccines against it come from the United States of America. The U.S. should set a goal of vaccinating more than one billion people around the world by Thanksgiving—and **without dumping intellectual property**, a foolish act with perverse consequences. Consider both the idealist and realist cases for stepping into this global leadership role. This terrible virus has wrought a continuing humanitarian crisis. A second wave is devastating India: Hospitals are full, oxygen tanks are scarce, and makeshift crematoriums are struggling to keep up. As the virus sweeps through remote villages, bodies are washing up on the shores of the Ganges River. As a country dedicated to the principle that all are created equal, the U.S. won’t turn our back on these men, women and children. Now the two realist cases: First, all available data indicate the vaccines developed by the U.S. pharmaceutical industry—the result of years of research, accelerated by the public-private Operation Warp Speed—**are by far the best** in the world. But most people and nations don’t know that. Instead the Chinese Communist Party has exploited the suffering of the developing world to advance its own interests. In its usual mafioso fashion, Beijing has made delivery of vaccines contingent on the recipient nation’s breaking diplomatic ties with Taiwan, or agreeing to use Huawei—China’s tech giant/espionage agency—to provide 5G internet service. China has charged astronomical prices for garbage vaccines. The second realist case for vaccine diplomacy is the danger that the virus will mutate to evade vaccines. America’s vaccines can stop this—they’ve proved effective against all known global strains—but it’s a race against time. Unfortunately, the Biden administration wants to surrender America’s Covid-19 vaccine technology **to anyone who wants it—including China**. That is the substance of the May 5 announcement that the U.S. will enter into negotiations at the World Trade Organization to waive the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of International Property Rights for Covid vaccine technology. This would do little to speed the distribution of effective vaccines, but it would create **substantial disincentives to invest in innovation**. The mRNA technology at the heart of our vaccines is the result of decades of American investment and labor, and it’s a leg up on the next global health crisis. Ceding this advantage to the Chinese Communist Party all but guarantees that we will **lose the next vaccine race**, and that **Beijing will have the upper hand abroad.** China’s corrupt leadership won’t need to hack our databases; they’ll simply use our freely surrendered technological advances **to undermine us abroad**. There’s a better way. America can vaccinate a billion people around the globe. It’s going to take work and investment. The administration should make vaccine diplomacy the State Department’s top budget priority and begin working with pharmaceutical companies on cost-sharing agreements. We need to encourage public-private partnerships and facilitate overseas licensing agreements to enable American pharmaceutical companies to export vaccines **without surrendering their legal rights**. We need to encourage donations from America’s unused vaccine supply. Getting personal protective equipment, oxygen and ventilators into doctors’ hands abroad is saving lives every day, so we should expand exports of these and related items. Likewise, we should break open the supply-chain bottleneck that is thwarting the delivery of cargo. **The developing world lacks vaccine manufacturing, storage and distribution capacities—and none of these problems are solved by an IP giveaway**. A U.S. public-private program to **advance vaccine diplomacy** will help more people **more quickly**. These vaccines must be accompanied by a message that reaches from heads of state to remote villages. The State Department can spearhead an information blitz that reminds government leaders every vaccine dose taken from the Chinese Communist Party has dangers and strings attached, but America offers an immediate solution. It’s not only party leaders and heads of state who need to understand the benefits. When the U.S. fights famine, we send bags of rice with the American flag. When the U.S. fights Covid-19, every Band-Aid and bag of cotton balls needs to be stamped with Old Glory. Every person who accepts an American vaccine should know exactly where it came from. In less than a year, American physicians, scientists and pharmaceutical companies confronted an extremely potent virus, created multiple effective vaccines, and produced enough of them to inoculate the majority of our 330 million citizens. This extraordinary achievement is a testament to American innovation and to our system of free competition, targeted private-public partnership and robust legal protections. The Chinese alternative—a system of state-sponsored mismanagement, deception and coercion—has shown itself to be not only a failure, but a failure big enough to infect the globe. The message is simple: Americans are here to help. Uncle Sam, not Chairman Xi, can end Covid-19.

#### US-led LIO solves Existential Threats.

Ikenberry 20 John Ikenberry 6-9-2020 “The Next Liberal Order: The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less” <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-06-09/next-liberal-order> (Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University and Global Eminence Scholar at Kyung Hee University, in South Korea)//Elmer

The rivalry between the United States and China will preoccupy the world for decades, and the problems of anarchy cannot be wished away. But for the United States and its partners, a far greater challenge lies in what might be called “the problems of modernity”: the deep, worldwide transformations unleashed by the forces of science, technology, and industrialism, or what the sociologist Ernest Gellner once described as a “tidal wave” pushing and pulling modern societies into an increasingly complex and interconnected world system. Washington and its partners are threatened less by rival great powers than by emergent, interconnected, and cascading transnational dangers. Climate change, pandemic diseases, financial crises, failed states, nuclear proliferation—all reverberate far beyond any individual country. So do the effects of automation and global production chains on capitalist societies, the dangers of the coming revolution in artificial intelligence, and other, as-yet-unimagined upheavals. The coronavirus is the poster child of these transnational dangers: it does not respect borders, and one cannot hide from it or defeat it in war. Countries facing a global outbreak are only as safe as the least safe among them. For better or worse, the United States and the rest of the world are in it together. Past American leaders understood that the global problems of modernity called for a global solution and set about building a worldwide network of alliances and multilateral institutions. But for many observers, the result of these efforts—the liberal international order—has been a failure. For some, it is tied to the neoliberal policies that produced financial crises and rising economic inequality; for others, it evokes disastrous military interventions and endless wars. The bet that China would integrate as a “responsible stakeholder” into a U.S.-led liberal order is widely seen to have failed, too. Little wonder that the liberal vision has lost its appeal. Liberal internationalists need to acknowledge these missteps and failures. Under the auspices of the liberal international order, the United States has intervened too much, regulated too little, and delivered less than it promised. But what do its detractors have to offer? Despite its faults, no other organizing principle currently under debate comes close to liberal internationalism in making the case for a decent and cooperative world order that encourages the enlightened pursuit of national interests. Ironically, the critics’ complaints make sense only within a system that embraces self-determination, individual rights, economic security, and the rule of law—the very cornerstones of liberal internationalism. The current order may not have realized these principles across the board, but flaws and failures are inherent in all political orders. What is unique about the postwar liberal order is its capacity for self-correction. Even a deeply flawed liberal system provides the institutions through which it can be brought closer to its founding ideals. However serious the liberal order’s shortcomings may be, they pale in comparison to its achievements. Over seven decades, it has lifted more boats—manifest in economic growth and rising incomes—than any other order in world history. It provided a framework for struggling industrial societies in Europe and elsewhere to transform themselves into modern social democracies. Japan and West Germany were integrated into a common security community and went on to fashion distinctive national identities as peaceful great powers. Western Europe subdued old hatreds and launched a grand project of union. European colonial rule in Africa and Asia largely came to an end. The G-7 system of cooperation among Japan, Europe, and North America fostered growth and managed a sequence of trade and financial crises. Beginning in the 1980s, countries across East Asia, Latin America, and eastern Europe opened up their political and economic systems and joined the broader order. The United States experienced its greatest successes as a world power, culminating in the peaceful end to the Cold War, and countries around the globe wanted more, not less, U.S. leadership. This is not an order that one should eagerly escort off the stage. Any alternative is worse and causes great power war **Haass 19** [RICHARD HAASS is President of the Council on Foreign Relations and the author of A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order. ”How a World Order Ends”, http://biblio.institutoelcano.org/DOCS/VVidaPolitica/BMarcoPolInter/Haass\_HowWorldOrderEnds.pdf] The major alternatives to a modernized world order supported by the United States appear unlikely, unappealing, or both. A Chinese-led order, for example, would be an illiberal one, characterized by authoritarian domestic political systems and statist economies that place a premium on maintaining domestic stability. There would be a return to spheres of influence, with China attempting to domi-nate its region, likely resulting in clashes with other regional powers, such as India, Japan, and Vietnam, which would probably build up their conventional or even nuclear forces. A new democratic, rules-based order fashioned and led by medium powers in Europe and Asia, as well as Canada, however attractive a concept, would simply lack the military capacity and domestic political will to get very far. A more likely alternative is a world with little order—a world of deeper disarray. Protectionism, nationalism, and populism would gain, and democracy would lose. Conflict within and across borders would become more common, and rivalry between great powers would increase. Cooperation on global challenges would be all but precluded. If this picture sounds familiar, that is because it increasingly corresponds to the world of today. The deterioration of a world order can set in motion trends that spell catastrophe. World War I broke out some 60 years after the Concert of Europe had for all intents and purposes broken down in Crimea. What we are seeing today resembles the mid-nineteenth century in important ways: the post– World War II, post–Cold War order cannot be restored, but the world is not yet on the edge of a systemic crisis. Now is the time to make sure one never materializes, be it from a breakdown in U.S.-Chinese relations, a clash with Russia, a conflagration in the Middle East, or the cumulative effects of climate change. The good news is that it is far from inevitable that the world will eventually arrive at a catastrophe; the bad news is that it is far from certain that it will not.

### 1NC – OFF

#### Text – States ought to individually domestically establish single-payer national health insurance.

#### Solves evergreening and drug prices while avoiding our innovation turns.

Narayanan 19 Srivats Narayanan 8-15-2019 "Medicare for All and Evergreening" <https://medium.com/@srivats.narayanan/medicare-for-all-and-evergreening-cb84c930e0ea> (UMKC School of Medicine)//Elmer

Drug companies rake in massive profits. The pharmaceutical industry has some of the largest profit margins among American industries. Unfortunately, pharmaceutical giants don’t always have patients’ best interests in mind — they make a big portion of their money by exploiting the patent process instead of making breakthrough drugs that would meaningfully improve patients’ lives. Pharmaceutical corporations aren’t as innovative as one might expect. Although the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has been consistently approving new (and expensive) drugs every year, most of these drugs aren’t impacting healthcare much. Many studies have revealed that a whopping 85–90% of new drugs since the mid-1990s “provide few or no clinical advantages.” This is because pharmaceutical firms are spending their time and money on a technique known as “evergreening.” Evergreening is when drug companies produce redundant drugs that are nothing but minor modifications of old drugs. By making slight alterations to their medicines, biotech companies continue to hold patents for drugs with minimal spending on research and development (R&D). Pharmaceutical companies then use those patents to prevent competitors from selling generic versions of their drugs. Without any competition, these corporations get away with ridiculously high drug pricing and can thus make big profits on their drugs. The companies simultaneously justify their absurd drug prices by pointing to the inflated R&D costs of producing new drugs. This excuse has been used time and again by the profit-hungry pharmaceutical industry, and it’s coming at the expense of patients who struggle to afford their medicines. A well-known example of evergreening pertains to the anticonvulsant medication gabapentin, which was first sold by Pfizer under the brand name Neurontin. When the drug became available as a generic medication over a decade ago, Pfizer created a very similar medicine, pregabalin (Lyrica), that didn’t have any significant benefits over the original drug. As a result, Pfizer has kept a control over the market for anticonvulsant drugs with negligible innovation. The drug industry’s reliance on evergreening is undoubtedly stifling innovation. This is where **Medicare for All**, **which would impose the government as the only health insurer**, **would be useful**. **In our current system**, **there are many insurers** **and they each have** **little market power** **and** consequently **little negotiating power** **to reduce** treatment **prices**. **Since the government would have** **consolidated control over healthcare financing** under Medicare for All, **its stronger bargaining power would force drug companies to charge lower prices for their products**. In addition, prescription drugs would be paid for by the government and not by patients under Medicare for All. **Medicare for All would prevent evergreening**. **National healthcare financing** **would align** **how much the government pays a drug company with how much patients benefit** from the company’s drugs. **If a new drug had more clinical benefits** than an older version, **the government would pay more** for it. If a new drug produced the same results as an older version, the government wouldn’t pay more for the new drug. So, Medicare for All would **encourage** pharmaceutical **companies to pursue truly innovative drugs because such drugs would be more profitable**. The policy would incentivize companies to invest in R&D for more useful drugs, instead of just producing redundant and expensive medications. A national healthcare plan would prioritize “patient and community needs” and match up pharmaceutical companies’ interests with actually improving public health. Evergreening has become the name of the game for the pharmaceutical industry. A major solution to the evergreening problem is Medicare for All. **A single-payer system** like Medicare for All **would sharply curtail evergreening**, since drug companies wouldn’t be able to profit from it. Medicare for All would **usher** in **a new era of medical innovation**.

## Case

#### A vaccine waiver greenlights counterfeit medicine – independently turns Case.

Conrad 5-18 John Conrad 5-18-2021 "Waiving intellectual property rights is not in the best interests of patients" <https://archive.is/vsNXv#selection-5353.0-5364.0> (president and CEO of the Illinois Biotechnology Innovation Organization in Chicago.)//Elmer

The Biden's administration's support for India and South Africa's proposal before the World Trade Organization to temporarily waive anti-COVID vaccine patents to boost its supply will fuel the **development of counterfeit vaccines and weaken the already strained global supply chain**. The proposal will not increase the effective number of COVID-19 vaccines in India and other countries. The manufacturing standards to produce COVID-19 vaccines are **exceptionally complicated**; it is unlike any other manufacturing process. To ensure patient safety and efficacy, only manufacturers with the **proper facilities and training should produce the vaccine, and they are**. Allowing a temporary waiver that permits compulsory licensing to allow a manufacturer to export counterfeit vaccines will **cause confusion and endanger public health**. For example, between 60,000 and 80,000 children in Niger with fatal falciparum malaria were treated with a counterfeit vaccine containing incorrect active pharmaceutical ingredients, resulting in more than **100 fatal infections.** Beyond the patients impacted, counterfeit drugs erode public confidence in health care systems and the pharmaceutical industry. Vaccine hesitancy is a rampant threat that feeds off of the distribution of misinformation. Allowing the production of vaccines from improper manufacturing facilities further opens the door for antivaccine hacks to stoke the fear fueling **vaccine hesitance**.

#### Pharma innovation is high now and strong IP protection are the only incentive for drug innovation – the plan decks that

* Answers Evergreening/Me-Too Drugs

Stevens and Ezell 20 Philip Stevens and Stephen Ezell 2-3-2020 "Delinkage Debunked: Why Replacing Patents With Prizes for Drug Development Won’t Work" <https://itif.org/publications/2020/02/03/delinkage-debunked-why-replacing-patents-prizes-drug-development-wont-work> (Philip founded Geneva Network in 2015. His main research interests are the intersection of intellectual property, trade, and health policy. Formerly he was an official at the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) in Geneva, where he worked in its Global Challenges Division on a range of IP and health issues. Prior to his time with WIPO, Philip worked as director of policy for International Policy Network, a UK-based think tank, as well as holding research positions with the Adam Smith Institute and Reform, both in London. He has also worked as a political risk consultant and a management consultant. He is a regular columnist in a wide range of international newspapers and has published a number of academic studies. He holds degrees from the London School of Economics and Durham University (UK).)//Elmer

The **Current System** Has **Produced a Tremendous Amount of Life-Sciences Innovation** The frontier for biomedical innovation is seemingly limitless, and the challenges remain numerous—whether it comes to diseases that afflict millions, such as cancer or malaria, or the estimated 7,000 rare diseases that afflict fewer than 200,000 patients.24 And while certainly citizens in developed and developing nations confront differing health challenges, those challenges are increasingly converging. For instance, as of this year, analysts expect that **noncommunicable** diseases such as cardiovascular disease and diabetes will account for 70 percent of natural fatalities **in developing countries**.25 Citizens of low- and middle-income countries bear 80 percent of the world’s death burden from cardiovascular disease.26 Forty-six percent of Africans over 25 suffer from hypertension, more than anywhere else in the world. Similarly, 85 percent of the disease burden of cervical cancer is borne by individuals living in low- and middle-income countries.27 To develop treatments or cures for these conditions, novel biomedical innovation **will be needed from everywhere**. Yet tremendous progress has been made in recent decades. To tackle these challenges, the global pharmaceutical industry invested over **$1.36 trillion in R&D** in the decade from 2007 to 2016—and it’s expected that annual R&D investment by the global pharmaceutical industry will reach $181 billion by 2022.28 In no small part due to that investment, **943 new active substances have been introduced** globally over the prior 25 years.29 The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has approved more than **500 new medicines since 2000** alone. And these medicines are getting to more individuals: Global medicine use **in 2020 will reach 4.5 trillion doses**, up 24 percent from 2015.30 Moreover, there are an estimated 7,000 new medicines under development globally (about half of them in the United States), with 74 percent being potentially first in class, meaning they use a new and unique mechanism of action for treating a medical condition.31 In the United States, over 85 percent of all drugs sold are generics (only 10 percent of U.S. prescriptions are filled by brand-name drugs).32 And while some assert that biotechnology companies focus too often on “me-too” drugs that compete with other treatments already on the market, the reality is many drugs currently under development are meant to tackle some of the **world’s most intractable diseases**, **including cancer and Alzheimer’s**.33 Moreover, such arguments miss that many of the drugs developed in recent years have in fact been first of their kind. For instance, in 2014, the FDA approved **41 new medicines** (at that point, the most since 1996) many of which were first-in-class medicines.34 In that year, 28 of the 41 drugs approved were considered biologic or specialty agents, and 41 percent of medicines approved were intended to treat rare diseases.35 Yet even when a new drug isn’t first of its kind, it can still produce benefits for patients, both through **enhanced clinical efficacy** (for instance, taking the treatment as a pill rather than an injection, with a superior dosing regimen, **or better treatment** for some individuals who don’t respond well to the original drug) and by generating competition that exerts downward price pressures. For example, a patient needing a cholesterol drug has a host of statins from which to choose, which is important because some statins produce harmful side effects for some patients. Similarly, patients with osteoporosis can choose from Actonel, Boniva, or Fosomax. Or take for example Hepatitis C, which until recently was an incurable disease eventually requiring a liver transplant for many patients. In 2013, a revolutionary new treatment called Solvadi was released that boosted cure rates to 90 percent. This was followed in 2014 by an improved treatment called Harvoni, which cures the Hepatitis C variant left untouched by Solvadi. Since then, an astonishing six new treatments for the disease have received FDA approval, opening up a wide range of treatment options that take into account patients’ liver and kidney status, co-infections, potential drug interactions, previous treatment failures, and the genotype of HCV virus.36 “If you have to have Hepatitis C, now is the time to have it,” as Douglas Dieterich, a liver specialist at the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, told the Financial Times. “We have these marvellous drugs we can treat you with right now, without side effects,” he added. “And this time next year, we’ll have another round of drugs available.”37 Moreover, the financial potential of this new product category has led to multiple competing products entering the market in quick succession, in turn placing downward pressure on prices.38 As Geoffrey Dusheiko and Charles Gore write in The Lancet, “The market has done its work for HCV treatments: after competing antiviral regimens entered the market, competition and innovative price negotiations have driven costs down from the initially high list prices in developed countries.”39 As noted previously, opponents of the current market- and IP-based system contend patents enable their holders to exploit a (temporary) market monopoly by inflating prices many multiples beyond the marginal cost of production. But rather than a conventional neoclassical analysis, an analysis based on “innovation economics” finds it is exactly this “distortion” that is required for innovation to progress. As William Baumol has pointed out, “Prices above marginal costs and price discrimination become the norm rather than the exception because … without such deviations from behaviour in the perfectly competitive model, innovation outlays and other unavoidable and repeated sunk outlays cannot be recouped.”40 Or, as the U.S. Congressional Office of Technology Assessment found, “Pharmaceutical R&D is a risky investment; therefore, high financial returns are necessary **to induce companies to invest** in researching new chemical entities.”41 This is also why, in 2018, the U.S. Congressional Budget Office estimated that because of high failure rates, biopharmaceutical **companies would need to earn a 61.8 percent rate of return on their successful new drug R&D projects in order to match a 4.8 percent after-tax rate of return on their investment**s.42 Indeed, **it’s the ability to recoup fixed costs, not just marginal** costs, through mechanisms such as patent protection that lies at the heart of all innovation-based industries and indeed all innovation and related economic progress. If companies could not find a way to pay for their R&D costs, and could only charge for the costs of producing the compound, **there would be no new drugs developed**, just as there would be no new products developed in any industry. Innovating in the life sciences remains expensive, risky, difficult, and uncertain. Just 1 in 5,000 drug candidates make it all the way from discovery to market.43 A 2018 study by the Deloitte Center for Health Solutions, “Unlocking R&D productivity: Measuring the return from pharmaceutical innovation 2018,” found that “the average cost to develop an asset [an innovative life-sciences drug] including the cost of failure, has increased in six out of eight years,” and that the average cost to create a new drug has risen to $2.8 billion.44 Related research has found the development of new drugs requires years of painstaking, risky, and expensive research that, for a new pharmaceutical compound, takes an average of 11.5 to 15 years of research, development, and clinical trials, at a cost of $1.7 billion to $**3.2 billion**.45 IP rights—including patents, copyrights, and data exclusivity protections—give innovators, whether in the life sciences or other sectors, the **confidence** to undertake the risky and expensive process of innovation, secure in the knowledge they’ll be able to capture a share of the gains from their efforts. And these gains are often only a small fraction of the true value created. For instance, Yale University economist William Nordhaus estimated inventors capture just 4 percent of the total social gains from their innovations; the rest spill over to other companies and society as a whole.46 Without adequate IP protection, private investors would never find it viable to fund advanced research because lower-cost copiers would be in a position to undercut the legitimate prices (and profits) of innovators, even while still generating substantial profits on their own.47 As the report “Wealth, Health and International Trade in the 21st Century” concludes, “Conferring robust intellectual property rights is, in the pharmaceutical and other technological-development contexts, **in the global public’s long-term interests.** Without adequate mechanisms for directly and indirectly securing the private and public funding of medicines and vaccines, research and development communities across the world will lose future benefits that would far outweigh the development costs involved.”48 Put simply, the current market- and IP-based life-sciences innovation system is producing life-changing biomedical innovation. As Jack Scannell, a senior fellow at Oxford University’s Center for the Advancement of Sustainable Medical Innovation has explained, “I would guess that one can buy today, at rock bottom generic prices, a set of small-molecule drugs that has greater medical utility than the entire set available to anyone, anywhere, at any price in 1995.” He continued, “Nearly all the generic medicine chest was created by firms who invested in R&D to win future profits that they tried pretty hard to maximize; short-term financial gain building a long-term common good.”49 For example, on September 14, 2017, the FDA approved Mvasi, the first biosimilar for Roche’s Avastin, a breakthrough anticancer drug when it came out in the mid-1990s for lung, cervical, and colorectal cancer.50 In other words, a medicine to treat forms of cancer that barely existed 20 years ago is now available as a generic drug today. It’s this dynamic that enables us to imagine a situation wherein drugs to treat diseases that aren’t available anywhere at any price today (for instance, treatments for Alzheimer’s or Parkinson’s) might be available as generics in 20 years. But that will only be the case if we preserve (and improve where possible) a life-sciences innovation system that is generally working. The current system does not require wholesale replacement by a prize-based system that—notwithstanding a meaningful success here or there—has produced nowhere near a similar level of novel biomedical innovation.

#### Don’t let them weigh the sum total of all biotech – they only solve for a specific amount of it and haven’t specified how it would take to revitalize the economy or stop food shortages