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#### The member nations of the World Trade Organization ought to implement a universal single-payer healthcare system

#### UHC will solve COVID inequalities + more

Walcott MD PhD 4/21

David Alexander Walcott, (MD., Ph.D. MSc. Entrepreneur and Rhodes Scholar), 4-1-2021, "COVID-19 vaccine success can enable universal healthcare – here's how," World Economic Forum, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/04/covid-19-vaccine-success-enable-universal-healthcare/> // AW

For more than 200 years, human beings managed to avert widespread pestilence with vaccines. While not a silver bullet, vaccines provide us with the freedom to engage with the world without the fear of debilitating disease. As we reflect on the global relevance of vaccines during World Immunization Week, we quickly acknowledge that persistent societal disparities have affected our ability to equitably vaccinate, a phenomenon that has been illuminated by COVID-19. As we pursue systems designed to equal the playing field in the spirit of collective global welfare, we must consider whether immunizations are simply products of universal access, or are themselves are enablers of this global target. Global value of immunization diminished by health inequalities Despite the target for global equitable access to immunization by organizations such as GAVI and the World Health Organization, there remains a [huge gap](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/30646979/) in levels of vaccine accessibility at both national and global levels. Low and middle-Income CountrieS have notably reduced access to vaccines, and within countries, social factors such as like conflict and [destitution](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/19884162/) have detrimental effects on immunization. Despite the global successes we have achieved with elimination of smallpox and near-elimination of polio, inadequate access remains a challenge in many regions in the world. Up to [15% of the world’s children](http://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/immunization-coverage) have no access to immunization, and [millions of children](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4024226/) still die from infections, including pneumonia and diarrhoea, many cases of which could be prevented by vaccination. Data showing that COVID-19 mortality rates are higher among BIPOC communities. Global vaccine inequity has been seen even more starkly in the pandemic where low-income countries have struggled to get access to vaccines. As of 4 March 2020, [many such countries](https://www.sciencenews.org/article/covid-19-global-inequity-vaccines-deaths-economy-pandemic) had yet to administer a single dose while many of their larger contemporaries had enough doses to inoculate their populations several times over. Our pleasant illusions of equitable access were quickly supplanted by the harsh reality of the perennial global economic disparities, and their tangible effects on global health were impossible to ignore. Vaccines are not a simply a product of UHC, they also drive UHC Regarding global health inequities, it is clear that universal health care (UHC) is an enabler of widespread immunization given its inclusive mandate of bringing all under the net of healthcare access. Greater access to healthcare services inevitably translates into greater opportunities for immunization. Interestingly, one may argue that this relationship also exists in the reverse, where the pursuit of routine and universal immunization itself can serve as a potent platform towards enabling coverage for all. Immunization is one of the few platforms that bring most households into contact with healthcare systems [five or more times](https://www.gavi.org/sites/default/files/publications/Immunisation%20-%20a%20platform%20for%20universal%20health%20coverage.pdf) during the first year of a child’s life. This offers a clear opportunity for providing additional primary healthcare services at these touchpoints, and we must consider whether it can serve as a platform upon which additional healthcare outcomes can be built. Furthermore, vaccines have indirect effects on driving access to healthcare resources through influencing the distribution of healthcare services. Through averting preventable diseases which consume copious health resources, vaccines permit the deployment of capabilities towards those who need them most. Immunization programmes take pressure off healthcare systems, enabling allocation of resources to the underserved, particularly around non-communicable diseases which are now responsible for [over 70%](https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/noncommunicable-diseases) of global mortality. This phenomenon is shown in the pandemic, where greater levels of vaccine uptake have finally allowed for the allocation of resources towards other socially valuable initiatives. Graph showing how vaccines have reduced the burden (and therefore spending) of certain infectious diseases (measles, mumps, rubella). Finally, considering that poverty is a key factor standing in the way of UHC, it is clear that immunization permits the maximization of our economic potential and drives poverty reduction. It has been projected that vaccines administered between 2016 and 2030 will [prevent 24 million](https://www.gavi.org/sites/default/files/publications/Immunisation%20-%20a%20platform%20for%20universal%20health%20coverage.pdf) people in 41 of the world’s low and middle-income countries from falling into poverty, and has been shown to drive [significant value-creation](https://www.gavi.org/sites/default/files/publications/Immunisation%20-%20a%20platform%20for%20universal%20health%20coverage.pdf) – with every $1 invested in immunization driving a return of $54 in social and economic value. Speed of vaccine development brings hope for UHC COVID-19 has been our most pressing challenge, and our world has managed the mammoth task of condensing several years of vaccine development into a single year. The global health community has never been more connected, engaged and collaborative, and levels of interest in supporting immunization services, vaccine development and effective procurement systems have never been higher. True to the theme of World Immunization Week, vaccines have indeed “brought us closer” to economic, social and psychological normality. Necessity has been the mother of invention and several of the assets developed through this pandemic – immunization programmes, embracing health technology, and greater public health awareness – will serve us well in the days to come. The spirit of collaboration demonstrated between competing companies such as Pfizer and BioNTech illustrate the potential unlocked through collaboration and the power of resolve. With the second wind of hope promised by our experience with vaccines, it is hoped that we will be able to solve the problems in vaccine development against more complex infections, such as malaria and HIV, which have seen substantial but modest success in recent times. Significant progress has also been made in vaccine development against many non-infectious diseases such as Alzheimers and diabetes, and [therapeutic cancer vaccines](https://clincancerres.aacrjournals.org/content/27/3/689) remain promising. Greater levels of prevention, treatment and access to care are expected in the days to come and vaccines will continue to offer opportunities for expanding our ability to influence global health. No arm left behind Though we face an uncertain future, the pandemic has reminded us that we now live in a global village and that no one is safe until there is safety for all. It is hoped that we are able to take our immunizations, our learnings and our resolve and maintain commitment to the Immunization Agenda 2030 and SDG3. True to the words of Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Director-General of the [World Health Organization](https://www.devex.com/organizations/world-health-organization-who-30562), “There is no health for all without vaccines for all…” As we move beyond the pandemic and reflect on the idea that vaccines have indeed “brought us closer” let us ensure that in the days to come there is no man, woman or arm left behind.

#### Perm fails - we need innovation to deal with variants

Van Etten 07-15

(Megan Van Etten; senior director of public affairs at PhRMA, responsible for leading the association’s public affairs efforts on international issues, including trade, intellectual property and access to medicines, was director of media and external communications at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; (07-15-21) Promoting global vaccine equity while protecting innovation; Pharma; <https://catalyst.phrma.org/promoting-global-vaccine-equity-while-protecting-innovation>; CKD)

America’s biopharmaceutical companies have successfully researched, developed and distributed billions of doses of multiple vaccines and therapeutics to halt the spread of COVID-19. The availability of COVID-19 vaccines has shifted the trajectory of the pandemic and is undoubtedly saving lives. Further, the approval of the first ever mRNA vaccines has the potential to usher in an era of groundbreaking mRNA applications beyond COVID-19. But the transformative promise of these vaccines only extends as far as patients’ ability to access them. Equitable distribution worldwide is critical. Despite significant cross-sector and multi-stakeholder efforts like COVAX, we are still seeing vaccine access and distribution challenges across many regions of the world due to complex barriers. Unfortunately, [some have focused](https://catalyst.phrma.org/the-biden-administration-allows-politics-to-upend-a-pragmatic-pandemic-response) their attention on a short-sighted and misguided “solution” that seeks to waive international commitments to honor intellectual property (IP) rights for COVID-19 vaccines under the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). The approach fails to examine and address the real barriers to equitable vaccine distribution and could undermine the global pandemic response. Biopharmaceutical manufacturers, governments and non-governmental organizations must work together to take urgent steps to further address this inequity by: Stepping Up Dose Sharing A handful of countries secured contracts for COVID-19 vaccines during the early research and development phases, and as a result, have a larger supply of vaccines than needed. Manufacturers and governments in these countries must continue to work together to urgently and responsibly redirect meaningful proportions of these doses to low- and middle-income countries through COVAX and other established mechanisms. Continuing to Optimize Production The vaccine manufacturing process depends on a complex global network of suppliers of raw materials and equipment. The scale and speed at which these vaccines must be produced to keep up with the current demand is unprecedented. To address this challenge, vaccine manufacturers must work with governments and suppliers to undertake all practicable efforts to maximize COVID-19 vaccine output without compromising safety and quality. Calling out Trade Barriers To ensure supply chains are globally integrated, and for distribution systems to work efficiently, officials must remove trade barriers. It is critical that governments, in coordination with the WTO, work to eliminate all trade and regulatory barriers standing in the way of vaccine distribution and the procurement of the raw materials and components needed for the manufacturing process. Supporting Country Readiness Serious gaps in readiness across a significant number of countries need to be swiftly addressed to ensure that supplied doses are used and not destroyed. We urgently need cross-stakeholder collaboration—particularly in low- and middle-income countries—that supports vaccine roll-out and ensures countries are ready and able to deploy vaccines as efficiently as possible. Driving Further Innovation While the development of COVID-19 vaccines has been a remarkable feat, stakeholders must continue to prioritize policies and legal mechanisms that foster a strong innovation ecosystem, supported by IP incentives. Without this commitment to continuous innovation, our ability to swiftly address emerging COVID-19 variants and future pandemics is hindered. The COVID-19 innovations available today would not have been possible without strong IP systems that encourage innovation, protect novel ideas, enable critical partnerships and incentivize continued progress against deadly diseases. To ensure that patients around the world can access and realize the benefits of this astonishing progress, governments, the biopharmaceutical industry and non-governmental organizations must invest in solutions that comprehensively address the real issues driving inequities in vaccine distribution. America’s biopharmaceutical companies are focused on saving lives. Right now, that means more vaccines in more arms in countries around the world – without sacrificing safety or endangering production supply chains.

## Safety

#### Vaccines produced by trusted manufacturers work – 96% efficacy in trials and empirically 99% of cases are unvaccinated

#### Removing IP would cause ineffective and unsafe vaccines

Brougher MPH 3/30/21

Joanna T. Brougher, Esq., Mph &amp; Andrew Kingsbury, 3-30-2021, "Calls for Compulsory Licensing and IP Waivers of COVID-19 Vaccines Ignore Technical Complexities," IPWatchdog, <https://www.ipwatchdog.com/2021/03/30/calls-compulsory-licensing-ip-waivers-covid-19-vaccines-ignore-technical-complexities/id=131617/> // AW

While seeking compulsory licensing or IP waivers may seem an attractive solution to address technological disparities across human populations, these mechanisms ignore some of the more technical hurdles to increasing accessibility to vaccination. This post will first briefly explain what compulsory licensing and IP waivers are and then examine three possible causes for why compulsory licenses and IP waiver are not a feasible solution to the current COVID-19 pandemic. Compulsory Licensing One of the agreements that countries must ratify upon joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) is the Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). The TRIPS Agreement was negotiated in 1994 to harmonize intellectual property laws across different countries and to establish minimum standards for protecting and enforcing intellectual property rights for all WTO member countries. There are several provisions under TRIPS that allow governments to provide for limitations to intellectual property rights. In [Article 31](https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/publications_e/ai17_e/trips_art31_oth.pdf), for instance, TRIPS allows governments to order domestic manufacturers to make a patented product without permission from the patent holder. This practice is known as compulsory licensing. Article 31 permits countries to engage in compulsory licensing if there is a “case of a national emergency or other circumstances of extreme urgency,” or in cases of “public non-commercial use.” Under these circumstances, the country is first required to negotiate with, or seek approval from, the patent holder of the drug, but if the negotiations fail, is ultimately just permitted to manufacture patented products, such as essential medicines, for its domestic market. For countries that cannot manufacture drugs themselves, and who would thus not be able to issue compulsory licenses under Article 31, Article 31bis was created to permit a developed country to export a generic drug under a compulsory license to a less developed country. IP Waivers Contrary to compulsory licensing, IP waivers simply ask that countries be exempt from the provisions of TRIPS that require countries to protect and enforce patent rights to COVID-19 treatments and vaccines. In October 2020, [India and South Africa petitioned the WTO](https://www.ipwatchdog.com/2021/01/02/india-south-africas-covid-vaccine-proposal-wto-patent-waiver-must-considered-compulsory-licensing/id=128652/) for a temporary waiver from specific provisions of the TRIPS Agreement that could essentially put entire realms of existing intellectual property law on hold at the international level until widespread vaccination has become globally implemented. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this proposal was met with strong resistance from developed nations while developing and less developed nations were more welcoming towards it. In March 2021, the proposal failed to pass resolution at the WTO. Covid-19 Vaccines are New What these proposals fail to take into account is the nature of the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines. The efficacy of both of these proposals turns on a country’s internal technological capabilities to recreate and administer the vaccine. The Pfizer and Moderna vaccines, however, are not typical vaccines. Whereas traditional vaccines functioned by introducing parts of a virus — or a weakened form of a virus — Pfizer’s and Moderna’s vaccines use messenger RNA to cause host cells to produce the protein themselves. These are the [first vaccines to utilize this type of technology](https://www.abc27.com/news/health/coronavirus/vaccination-frustration/digital-original-how-do-covid-19-vaccines-compare-to-other-vaccinations/). The novelty of these vaccines potentially degrades the utility of a compulsory license or IP waiver. For instance, remdesivir received a great deal of focus early in the pandemic. Bangladesh managed to recreate the drug without Gilead Science’s approval because it is exempt from Article 31 of TRIPS, and Bangladesh [was able to produce a sufficient supply for the country by the summer of 2020](https://patentlyo.com/patent/2021/01/shortages-compulsory-licensing.html) because information about the drug was available. Given the fact that Pfizer’s and Moderna’s vaccines represent a new form of vaccine, lacking technical information on how to make this new form of vaccine could lead the countries to create entirely ineffective vaccine replicas. These issues may be compounded by the fact that many vaccine manufactures [rely on trade secret protection more heavily](https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/trade-secret-protection-the-covid-19-37383/) following the [Ass’n for Molecular Pathology v. Myriad Genetics, Inc](https://www.leagle.com/decision/insco20130613e08). decision. These trade secrets can withhold critical scientific know-how that might be necessary for replicating a vaccine. Thus, the new technology behind these messenger RNA vaccines and the lack of accessibility to the related know-how might deter countries from attempting to manufacture them. Lack of Information Yet another more fundamental problem exists for replicating these vaccines. Not only do these vaccines represent a new form of vaccine, but information about these particular vaccines is simply unavailable. Even if the Pfizer and Moderna vaccines do not utilize any trade secrets, the discovery of these vaccines is fundamentally different than remdesivir’s timeline, which resulted in Bangladesh’s recreation of the drug. [A patent for remdesivir was filed as early as 2015](https://patents.google.com/patent/US20170071964A1/en), and thus the information had been publicly available for years. While the technology underlying mRNA vaccines has been in development for decades, there are likely specific technological hurdles associated with, for instance, the coronavirus, mass production and scale up, and delivery mechanisms that needed to be developed for this specific application of the legacy technology. This additional information will not be found in scientific journals or magazine articles, nor can it be found in any patent application, yet. Patents, moreover, can take up to 18 months from filing to be published. BioNTech made an [F-1 filing with the SEC](https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1776985/000119312520195911/d939702df1.htm) on July 21, 2020, in which it acknowledged its partnership with Pfizer to develop the vaccine. If this filling is at all indicative of when a patent could have been filed, then this would mean the patent may not be available to the public until late-2021–mid-2022. With Novelty Comes Difficulty The newness of these vaccines also creates problems due to the complexity in how these types of vaccines function and how to produce them. According to a [Wall Street Journal report](https://www.wsj.com/articles/mrna-covid-19-vaccines-are-fast-to-make-but-hard-to-scale-11614776401), manufactures say that vaccine production is difficult both “because some steps are difficult to scale up quickly or because they simply haven’t been done before.” Even Pfizer is [having difficulty obtaining](https://www.wsj.com/articles/pfizer-slashed-its-covid-19-vaccine-rollout-target-after-facing-supply-chain-obstacles-11607027787) the necessary materials for vaccine production. Here, the complexity of these vaccines demonstrates the potential futility of a compulsory license or IP waivers. Even if other countries could compel manufactures to license the underlying intellectual property and provided them with the information about how to do so, the complexity of manufacturing these types of vaccines could be a particularly high barrier to overcome. It’s Complicated Countries face roadblocks for producing a viable vaccine candidate based on Pfizer’s and Moderna’s vaccines. The new technology that utilizes messenger RNA vaccines, coupled with the lack of public information about these vaccines and the vaccines’ complicated nature, present significant hurdles to seeking compulsory licenses or IP waivers.

#### The only producers who move quickly enough to solve don’t do it safely

Winegarden PhD et al 21

WAYNE WINEGARDEN (PhD in Medical Economics and Innovation, ROBERT POPOVIAN, PETER PITTS, June 21, 2021, “Waiving Covid-19 Vaccine Patents Is a Bad Idea and Sets a Dangerous Precedent”, Pacific Research Institute, https://medecon.org/waiving-covid-19-vaccine-patents-is-a-bad-idea-and-sets-a-dangerous-precedent/ // AW

It all sounds so simple: to hasten the end of the pandemic globally, suspend intellectual property protections on Covid-19 vaccines to allow swift production of low-cost copies the world over. The Biden administration has bought into exactly that strategy at the World Trade Organization. But some simple ideas are also simplistic, and this one is dangerously so. Waiving patent rights for Covid-19 vaccines will actually slow their availability in the developing world, thereby prolonging the pandemic. The production of these breakthrough Covid-19 vaccines requires sophisticated processes, procedures, staff training, material, and manufacturing. Under typical patent-protected arrangements for new global production facilities, patent-holders voluntarily license their product information to qualified third party-manufacturers. The patent-owners work closely with the licensees to stand up facilities that meet rigorous technological specifications and standards for safety. Even under ideal conditions, it can take a year or longer to build out this infrastructure the right way. The WTO waiver blows up this careful process by allowing pretty much anyone to go into the business of producing Covid-19 vaccines. Suddenly, **it’s the wild west out there**, with legitimate producers trying to compete with aggressive cost and corner-cutters, to say nothing of the outright fraud that has long driven the lucrative counterfeit drug trade. All the research demonstrating the safety and efficacy of the Covid-19 vaccines goes out the window under such conditions. Nor is such a process going to produce faster results. Historically, under compulsory rather than voluntary licensing arrangements, it has taken even legitimate generic manufacturers years to receive the formulas, work out logistical challenges, and scale up production. In one case of compulsory licensing, it [took over four years](https://digitalcommons.law.uga.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1184&context=jipl) to bring a generic AIDS drug to Rwanda. The World Health Organization regularly publishes a list of “essential” medications, the vast majority of which patent protections have long expired. Any generic manufacturer can therefore set itself up producing them. Yet the WHO reports that availability of these medicines in many parts of the developing world remains spotty, at best. The quality of many of these essential medicines is also questionable. Yet none of the drugs on the WHO list are in the same universe of complexity as the Covid-19 vaccines. The patent system is not the problem here. But, some ask, why should private companies enjoy the property rights to innovation driven by government funding? This question likewise misses the mark. In a study of 478 drugs less than [10 percent had a public-sector patent](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/49805993_What_Are_The_Respective_Roles_Of_The_Public_And_Private_Sectors_In_Pharmaceutical_Innovation) associated with it. While providing no gain, compulsory licensing promises lots of pain. Shunting aside patent and intellectual property rights sends a dangerous signal to innovative biopharmaceutical companies and their investors. Biopharmaceutical research is risky. It [costs almost $3 billion](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/26928437/), on average, to bring a single medicine to pharmacy shelves. Biotech investors take these risks because of [strong patent protection](https://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdf/10.1257/jep.27.1.23) like those in the United States. Scientists in America now [develop over half of all new drugs worldwide](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2866602/). It’s important to understand the current advocacy for a “temporary” IP waiver. A small but vocal and influential public health policy cohort believes that IP protections are the most significant cause of global healthcare disparities. Their philosophies repeat and reinforce many misconceptions about the problem of improving global access to medicines. The reality is that, in order to save the world, we must all work together as partners. A free-market healthcare paradigm for drug development, although far from perfect, works. A well-appointed armamentarium of Covid-19 diagnostic tools, therapeutics, and vaccines – all invented in under one year, speaks to the power of today’s innovation ecosystem. That ecosystem is built on IP protections. Right now, under voluntary licensing, global production capacity for Covid vaccines and treatments is expanding and accelerating. **A move to nullify IP will not result in a single resident of the developing world getting vaccinated one minute sooner.**

## innovate

#### Current vaccines fail to solve COVID regardless of distribution – mutations, lack of testing and personnel

Fink 7-30-21

(Jenni, https://www.newsweek.com/who-warns-world-blind-understanding-covid-spread-hurting-ability-end-pandemic-1614722)

A lack of testing for COVID-19 in parts of the world is preventing countries from having a clear picture of how the virus is spreading and therefore hurting the world's chances at fighting the virus and ending the pandemic, according to the World Health Organization. Health inequities throughout the world have plagued the global response to COVID-19 from the outset and WHO has pushed higher income countries to help lower income countries in the interest of ending the pandemic. Along with restricted access to vaccines, lower income countries have struggled to have sufficient testing, meaning the virus is likely going undetected in certain areas, further enabling its ability to spread. Low testing rates is "leaving the world blind to understanding where the disease is and how it's changing," Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, director general of the WHO said on Friday during a press briefing. Without improving global testing rates, Ghebreyesus said the world can't "fight the disease" or mitigate the risk it poses to people around the globe. who blind covid spread cases On Friday, the World Health Organization warned the world is "blind" to how COVID-19 is spreading because of a lack of testing in certain places. WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus attends a daily press briefing on the new coronavirus dubbed COVID-19, at the WHO headquaters on March 2, 2020, in Geneva. FABRICE COFFRINI//AFP/GETTY IMAGES NEWSWEEK NEWSLETTER SIGN-UP > One of Ghebreyesus' biggest frustrations with the pandemic response is the failure to evenly distribute the vaccine around the world. In some countries, like the United States and other higher-income nations, significant portions of the population have been vaccinated. While those large vaccinated populations help reduce the spread of the virus in some areas, other countries, especially those in Africa, haven't been able to vaccinate even 10 percent of their population. This puts the entire world at risk because when the virus is able to spread throughout communities it has the ability to mutate, thereby increasing the possibility that a mutation could evade the vaccines. It's a scenario public health officials have been warning about for months and Ghebreyesus said on Friday that "hard won gains are in jeopardy" or have already been lost because the virus has been able to spread. Nearly 30 countries have high or rising oxygen needs and the shortage of life-saving oxygen could lead to increased deaths. More than 196 million cases of COVID-19 have been reported around the world, according to a Johns Hopkins University tracker, and more than 4.2 million people have died. Ghebreyesus suspected the number of cases would top 200 million within the next two weeks and warned that health systems in many countries are being overwhelmed. Preventing hospitals from exceeding capacity was a massive concern when the pandemic first broke out and a year later, parts of the U.S. are having their health systems strained as the more transmissible Delta variant spreads. On Thursday, Arkansas Governor Asa Hutchinson declared a public health emergency that allows the state to bring in health care workers from outside Arkansas and makes it easier for retired health care workers and medical students to become licensed. The goal is to help alleviate stress on health care systems and Hutchinson said they've had people waiting in ambulances because there wasn't an open spot in a hospital. That strain will only become more exacerbated if a mutation occurs that evades the vaccine, as inoculations have proven effective at helping to keep people out of the hospital. Ghebreyesus warned that more variants will emerge if global access to vaccines and testing doesn't improve. "The pandemic will end when the world chooses to end it. It is in our hands. We have all the tools we need. We can prevent this disease. We can test for it and we can treat it," Ghebreyesus said.

#### Squo solves their harms + plan spills over to other pandemics

Jennings 5-5

[Katie Jennings, staff writer at Forbes covering healthcare, with a focus on digital health and new technologies. Previous healthcare reporter for POLITICO covering the European Union from Brussels and the New Jersey Statehouse from Trenton. Has also written for the Los Angeles Times and Business Insider. Was a 2019-2020 Knight-Bagehot Fellow in business and economics reporting at Columbia University. "Biden Decision To Back Waiving Patents For Covid Vaccines Sparks Industry Backlash," Forbes, 5-5-2021, accessed 8-25-2021, https://www.forbes.com/sites/katiejennings/2021/05/05/biden-decision-to-back-waiving-patents-for-covid-vaccines-sparks-industry-backlash/] HWIC

The U.S. is typically the staunchest defender of intellectual property rights on the international stage, so it was something of a shock when the Biden Administration on Wednesday announced its support for waiving patents on Covid-19 vaccines. “This is a global health crisis, and the extraordinary circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic call for extraordinary measures,” U.S. Trade Representative Katherine Tai said in a statement. “The Administration believes strongly in intellectual property protections, but in service of ending this pandemic, supports the waiver of those protections for Covid-19 vaccines.” The move comes in response to a World Trade Organization proposal led by India and South Africa to suspend some provisions of an international trade agreement in a bid to boost vaccine manufacturing and access, especially in lower- and middle-income countries. But it remains unclear how quickly production could increase, as patents are only one constraint in a complex global supply chain. The pharmaceutical industry was quick to respond, noting that drug manufacturers are already working with governments and nonprofits to provide access to vaccines. Trade groups warned that waiving intellectual property protections would slow down innovation while doing little to actually help meet demand. “This change in longstanding American policy will not save lives. It also flies in the face of President Biden’s stated policy of building up American infrastructure and creating jobs by handing over American innovations to countries looking to undermine our leadership in biomedical discovery,” Steve Ubl, president and CEO of the trade group PhRMA said in a statement. “This decision does nothing to address the real challenges to getting more shots in arms, including last-mile distribution and limited availability of raw materials.” Meanwhile, some global public health experts, like World Health Organization chief Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, embraced the move. “This is a monumental moment in the fight against #Covid-19,” he tweeted, calling it a “powerful example of [American] leadership to address global health challenges.” It remains to be seen how the European Union will respond given the U.S. reversal, given that the bloc typically is a strong defender of intellectual property rights as well (even though there may be some dissent among member countries). “It's absolutely a great day,” says Madhavi Sunder, a professor of law at Georgetown University. “This temporary waiver, in the face of a once in a century pandemic is appropriate, necessary and not a moment too soon. We all hope that now the EU will endorse it soon as well.” Billionaire Mark Cuban, who recently backed a manufacturing company for low-cost generic drugs, also cheered the move and said the Mark Cuban Cost Plus Drugs Company might be interested in helping produce vaccines as a long-term goal, though it doesn’t have the capacity to do so now. “I think it's great,” he told Forbes in an email. “And it's certainly something we would consider if there were unmet demands.” We are extremely disappointed that the Administration has chosen to support waiving critical protections for American ingenuity. Michelle McMurry-Heath, Biotechnology Innovation Organization The Biden administration has come under fire in recent weeks for its “America First” approach to vaccine manufacturing and distribution, especially as countries like India face skyrocketing cases, deaths and a shortage of oxygen and the raw materials needed to manufacture vaccines. There has been a stark difference between the 4.9 billion doses acquired by high-income countries and the less than 3 billion doses for the low- and middle-income countries that make up nearly 85% of the world’s population, according to a Duke University tracker. The U.S. subsequently said it would provide assistance to India. Vaccine manufacturers, including Moderna, NovaVax, AstraZeneca, Pfizer and Johnson & Johnson, have also all pledged billions of doses to Covax, the World Health Organization’s vaccine-sharing program, even though some doses won’t be available until 2022. Historically, the U.S. pharmaceutical industry significantly discounted prices and donated drugs and vaccines in order to avoid low- and middle-income countries invoking compulsory licensing during a public health emergency. Its argument is that weak patent protections would mean there would be no incentive for incredibly costly and time consuming research and development. “We are extremely disappointed that the Administration has chosen to support waiving critical protections for American ingenuity,” Michelle McMurry-Heath, president and CEO of the Biotechnology Innovation Organization, said in a statement. “Handing needy countries a recipe book without the ingredients, safeguards, and sizable workforce needed will not help people waiting for the vaccine.” The World Trade Organization takes a consensus-based approach, so there won’t be an immediate change to vaccine makers’ intellectual property protections, as the negotiations and horse-trading continues, but McMurry-Heath warned waivers would “set a dangerous precedent.” The pharma industry has often warned of a slippery slope effect—once intellectual property rights are eroded, there’s no turning back. “I never thought I would live to see the day the US would use its political muscle to waive IP rights and do so in the face of implacable opposition by the pharmaceutical industry,” says Lawrence Gostin, a professor of global health law at Georgetown University and director of a World Health Organization collaboration center. But he also warned that it could take months to negotiate the text of the agreement and major funding would be needed to provide technical assistance and increase manufacturing in lower income countries.

**Gov funding doesn’t solve – colab needed**

**Atkinson 16** (Robert, PhD City and Regional Planning @ UNC, President of Information Technology and Innovation Foundation. “5 Myths About Life Science Innovation in the United States,” Huffington Post, April 6, 2017. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/5-myths-about-life-scienc\_b\_9517256)

5. **Government could lead drug discovery without industry.** To the extent that left-wing populists acknowledge that cutting into industry’s revenues with price controls or weaker intellectual property protections would lead to lower levels of private R&D, they contend government easily could make up the difference. To that end, they have floated a variety of proposals, from having employers pay medical research fees, to instituting compulsory licensing for drug patents, to simply turning the whole task of research and discovery over to the NIH. There are any number of problems with these proposals, but the first is that **there is no chance Congress would appropriate the necessary funding.** Consider that the NIH budget is about $30 billion, while the U.S. biopharma industry invests more than $50 billion in R&D. Even if the drug populists were correct that half of this funding is unnecessary, taxes would still have to be raised by tens of billions of dollars to cover the gap. Fat chance that will happen in the current environment None of this means the U.S. system is perfect or cannot be improved. It certainly can—for example, by increasing federal funding for NIH (which is lower now than it was as a share of the economy in the mid-2000s); by exploring cooperative research models that focus on particular diseases; and by making the tax code more supportive of high-risk R&D with expanded tax credits and a new “innovation box” that lowers the corporate rate on profits derived from intellectual property. But **policymakers should reject** the **false choice between public-sector leadership and private-sector leadership. America leads the world because its system maximizes the strengths of both**.

## china

#### Text: The People’s Republic of China should offer Chinese developed vaccines and medical technology related to COVID-19 to the world for free

#### The CP massively ramps up Chinese “vaccine diplomacy” which solves the case

#### Only link to LA skep of china is “the tech is better”

Juecheng and Yuwei 8-13-21

(Zhao and Hu, https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202108/1231387.shtml)

One of China’s most valued contributions to the global fair accessibility to COVID-19 vaccines is to enable more developing countries to hone their ability to produce vaccines by themselves, Zha Daojiong, professor of International Political Economy from Peking University, who closely studies the global vaccine equitable allocation framework, told the Global Times in a recent exclusive interview. Sharing his insights on widely discussed “vaccine nationalism,” “wavering vaccine intellectual property,” and “COVAX operation challenges,” Zha believes that China is advocating negotiations among countries on equitable global distribution of vaccines from a humanitarian, and global perspective. China has vowed to make efforts to provide the world with 2 billion doses of COVID-19 vaccines this year and donate $100 million to COVAX to promote global vaccine provision. This commitment comes amid the rampaging Delta variant, which is bringing more challenges for developing countries to access vaccines and combat the pandemic while the West continues to drag its heels in fulfilling its promises. The promise was made at the first meeting of a forum on international cooperation on COVID-19 vaccines held on August 5. Zha suggested that the forum, alongside the Initiative for Belt and Road Partnership on COVID-19 Vaccine Cooperation, reflect China’s efforts to support long-term cooperation in the vaccine industry globally. However, some Western media have labeled China and Russia as the pioneers of the global "vaccine diplomacy" campaign. The choice of vaccines by countries has become the epitome of global geopolitics.   Foreign comments on China using "vaccine diplomacy" in a narrow geopolitical sense reflect the real competition among COVID-19 vaccine providers, Zha told the Global Times. Due to China’s mature vaccine technologies, longer shelf life and lower requirement for storage and transportation, Chinese made vaccines are a more preferable choice for many developing countries with relatively weak vaccination infrastructure . This has been reflected in the approval of Chinese vaccines in more than 100 countries. But the phenomenon of “vaccine nationalism” was never absent in the decision by governments to choose vaccines, Zha suggested. “For example, some countries and regions would include geopolitical factors in choosing vaccines. These countries would reject certain vaccines. Moreover, some media outlets refuse to accept the fact that the professional assessment of vaccine efficacy is also a scientific process. Instead, they made comments on potential vaccines based on their geopolitical interests. This is also a kind of “vaccine nationalism”. Voices blaming “vaccine nationalism” have long been present in developed countries. For instance, Zha recalled how, during the H1N1 pandemic of 2009 which affected more than 200 countries and regions for more than a year, certain developed countries bought out entire stocks of vaccines against H1N1 once they were developed. Though some of those countries had promised to donate vaccines to others after they met their vaccination needs, the virus had long disappeared before their donations were made. Therefore, many in other nations lost the opportunity of a timely vaccination. Providing assistance from one country to another in the field of infectious or non-infectious diseases is often referred to as "health diplomacy." Some international public health research literature support "health diplomacy" because cooperation in this field is conducive to the improvement of political, economic and diplomatic relations, Zha said. China has taken important steps to close the global vaccine gap, including the acceleration of large-scale production, boosting fair distribution, and licensing local production in more countries.

#### Successful vaccine diplomacy is key to overall Chinese Soft Power

Huang, PhD, 3-11-21

(YANZHONG HUANG is Senior Fellow for Global Health at the Council on Foreign Relations, a Professor at Seton Hall University’s School of Diplomacy and International Relations, and Director of the school’s Center for Global Health Studies. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-03-11/vaccine-diplomacy-paying-china )

Vaccines have had a place in diplomacy since the Cold War era. The country that can manufacture and distribute lifesaving injections to others less fortunate sees a return on its investment in the form of soft power: prestige, goodwill, perhaps a degree of indebtedness, even awe. Today the country moving fastest toward consolidating these gains may be China, under President Xi Jinping, who proclaimed last May that Chinese-made vaccines against COVID-19 would become a “global public good.” Since that time, top officials have promised many developing countries priority access to Chinese vaccines, and the Chinese Foreign Ministry has announced that the country is providing free vaccines to 69 countries and commercially exporting them to 28 more. China’s competitors worry that where Beijing’s inoculations go, its influence will follow. But the field of COVID-19 vaccination is still a largely uncharted one and scattered with barriers, whether logistical, scientific, psychological, or geopolitical. China’s path through this labyrinth is neither obvious nor assured. The country faces stiffening competition from Russia and India. Now the United States, too, has entered the global stakes for equitable distribution of safe and effective vaccines. China has yet to prove that it can fulfill the role it has taken on or win the trust of those it has offered to aid. CHINA'S STAKE The Chinese government dislikes the term “vaccine diplomacy.” The implication that China would distribute vaccine doses in order to broaden its global political influence is a “sinister” one, according to the official Xinhua News Agency. Rather, the Chinese government contends that “in promoting cooperation in combating the pandemic, China does not seek any geopolitical goals or have any economic interest considerations, and it has never attached any political strings.” Xi has further stressed that by distributing necessary goods in a crisis, China is merely acting as a responsible great power should. In this regard, China may seek to succeed with vaccines where it failed with masks: last spring, quality-control issues and clumsy propaganda tarnished the country’s efforts to supply medical products to the developed world. Now China is looking to showcase its global health leadership to lower- and middle-income countries, where it is distributing vaccines. But Beijing surely has additional foreign policy objectives in mind. China began its vaccine development projects early last spring, and state media made quite clear that through them, China hoped to demonstrate its technological prowess and the superiority of its authoritarian model of governance. “We are not lagging behind the United States as far as the technology is concerned,” a Chinese virologist told the state-backed Global Times. Another scientist highlighted China’s “system advantages”: “The United States is no match for China in terms of concentrating power to accomplish big things.” Indeed, unlike in the United States, vaccine development in China was a highly state-driven process. The Chinese government simultaneously pushed several technological approaches, including inactivated vaccines, mRNA vaccines, and adenovirus vector vaccines. It mobilized at least 22 institutes and firms to work on 17 vaccine development projects. And until last summer, China was leading the global race in vaccine development. It developed a vaccine (Ad5-nCoV) as early as February 2020, started Phase 1 clinical trials on March 16, and published results of the trials in late May. General Chen Wei, the face of China’s vaccine development operation, celebrated such achievements as “an embodiment of our country’s S&T progress, an embodiment of China’s great-power image and responsibility, and, even more, a contribution to humankind.” Behind such lofty goals lie commercial objectives, too. Health-related development assistance has long offered Chinese pharmaceutical companies a low-cost means of expanding their market share in the developing world. In March 2020, President Xi explicitly linked the shipment of medical supplies overseas to the “Health Silk Road,” now an important component of the Belt and Road Initiative. Xiaofeng Liang, a former deputy director of the Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention, has publicly called for prioritizing BRI countries for access to Chinese vaccines. But the opportunity hardly ends there. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, few Chinese pharmaceutical companies had received World Health Organization prequalification to supply medical products to international organizations and donor funds. In 2019, China’s share in the value of UN-procured medical products was only 1.9 percent, compared with 21.9 percent for India. Chinese media lamented that of the 155 WHO-prequalified vaccines, only four were from China, compared with 44 from India. Indeed, Indian pharmaceutical firms produced more than 60 percent of the vaccines sold worldwide. The huge global demand for COVID-19 vaccines and “vaccine nationalism” in wealthy nations have created a great opportunity for China to break into a market that Indian and Western pharmaceutical firms have long dominated. If the vaccine were priced at $10 per dose with a 40 percent net profit margin, even a 15 percent share of the vaccine market in lower- and middle-income countries would generate total sales of $10.8 billion and a profit of $4.32 billion for the Chinese economy. In reality, Chinese vaccines are often priced higher than $10.

#### Chinese leadership stops global secessionist conflict

Griffiths 16 **-** Senior Lecturer in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney (Ryan, States, Nations, and Territorial Stability: Why Chinese Hegemony Would Be Better for International Order, Security Studies, 25:3, 519-545, DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2016.1195628)

I began the article by claiming that the Pax Sinica would be better for international order. In making this claim I define “better” in narrow terms emphasizing territorial stability, which can be assessed in several ways. How often do either external aggressors or internal separatists shift sovereign borders through violence? What is the frequency of secessionist civil war? How much international discord is there on the topic of secession and recognition? This is the ledger I use when comparing the Pax Sinica with the post-1945 American-led order. There are many other factors, to be sure, and critics might point to a number of ways in which Chinese hegemony would be worse. For example, they may question the support for human rights under Chinese leadership. I do not argue that Chinese hegemony would be better in all ways—there are pros and cons to any order—but I contend that there are net benefits where territorial stability is concerned. Analyzed under these terms the key differences between the American order and the imagined Chinese order have to do with the politics of secession and sovereign recognition. International order matters because it determines diplomatic practices and shapes behavior. It sets the rules of the game. The American-led order over the last seventy years has attempted to balance the norms of territorial integrity and self-determination by establishing rules for what nations are eligible for independence. But, as Fabry notes, that is an enormously challenging project because developing clear rules that separate the lucky from the unlucky requires that states derive agreed-upon criteria in a constitutive process.73 Given the politics and conflicting principles of international life (and the evolving nature of normative arguments), inconsistency, ambiguity, and accusations of hypocrisy are unavoidable. The resulting political space creates uncertainty for states and nationalist movements over when self-determination applies and when it should be subordinated to territorial integrity. Incidents like the Ukrainian crisis cast a shadow over separatist crises elsewhere. The leadership in Azerbaijan detects double standards in American policy, wondering why it “punishes Russia for annexing Crimea, but not Armenia for similar behavior in Karabakh.”74 Such uncertainly can makes states feel vulnerable, as it has in Azerbaijan, change the incentives for key actors, and increase the chance of conflict. Secessionist civil war is a common feature of contemporary times. Scholars estimate that at least half of the civil wars since 1945 have involved secessionism, and Barbara F. Walter argues that secessionism is the chief source of violence in the world today.75 Erica Chenowith and Maria Stephan find that secessionism is one of the few (if only) forms of political protest where violent tactics are more effective than nonviolent.76 Meanwhile, Tanisha Fazal and I identify fifty-five secessionist movements as of 2011 and record that many of these movements feel they have a reasonable chance of gaining independence in light of the somewhat flexible practices surrounding recognition.77 Given the strategic environment in which secessionists operate, where violence can be effective and where sovereignty is thought to be obtainable, it should come as no surprise that conflict is common. In regard to territorial stability, the concern of contemporary times is not traditional territorial conquest, but the threat posed by state fragmentation.78 This is where Chinese hegemony ought to improve international order.

#### 4. solves case because makes chinese vac dip no longer fail in latin america and It solves for covid in the rest of the world. Soft power is different from sharp/traditional heg and prevents their extinction scenario on the second advantage.

## threat

#### CP: The member nations of the WTO ought to threaten [to reduce IP for COVID related medicines]

#### Threat of waiver is distinct from action and avoids any disads therefore competitive

**Zarocostas quoting Appleton 5/22**

~John, Geneva-based independent international correspondent and broadcaster; Arthur, adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University, May 22, 2021, The Lancet, Vol 397, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01151-X//lhs-ap~~](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01151-X/lhs-ap~~)

“Even if a waiver is approved, there may still be bottlenecks related to production capacity, distribution, and the production of raw materials and equipment used to manufacture package and transport vaccines”, said Appleton. “Of course, just the threat of a waiver may help drive down the cost of vaccines, therapeutics, and diagnostic tools, and result in increased access in the developing world. The threat may also lead to voluntary licensing agreements on terms favourable to developing countries.”

## case

#### Reducing IP rights aren’t quick enough to help the pandemic – legal battles slow the process – experts agree

Smith 05/05

(Laura Smith-Spark; Newsdesk Editor, CNN Digital; (05-05-21) Rich nations urged to share vaccine knowledge while WTO debates waiving patents; CNN; <https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/05/world/covid-19-vaccine-patents-wto-intl/index.html>; CKD)

But even as public pressure grows, some experts argue that handing over the IP rights for Covid-19 vaccines won't necessarily mean that more can be rapidly produced worldwide at large scale. US infectious diseases chief Anthony Fauci [told the UK's Financial Times](https://www.ft.com/content/2f41b122-5738-4707-a822-0d79276710c5) on Monday that he was not convinced that forcing companies to share their intellectual property was the most effective approach, warning that legal battles could slow the process. "Going back and forth, consuming time and lawyers in a legal argument about waivers -- that is not the endgame. People are dying around the world and we have to get vaccines into their arms in the fastest and most efficient way possible," he said.

#### No covid extinction

#### Covid-19 is being brought under control now—vaccination efforts, immunity, etc

Byjillian **Kramer,** 8-06-20**21**,

"How will the pandemic end? The science of past outbreaks offers clues.," Science, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/article/how-will-the-pandemic-end-the-science-of-past-outbreaks-offers-clues>

When the worldwide spread of a disease is brought under control in a localized area, it’s no longer a pandemic but an epidemic, according to the WHO. If COVID-19 persists globally at what the WHO judges to be “expected or normal levels,” the organization will then re-designate the disease “endemic.” At that stage, SARS-CoV-2 will become a circulating virus that’s “less consequential as we build immunity,” says [Saad Omer](https://medicine.yale.edu/yigh/profile/saad_omer/), an epidemiologist and director of the Yale Institute for Global Health. ([Read more about how we’ll live with COVID-19 as an endemic disease](https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/article/covid-19-will-likely-be-with-us-forever-heres-how-well-live-with-it).) Only [two diseases](https://asm.org/Articles/2020/March/Disease-Eradication-What-Does-It-Take-to-Wipe-out) in recorded history that affect humans or other animals have ever been eradicated: smallpox, a life-threatening disease for people that covers bodies in painful blisters, and rinderpest, a viral malady that infected and killed cattle. In both instances, intensive global vaccination campaigns brought new infections to a halt. The [last confirmed case of rinderpest](https://www.theguardian.com/science/2010/oct/14/rinderpest-virus-eradicated) was detected in Kenya in 2001, while the [last known smallpox case](https://www.cdc.gov/smallpox/history/history.html) occurred in the U.K. in 1978. [Joshua Epstein](https://publichealth.nyu.edu/faculty/joshua-epstein), professor of epidemiology in the New York University School of Global Public Health and founding director of its Agent-Based Modeling Laboratory, argues that eradication is so rare that the word should be wiped from our disease vocabulary. Diseases “retreat to their animal reservoirs, or they mutate at low levels,” he says. “But they don’t typically literally disappear from the global biome.” There is no one definition of what the end of a pandemic means. RACHAEL PILTCH-LOEBHARVARD T.H. CHAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH Most causes of past pandemics are still with us today. More than [3,000 people caught the bacteria that cause both bubonic and pneumonic plague](https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/plague) between 2010 and 2015, according to the WHO. And the virus behind the 1918 flu pandemic that ravaged the globe, killing at least 50 million people, ultimately morphed into less lethal variants, with its [descendants becoming strains of the seasonal flu](https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/nejmp0904819). As with the 1918 flu, it’s likely the SARS-CoV-2 virus will continue to mutate, and the human immune system would eventually adapt to fend it off without shots—but not before many people fell ill and died. “Developing immunity the hard way is not a solution that we should be aspiring to,” Omer says. Finding ways to slow the spread of a disease and manage its effects is by far the safer path, experts say. Today, for instance, pest control and advanced hygiene keep the plague at bay, while any new cases can be treated with antibiotics. For other diseases, such as the flu, vaccines can also make a difference. The available COVID-19 vaccines are highly safe and effective, which means getting enough people vaccinated can end this pandemic faster and with lower mortality than natural infections alone. Why we need vaccines for all WHO Director Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus last week reinstated a goal of vaccinating at least 10 percent of every nation’s population by September, with the loftier goal of reaching 40 percent global inoculation by year’s end and 70 percent by mid-2022.

#### Tech transfer is key and not included under IP

Smith 05/05

(Laura Smith-Spark; Newsdesk Editor, CNN Digital; (05-05-21) Rich nations urged to share vaccine knowledge while WTO debates waiving patents; CNN; <https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/05/world/covid-19-vaccine-patents-wto-intl/index.html>; CKD)

Thomas Bollyky, director of the Global Health Program at the Council on Foreign Relations, told CNN on Friday that what's really needed to scale up global manufacturing of vaccines is technology transfer. "It's not just a matter of intellectual property. It's also the transfer of know-how," he said. "I don't think there's clear evidence that a waiver of an intellectual property is going to be the best way for that technology transfer to occur." Waiving patents will not work in the same way for vaccines as it has for drugs, Bollyky said. For HIV drugs, for example, manufacturers were more or less able to reverse engineer them without much help from the original developer. "It's very different for vaccines, where it's really a biological process as much as a product. It's hard to scale up manufacturing in this process for the original company, let alone another manufacturer trying to figure this out without assistance," he said. "It requires a lot of knowledge that's not part of the IP." The deal between AstraZeneca and the Serum Institute of India is a successful example of such technology transfer, Bollyky said, where the licensing of IP happened voluntarily. "The question is what can we do to facilitate more deals like the one between AstraZeneca and the Serum Institute of India to have this transfer," he said. Michael Head, senior research fellow in global health at the University of Southampton, in England, told CNN that increasing regional manufacturing capacity, particularly in the global south, was key -- and should be a focus between pandemics. "Sharing intellectual property during the pandemic is something that should happen but that doesn't resolve the issues," he said. "Manufacturing vaccines is hard. It's hard to rapidly set up a new site with all the equipment, infrastructure, all the vaccine ingredients, with suitable staff to produce a large number of high quality vaccine products." Philanthropist Bill Gates, a major supporter of [global Covid-19 vaccine equity](https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/05/world/covax-explainer-intl/index.html) through the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, also [told Sky News](https://news.sky.com/story/covid-19-bill-gates-hopeful-world-completely-back-to-normal-by-end-of-2022-and-vaccine-sharing-to-ramp-up-12285840) last month that he did not believe overriding IP rules was the answer. "There's only so many vaccine factories in the world and people are very serious about the safety of vaccines," he said. "The thing that's holding things back in this case is not intellectual property. There's not, like, some idle vaccine factory with regulatory approval that makes magically safe vaccines. You've got to do the trials on these things and every manufacturing process has to be looked at in a very careful way."

#### Aff doesn’t attack all of the root causes of disease spread

Brant & Burns 7-29-21 [Jennifer Brant, CEO and Founder of Innovation Insights, and Thaddeus Burns, Head of Life Science Government & Public Affairs at Merck and served in senior positions at the US Department of Commerce and the White House Office of the US Trade Representative, served as a member of the National Academy of Sciences Committee charged with preparing a report on the science and technology capabilities of the U.S. Department of State. “Trade restrictions are delaying the COVID response. The WTO must act.” July 29, 2021. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/07/wto-members-must-launch-new-work-to-reinforce-the-covid-response-in-november/>] AL

The COVID-19 pandemic hit at a time when bio-manufacturing was undergoing a process of democratization. Technological progress had enabled growing capacity in many countries including Brazil, Indonesia, South Africa, Tunisia, Argentina, and Egypt. By 2020, the business model for bio-manufacturing had fundamentally changed and it was becoming the norm for companies to distribute research, development and manufacturing across geographies and work with partners. As recently as 15 years ago, building a facility to produce biologics such as monoclonal antibodies or vaccines could require an investment of as much as €500m, and it would take up to 3 years to bring that facility online. New manufacturing technologies have made it cheaper and easier to build new facilities and to scale up existing ones. Today, an investment of €20m can get a bio-manufacturing plant up and running. Such changes are part of the reason the global community was able to launch production of new COVID-19 vaccines so quickly. The urgency of COVID-19 accelerated further innovations in bio-manufacturing equipment and processes, and compressed production time in a way that will have positive impacts in the future. But the pandemic also revealed major weaknesses in global value chains. It was difficult for manufacturers to keep up with the sudden surge for demand for raw materials and equipment, as many new research and development and manufacturing partnerships rapidly took off. To extend capacity, new employees, intensive training and collaboration, and more infrastructure were needed. The global community was faced with the reality that facilities cannot be built everywhere in an instant, and that there are bottlenecks in the supply chain. Government action in some cases made things worse. Some countries enacted export restrictions on COVID-related products, which made it extremely difficult to run a global supply chain. Another difficult issue has been the tariffs applied on biologics and the products needed for their manufacture. Eighteen months into the pandemic, biologics manufacturers are still trying to cope with a range of challenges. There is still surging demand for equipment and raw materials. In some cases, they have expanded manufacturing capacity to produce more equipment such as filters and bioreactors. This continues to require time and significant investments.

#### The TRIPS agreement and cheap vaccines in the squo solve the aff--independently, lack of manufacturing power and licensing transparency deck solvency.

Mercurio 21 (Bryan Mercurio [Simon F.S. Li Professor of Law at The Chinese University of Hong Kong], WTO WAIVER FROM INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY PROTECTION FOR COVID19 VACCINES AND TREATMENTS: A CRITICAL REVIEW, Virginia Journal of International Law, <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3789820>, 2/12/2021) hwof

A WTO waiver is an extreme measure which should only be used when existing WTO obligations prove inadequate. This was the case in relation to the compulsory licencing provisions under Article 31 of the TRIPS Agreement, which essentially precluded Members with no or inadequate manufacturing capabilities from making use of the flexibility granted in the TRIPS Agreement. 25 This was also the case with the Kimberley Process, which attempts to eliminate trade in “conflict diamonds”. 26 Although the IP waiver proposal states that “there are several reports about intellectual property rights hindering or potentially hindering timely provisioning of affordable medical products to the patients”, 27 the sponsors did not provide further elaboration or evidence to support their declaration that “many countries especially developing countries may face institutional and legal difficulties when using flexibilities available [under the TRIPS Agreement]”. 28 Instead, many of the examples used by India and South Africa point to problems not with the TRIPS Agreement but rather to failures at the domestic level. As mentioned above, the WTO allowed for the importation of medicines under a compulsory licence in 2003, and yet many developing countries have yet to put in place any framework to allow their country to make use of the flexibility. 29 This is not an institutional problem of the international system but rather a problem at the country level. Two additional factors which make the proposed waiver unnecessary and potentially harmful. First, pharmaceutical companies are selling the vaccine at extremely reasonable rates and several announced plans for extensive not-for-profit sales.30 Although agreements between the pharmaceutical companies and governments are not publicly disclosed, the Belgian Secretary of State Eva De Bleeker temporarily made publicly available in a tweet the prices the EU is being charged by each manufacturer. The De Bleeker tweet indicated the European Commission negotiated price arrangements with six companies, with the range of spending between €1.78 and €18 per coronavirus vaccine dosage. Specific price per dose listed for each of the six vaccines was as follows: Oxford/AstraZeneca: (€1.78), Johnson & Johnson (€8.50), Sanofi/GSK (€7.56), CureVac (€10), BioNTech/Pfizer (€12) and Moderna (€18).31 While much as been made of the fact that South Africa agreed to purchase 1.5 million doses of the Oxford/AstraZeneca from the Serum Institute of India (SII) at a cost of €4.321 per dose,32 these criticisms are directed at the lack of transparency in pharmaceutical licenses and production contracts – an issue which would be wholly unaddressed by a waiver of IPRs. Moreover, while the disparity in pricing is concerning the overall per dosage rate South Africa is paying nevertheless represents value for money given the expected health and economic returns on investment. Despite the disparity in pricing between nations, the larger point remains that the industry has not only rapidly produced vaccines for the novel coronavirus but is making them available at unquestionably reasonable prices. Second, the proposed waiver will do nothing to address the problem of lack of capacity or the transfer of technology and goodwill. Pharmaceutical companies have not applied for patents in the majority of developing countries – in such countries, any manufacturer is free to produce and market the vaccine inside the territory of that country or to export the vaccine to other countries where patents have not been filed.33 Patents cannot be the problem in the countries where no patent applications have been filed, but the lack of production in such countries points to the real problem – these countries lack manufacturing capacity and capability.

#### Chinese leadership solves extinction. (sry abt formatting)

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 state in 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.