### 1

#### Interpretation: The aff must defend that member nations reduce intellectual property protections for all medicines; violation: they specify COVID-19 medicines

#### The upward entailment test and adverb test determine the genericity of a bare plural

Leslie and Lerner 16 [Sarah-Jane Leslie, Ph.D., Princeton, 2007. Dean of the Graduate School and Class of 1943 Professor of Philosophy. Served as the vice dean for faculty development in the Office of the Dean of the Faculty, director of the Program in Linguistics, and founding director of the Program in Cognitive Science at Princeton University. Adam Lerner, PhD Philosophy, Postgraduate Research Associate, Princeton 2018. From 2018, Assistant Professor/Faculty Fellow in the Center for Bioethics at New York University. Member of the [Princeton Social Neuroscience Lab](http://psnlab.princeton.edu/).] “Generic Generalizations.” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. April 24, 2016. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/> TG

1. Generics and Logical Form

In English, generics can be expressed using a variety of syntactic forms: bare plurals (e.g., “tigers are striped”), indefinite singulars (e.g., “a tiger is striped”), and definite singulars (“the tiger is striped”). However, none of these syntactic forms is dedicated to expressing generic claims; each can also be used to express existential and/or specific claims. Further, some generics express what appear to be generalizations over individuals (e.g., “tigers are striped”), while others appear to predicate properties directly of the kind (e.g., “dodos are extinct”). These facts and others give rise to a number of questions concerning the logical forms of generic statements.

1.1 Isolating the Generic Interpretation

Consider the following pairs of sentences:

(1)a.Tigers are striped.

b.Tigers are on the front lawn.

(2)a.A tiger is striped.

b.A tiger is on the front lawn.

(3)a.The tiger is striped.

b.The tiger is on the front lawn.

The sentence pairs above are prima facie syntactically parallel—both are subject-predicate sentences whose subjects consist of the same common noun coupled with the same, or no, article. However, the interpretation of first sentence of each pair is intuitively quite different from the interpretation of the second sentence in the pair. In the second sentences, we are talking about some particular tigers: a group of tigers in ([1b](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1b)), some individual tiger in ([2b](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex2b)), and some unique salient or familiar tiger in ([3b](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex3b))—a beloved pet, perhaps. In the first sentences, however, we are saying something general. There is/are no particular tiger or tigers that we are talking about.

The second sentences of the pairs receive what is called an existential interpretation. The hallmark of the existential interpretation of a sentence containing a bare plural or an indefinite singular is that it may be paraphrased with “some” with little or no change in meaning; hence the terminology “existential reading”. The application of the term “existential interpretation” is perhaps less appropriate when applied to the definite singular, but it is intended there to cover interpretation of the definite singular as referring to a unique contextually salient/familiar particular individual, not to a kind.

There are some tests that are helpful in distinguishing these two readings. For example, the existential interpretation is upward entailing, meaning that the statement will always remain true if we replace the subject term with a more inclusive term. Consider our examples above. In ([1b](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1b)), we can replace “tiger” with “animal” salva veritate, but in ([1a](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1a)) we cannot. If “tigers are on the lawn” is true, then “animals are on the lawn” must be true. However, “tigers are striped” is true, yet “animals are striped” is false. ([1a](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1a)) does not entail that animals are striped, but ([1b](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1b)) entails that animals are on the front lawn (Lawler 1973; Laca 1990; Krifka et al. 1995).

Another test concerns whether we can insert an adverb of quantification with minimal change of meaning (Krifka et al. 1995). For example, inserting “usually” in the sentences in ([1a](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1a)) (e.g., “tigers are usually striped”) produces only a small change in meaning, while inserting “usually” in ([1b](https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/generics/#ex1b)) dramatically alters the meaning of the sentence (e.g., “tigers are usually on the front lawn”). (For generics such as “mosquitoes carry malaria”, the adverb “sometimes” is perhaps better used than “usually” to mark off the generic reading.)

#### It applies to “Medicines” – adding “generally” to the res doesn’t substantially change its meaning because the res never specified further

#### Vote negative:

#### 1] Precision – they justify arbitrarily mooting words in the resolution at their own whim in order to justify some potentially good interp.

#### Semantics outweighs:

#### [a] Lexical priority – it doesn’t matter if their interp if the debate is not pertinent i.e. it might me more educational for me to study for AP physics, outweighs since the topic constrains what pragmatics are relevant.

#### [b] Pragmatics are always subject to debate – empirically proven since there’s no consensus on whether NIBs are truly fair – but you can’t BS textual accuracy so semantics serves as an objective constraint on the aff.

#### 2] Limits and ground – their model allows affs to defend any medicine which explodes neg prep bc theres an infinite amount I can’t prepare for, like covid-19 vaccines, influenza, common colds, Marijuana, etc. and they all bracket out different DA’s

#### 3] TVA: Read a whole res aff with the same advantage

### 2

#### Member nations of the World Trade Organization, except the United States, should reduce intellectual property protections for COVID-19 medicines, as per the request by India and South Africa to the WTO.

#### The USFG should:

#### Supply multinational pharmaceutical corporations with generous financial inducements to build vaccine production capacity throughout the world

#### Create a network of producers to vaccinate individuals abroad

#### Pass legislation that limits shareholder suits

#### Strip existing patents from companies that do not comply with capacity-building strategies through tech transfer

Kay et. al. 5/13 [Tamara Kay is a sociologist studying trade, global health and globalization at the Keough School of Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame. Adnan Naseemullah is an international relations scholar at King's College London. Susan Ostermann is a political scientist at the Keough School of Global Affairs, Notre Dame and a former attorney at O'Melveny & Myers LLP, specializing in intellectual property law.) “Waiving patents isn't enough — we need technology transfer to defeat COVID” The Hil, Opinion Contributors: Healthcare, 5/13/21, 2:01 PM EDT, <https://thehill.com/opinion/healthcare/553368-waiving-patents-isnt-enough-we-need-technology-transfer-to-defeat-covid?rl=1>] RM

Fortunately, the U.S. government is well-placed to change the incentive structure of the global pharmaceutical industry. First, **it can supply multinationals with generous financial inducements to build capacity for vaccine production throughout the world, creating a network of producers that can vaccinate hundreds of millions, with positive spillover effects moving forward**. This is particularly compelling as it becomes increasingly likely that COVID-19 booster shots and even annual vaccines will be necessary. Such an effort would need to be paired with legislation that limits shareholder suits, because few corporate managers will want to be responsible for moves that, while clearly in the public interest, undermine shareholder value.

And, if necessary, the U.S. government can also use pressure. Companies that won't comply with capacity-building strategies through technology transfer can be stripped of existing patents for lucrative drugs. This is a move that international relations scholars call "issue-linkage." The state provides intellectual property protection as an incentive. It can be taken away in the same way that property owners refusing to pay taxes can lose their property.

Capacity-building for pharmaceutical production in the developing world is crucial given the pandemic and the need for global vaccination, now and in response to future threats. India's path to becoming a world-leading and cost-effective pharmaceutical manufacturer came initially from challenging the global intellectual property regime. In the 1970s, Indira Gandhi's populist government introduced a Patent Act which allowed companies to design alternative processes for popular products, spurring huge investments in production and innovation. Multinational pharma opposed this action, even though the same companies rely on the Indian pharmaceutical industry for production under license now. The reason why many medicines taken in the West are made by Indian firms is because of capacity-building. The fact that few countries have followed India as a global producer of pharmaceuticals is the result of politics just as much as economics — there is no reason why other countries cannot follow in India’s footsteps with the right support.

### 3

#### Infrastructure will pass now – dems are just touching up details

Duehren 10/29 [Andrew Duehren covers Congress and U.S. politics from The Wall Street Journal's Washington bureau. October 29, 2021. “Democrats Tackle Final Details of Biden’s $1.85 Trillion Framework” [https://www.wsj.com/articles/democrats-tackle-final-details-of-bidens-1-85-trillion-framework-11635536447 Accessed 10/29](https://www.wsj.com/articles/democrats-tackle-final-details-of-bidens-1-85-trillion-framework-11635536447%20Accessed%2010/29) //gord0]

WASHINGTON—Democrats turned to finalizing the details of President Biden’s [$1.85 trillion social-spending and climate framework](https://www.wsj.com/articles/democrats-budget-plan-what-11626301275?mod=article_inline), with some lawmakers pushing to add [measures lowering prescription drug prices](https://www.wsj.com/articles/lawmakers-push-to-include-medicare-drug-pricing-provision-in-biden-plan-11635516651?mod=article_inline) and repealing [a cap on the state and local tax deduction](https://www.wsj.com/articles/democrats-salt-tax-cap-high-earners-11635460218?mod=article_inline).

The White House [released the framework on Thursday](https://www.wsj.com/articles/biden-to-release-new-framework-on-1-75-trillion-social-spending-and-climate-package-11635422127?mod=article_inline) in a bid to quickly resolve the push-and-pull between the party’s progressive and centrist members, hoping to show progress on Mr. Biden’s agenda as he headed overseas for [a major climate conference](https://www.wsj.com/articles/cop26-glasgow-2021-un-climate-conference-11611254971?mod=article_inline).

House Speaker [Nancy Pelosi](https://www.wsj.com/topics/person/nancy-pelosi) (D., Calif.) used the framework to push for an immediate vote on [a parallel, roughly $1 trillion infrastructure bill](https://www.wsj.com/articles/infrastructure-bill-2021-what-11627515002?mod=article_inline) that progressives have held up for months to ensure movement on the social-spending and climate legislation. Progressives endorsed the framework Thursday, but continued to block the infrastructure vote, saying they needed more time to review the proposal and translate it into legislative text.

Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D., Wash.), the chairwoman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, said she thought House Democrats could move forward with a vote on both pieces of legislation next week.

“We got to the best possible place we could get to, and now we’re ready to pass both bills through the House,” she told CNN Friday, saying votes could come within days.

Ms. Jayapal said that progressives support the legislation as it is laid out in the framework, which calls for funding for universal prekindergarten, child-care subsidies and a series of tax credits incentivizing reduced carbon emissions, among other measures. Democrats dropped several progressive priorities, including [a national paid-leave program](https://www.wsj.com/articles/manchin-calls-billionaires-tax-convoluted-as-democrats-seek-deal-11635352886?mod=article_inline), during the talks.

“I think we’ve made a lot of progress in a short amount of time,” said Rep. Colin Allred (D., Texas) on MSNBC Friday. “The main things have been ironed out. And now we just have to have the confidence in each other basically to take the votes.”

#### The plan decks PC that could be used on infrastructure

Bhadrakumar 5/11 [M.K. Bhadrakumar is a former Indian diplomat*.* May 11, 2021. “[Why Biden’s Vaccine IP Waiver is Political Theatre](https://www.counterpunch.org/2021/05/11/why-bidens-vaccine-ip-waiver-is-political-theatre/)” <https://www.counterpunch.org/2021/05/11/why-bidens-vaccine-ip-waiver-is-political-theatre/> Accessed 8/27 //gord0]

India’s Ministry of External Affairs has [welcomed](https://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/33848/Statement_on_the_US_support_for_TRIPS_Waiver) the statement of the US government of 5th May announcing their support for a relaxation in the norms of the agreement on TRIPS, to ensure quick and affordable access to vaccines and medicines for developing countries. Delhi is “hopeful that with a consensus based approach, the waiver can be approved quickly at the WTO.” But is the optimism warranted? The [US statement](https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2021/may/statement-ambassador-katherine-tai-covid-19-trips-waiver) itself is cautiously worded and is non-committal. It only says, “We will actively participate in text-based negotiations at the World Trade Organization (WTO) needed to make that happen. Those negotiations will take time given the consensus-based nature of the institution and the complexity of the issues involved.” The Biden administration’s emphasis continues to be on “our vaccine supply for the American people.” It is an America First strategy. President Biden has plans to at least partially vaccinate 70% of adults by July 4 so that herd immunity develops that will help the level of new infections to drop. Biden’s decision on the TRIPS waiver can only be seen as a political decision. A Reuters report says citing informed sources, “Wednesday’s decision allows Washington to be responsive to the demands of the (American) left and developing countries, while using WTO negotiations to narrow the scope of the waiver. Since the negotiations will take time, the decision also buys time to boost vaccine supplies through more conventional means.” In effect, the Biden Administration is juggling several balls in the air. On the one hand, the progressive left in the US politics, including Sen. Bernie Sanders and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in the Democratic Party, has been demanding TRIPS waiver for Covid vaccines; equally, developing countries, supported by the WHO and the UN, are also demanding the waiver; India, a key Indo-Pacific ally of the US, was the initiator of the proposal on TRIPS waiver back in December; and, in principle, Biden Administration is committed to “multilateralism.” On the other hand, Biden whose political life of half a century was largely spent in the US Congress, is well aware of the awesome clout of the pharmaceutical companies in American politics. From that lobby’s perspective, the patent waiver “amounts to the expropriation of the property of the pharmaceutical companies whose innovation and financial investments made the development of Covid-19 vaccines possible in the first place,” as a senior scholar at the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security puts it. The US pharmaceutical industry and congressional Republicans have already [gone on the offensive](https://www.newsweek.com/waiving-intellectual-property-protection-what-could-go-wrong-opinion-1589273) blasting Biden’s announcement saying it undermines incentives for American innovation. Besides, the argument goes, even with the patent waiver, vaccine manufacturing is a complex process and is not like simply flipping a switch. Sen. Richard Burr, the top Republican on the US Senate Health Committee, has denounced Biden’s decision: “Intellectual property protections are part of the reason we have these life-saving products; stripping these protections only ensures we won’t have the vaccines or treatments we need when the next pandemic occurs.” The Republican senators backed by Republican Study Committee Chairman Jim Banks propose to introduce legislation to block the move. Clearly, Biden would rather spend his political capital on getting the necessary legislation through the Congress to advance his domestic reform agenda rather than spend time and energy to take on the pharmaceutical industry to burnish his image as a good Samaritan on the world stage. Conceivably, Biden could be counting on the “text-based negotiations” at the WTO dragging on for months, if not years, without reaching anywhere. The US support for the waiver could even be a tactic to convince pharmaceutical firms to back less drastic steps like sharing technology and expanding joint ventures to quickly boost global production. So far Covid-19 vaccines have been distributed primarily to the wealthy countries that developed them, while the pandemic sweeps through poorer ones, such as India and the real goal is, after all, expanded vaccine distribution. Biden is well aware that there will be huge opposition to the TRIPS waiver from the US’ European allies as well. The British press has reported that the UK has been in closed-door talks at the World Trade Organization in recent months along with the likes of Australia, Canada, Japan, Norway, Singapore, the European Union and the US, who all opposed the idea.

#### Biden’s PC is what got it through the Senate, and its key now.

Smith and Gambino 10/1 [David Smith is the Guardian's Washington DC bureau chief. Lauren Gambino is political correspondent for Guardian US, based in Washington DC. October 1, 2021. “Biden upbeat on rare Capitol Hill visit but domestic agenda hangs in jeopardy” [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/oct/01/democrats-congress-biden-infrastructure-talks Accessed 10/25](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/oct/01/democrats-congress-biden-infrastructure-talks%20Accessed%2010/25) //gord0]

Democrats returned to the Capitol on Friday deeply divided but determined to make progress on Joe Biden’s ambitious economic vision, after an embarrassing setback delayed a planned vote on a related $1tn measure to improve the nation’s infrastructure.

Biden on Friday made a rare visit to Capitol Hill to meet privately with House Democrats amid a stalemate that has put his sprawling domestic agenda in jeopardy. The visit comes after after the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi, [delayed a vote on part of his economic agenda,](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/sep/30/biden-nancy-pelosi-infrastructure-bill) a bipartisan $1tn public works measure, on Thursday night after a frantic day of negotiations failed to produce a deal.

“We’re going to get this thing done,” Biden said, as he exited the caucus room. “It doesn’t matter when – it doesn’t matter whether it’s in six minutes, six days, or six weeks – we’re going to get it done.”

Earlier in the day, Pelosi promised that there would be a “vote today” on the measure, an ambitious timeline that would require Democrats first reaching a compromise on the broader piece of Biden’s agenda that virtually every member of the party in both the House and Senate could support. But a resolution before the weekend appeared unlikely as Democrats remained deeply at odds over the scale and structure of a more expansive package containing containing a host of progressive priorities, provisions to expand health care access, establish paid leave, combat climate change and reduce poverty – all underwritten by tax increases on wealthy Americans and corporations.

Democrats are trying to score a major legislative victory with razor-thin majorities in both chambers. Failure would deny Biden much of his domestic agenda, leaving the party with little to show for their time controlling the White House, the Senate and House – a governing trifecta they last enjoyed in 2010.

Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia has proposed a spending package of about $1.5tn – less than half the size of the proposal put forward by the president and Democratic leaders. Another Democratic centrist, Senator Kyrsten Sinema, declined to say whether she agreed with Manchin’s proposal.

The wrangling resumed in the House on Friday morning, which, due to a quirk of process, [remained](https://twitter.com/HouseDailyPress/status/1443770307903475712) in the legislative day of 30 September even as the calendar turned to October.

Huddled together in an hours-long caucus meeting, Pelosi tried to steer the feuding factions within her party toward common ground after Thursday’s marathon negotiating session generated deepening acrimony and no deal.

Congresswoman Pramila Jayapal, chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, emerged from the morning gathering optimistic that Democrats would eventually pass both bills. But she remained firm in her position – and confident in her members – that there the infrastructure bill would not move forward without assurances that the Senate would pass Biden’s larger bill.

“We’ve seen more progress in the last 48 hours than we’ve seen in a long time on reconciliation,” she said, crediting progressives’ infrastructure revolt for forcing Manchin and Sinema to the negotiating table.

The decision to postpone the infrastructure vote was seen as a victory for progressives who were unwavering in their resolve to “hold the line” and vote against the bill unless they received “ironclad” commitments that Biden’s proposed $3.5tn social and environmental package would also pass.

Many progressives also say they will withhold support for the infrastructure bill until the Senate passes the second piece of Biden’s economic agenda, legislation that has yet to be written. Jayapal made clear this was her preference, but later left the door open to the possibility that the party could reach an agreement without a vote.

“If there’s something else that’s short of a vote … that gives me those same assurances, I want to listen to that,” she told reporters.

The stalemate also laid bare deep ideological fractures within the party. Unlike the debate over Barack Obama’s healthcare legislation a decade ago, progressives appear to be more closely aligned with the president and able to flex their political muscles. On Thursday they were united in making the case that centrists are now in the minority.

Varshini Prakash, executive director of Sunrise Movement, a youth group fighting the climate crisis, [said:](https://mailchi.mp/sunrisemovement/sunrise-movement-responds-to-delay-of-bif-sinema-and-manchin-are-to-blame?e=18cba0fd52) “Tonight, we are so proud of progressives for holding the line. But let’s be clear, progressives are not the ones delaying the vote – Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema are.”

Thursday’s delay could anger moderates and cause further infighting that puts Biden’s agenda at risk. Earlier this week Stephanie Murphy, a congresswoman from Florida, warned: “If the vote were to fail or be delayed, there would be a significant breach of trust.”

Republicans who had supported the infrastructure bill in the Senate also acknowledged the setback. Senators Rob Portman, Bill Cassidy, Susan Collins, Lisa Murkowski and Mitt Romney said in a joint statement: “While we are disappointed the [House of Representatives](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/house-of-representatives) did not meet its deadline to vote on the bipartisan infrastructure bill, we remain hopeful the House will come together in a spirit of bipartisanship just as the Senate did and pass this important piece of legislation.

“This bill is critically important to modernizing and upgrading everything from our roads and bridges to broadband and increasing the resiliency of the nation’s electrical grid.”

Both pieces of legislation are critical to Biden’s economic vision. While he has staked his domestic agenda – and his legacy – on a $3.5tn social policy package, he invested precious political capital in courting Republicans to support the infrastructure bill, part of a campaign promise to usher in a new era of bipartisanship in Congress. The bill passed the Senate in August, with 19 Republican votes and great fanfare.

#### Infrastructure reform solves Existential Climate Change – it results in spill-over.

USA Today 7-20 7-20-2021 "Climate change is at 'code red' status for the planet, and inaction is no longer an option" <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/todaysdebate/2021/07/20/climate-change-biden-infrastructure-bill-good-start/7877118002/> //Elmer

**Not long ago**, **climate change** for many Americans **was** like **a distant bell**. News of starving polar bears or melting glaciers was tragic and disturbing, but other worldly. Not any more. **Top climate scientists** from around the world **warned of a "code red for humanity**" in a report issued Monday that says severe, human-caused global warming is become unassailable. Proof of the findings by the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is a now a factor of daily life. Due to **intense heat waves and drought**, 107 wildfires – including the largest ever in California – are now raging across the West, consuming 2.3 million acres. Earlier this summer, hundreds of people died in unprecedented triple-digit heat in Oregon, Washington and western Canada, when a "heat dome" of enormous proportions settled over the region for days. Some victims brought by stretcher into crowded hospital wards had body temperatures so high, their nervous systems had shut down. People collapsed trying to make their way to cooling shelters. Heat-trapping greenhouse gases Scientists say the event was almost **certainly made worse and more intransigent by human-caused climate change**. They attribute it to a combination of warming Arctic temperatures and a growing accumulation of heat-trapping greenhouse gases caused by the burning of fossil fuels. The **consequences of** what mankind has done to the atmo**sphere are now inescapable**. Periods of **extreme heat** are projected to **double** in the lower 48 states by 2100. **Heat deaths** are far **outpacing every other form of weather killer** in a 30-year average. A **persistent megadrought** in America's West continues to create tinder-dry conditions that augur another devastating wildfire season. And scientists say **warming oceans** are **fueling** ever **more powerful storms**, evidenced by Elsa and the early arrival of hurricane season this year. Increasingly severe weather is causing an estimated $100 billion in damage to the United States every year. "It is honestly surreal to see your projections manifesting themselves in real time, with all the suffering that accompanies them. It is heartbreaking," said climate scientist Katharine Hayhoe. **Rising seas** from global warming Investigators are still trying to determine what led to the collapse of a Miami-area condominium that left more than 100 dead or missing. But one concerning factor is the corrosive effect on reinforced steel structures of encroaching saltwater, made worse in Florida by a foot of rising seas from global warming since the 1900s. The clock is ticking for planet Earth. While the U.N. report concludes some level of severe climate change is now unavoidable, there is still a window of time when far more catastrophic events can be mitigated. But mankind must act soon to curb the release of heat-trapping gases. Global **temperature** has **risen** nearly **2 degrees** Fahrenheit since the pre-industrial era of the late 19th century. Scientists warn that in a decade, it could surpass a **2.7**-degree increase. That's **enough** warming **to cause catastrophic climate changes**. After a brief decline in global greenhouse gas emissions during the pandemic, pollution is on the rise. Years that could have been devoted to addressing the crisis were wasted during a feckless period of inaction by the Trump administration. Congress must act Joe Biden won the presidency promising broad new policies to cut America's greenhouse gas emissions. But Congress needs to act on those ideas this year. Democrats cannot risk losing narrow control of one or both chambers of Congress in the 2022 elections to a Republican Party too long resistant to meaningful action on the climate. So what's at issue? A trillion dollar **infrastructure bill** negotiated between Biden and a group of centrist senators (including 10 Republicans) is a start. In addition to repairing bridges, roads and rails, it would **improve access** by the nation's power infrastructure **to renewable energy sources,** **cap millions of abandoned oil and gas wells spewing greenhouse gases**, **and harden structures against climate change**. It also **offers tax credits for** the **purchase of electric vehicles** and funds the construction of charging stations. (**The nation's largest source of climate pollution are gas-powered vehicles**.) Senate approval could come very soon. Much **more is needed** if the nation is going to reach Biden's necessary goal of cutting U.S. climate pollution in half from 2005 levels by 2030. His ideas worth considering include a federal clean electricity standard for utilities, federal investments and tax credits to promote renewable energy, and tens of billions of dollars in clean energy research and development, including into ways of extracting greenhouse gases from the skies. Another idea worth considering is a fully refundable carbon tax. **The vehicle** for these additional proposals **would be a second infrastructure bill**. And if Republicans balk at the cost of such vital investment, Biden is rightly proposing to pass this package through a process known as budget reconciliation, which allows bills to clear the Senate with a simple majority vote. These are drastic legislative steps. But drastic times call for them. And when Biden attends a U.N. climate conference in November, he can use American progress on climate change as a mean of persuading others to follow our lead. Further delay is not an option.

Reconceiving the structures of production through technology transfer will be difficult, both logistically and politically. But, resolving the COVID-19 crisis requires a much greater supply of vaccines and other medicines, and production in and for wealthy countries is not enough to manage COVID-19, nor is it morally justifiable. To democratize vaccine manufacturing and to ensure that progress made in the developed world is not undercut by new variants, we need to rethink how we might build capacity beyond the West. Why do we allow technology to remain as the exclusive domain of a handful of oligopolistic firms, despite public funding and windfall profits, when coronavirus is a global threat?

### 4

#### Apocalyptic pandemic reps lock in a neoliberal risk society of anxiety and health inequality that spreads disease. Independently, the aff masks health neoliberalism by spreading vaccine arms races horizontally instead of vertically.

Mannathukkaren 14

(Nissim Mannathukkaren, Dept. Chair and Associate Prof. of International Development Studies @ Dalhousie University, “Pandemics in the age of panic,” November 22, 2014, <http://www.thehindu.com/features/magazine/social-media-should-be-a-positive-force-and-public-health-systems-should-focus-on-prevention-of-epidemics/article6624674.ece>)

\*Evidence is edited to correct gendered language\*

If natural disasters induce panic, so do pandemics. In recent years, we have seen a series of pandemics: AIDS, avian influenza, SARS and H1N1. Now, we are in the midst of an epidemic, Ebola, which — according to experts — can acquire pandemic proportions. Natural disasters and pandemics have existed in the pre-modern era as well but what is remarkable is that, in the modern era, the attitudes towards hazards — both natural and man-made — have drastically changed. Panic is the order of the day, especially in sanitised spaces of the developed West. Medical scholars, Luc Bonneux and Wim Van Damme, term panic itself as a pandemic.

As they point out, in 1999, Belgium slaughtered seven million chicken and 60,000 pigs when dioxin, a cancer-causing chemical, entered animal feed. Not one person died from dioxin poisoning. In 2005, the chief avian flu coordinator of the UN predicted that 150 million people could be killed by the flu. However, in 10 years, it has killed less than 400 people. The same apocalyptic predictions were made about BSE/CJD, SARS, and H1N1 as well.

Media coverage and the responses of governments and people to Ebola and recent pandemics tell us an important and paradoxical truth: we might be living in an era that is the apogee of human scientific advancements but this has not necessarily mitigated our fears and panic about potential dangers. This has led theorists to argue that we live in a ‘risk society’, a society that generates a lot of risks precisely because it is obsessed with, as the sociologist Anthony Giddens puts it, “the aspiration to control and particularly with the idea of controlling the future.” Traditional cultures did not have a notion of risk as diseases and natural disasters were taken for granted and were attributed to God or fate.

Interestingly, many of the risks in the modern era, as Giddens elaborates, are manufactured by the “very progression in human development, especially by the progression of science and technology.” Diseases caused by industrial pollution, natural disasters caused by environmental destruction, man-made disasters like Bhopal gas tragedy, Chernobyl and Fukushima nuclear accidents, and latrogenesis — adverse effects caused by medical intervention and modern medicines — are examples of these manufactured risks. In the U.S., scholars estimate that 2,25,000 deaths annually are due to latrogenic causes, and is the third leading cause of death after heart disease and cancer! Thus, science and technology itself generates new uncertainties as it banishes old ones and fear of the unknown cannot be eliminated by further scientific progress.

We have to read the coverage of, and response to, Ebola in this wider context of a risk society. Politics of fear, panic, and scaremongering are inevitable outcomes of such a society. Look at the panic around Ebola in the U.S., where so far not one citizen has died of the disease. A nurse returning after treating Ebola patients in Sierra Leone has won a court order against a mandatory quarantine order imposed by the state. Australia and Canada have imposed visa ban on citizens travelling from the affected countries, violating WHO’s International Health Regulations.

Renowned journalist Simon Jenkins argues that “we have lost control of the language of proportion” in responding to Ebola and other pandemics. Similarly, other journalists have severely criticised the media’s coverage of Ebola. The scaremongering is seen in absurd and irresponsible statements like Ebola is ‘the ISIS of biological agents!’ One major responsibility of the mainstream media, other than providing detailed and proper information about the disease itself, is to enlighten the public about the socio-economic and political conditions that govern health and healthcare systems in various societies, which in turn impact the origin and spread of pandemics. Without educating the public about the root causes that condemn the poorer parts of the world to bear the brunt of global pandemics, the media becomes a handmaiden of the powers — developed countries and pharmaceutical corporations — that control global health.

This lack of knowledge about larger forces also adds to risks and the resultant panic. Thus, in the 2009 H1N1 pandemic, the media’s role in the investigation of allegations of whether it was a false pandemic was nothing to be proud of. The head of health at the Council of Europe had raised questions about the role of pharmaceutical corporations in the declaration of H1N1 as a pandemic. Later, an investigation by the British Medical Journal found that medical experts advising WHO on H1N1 had financial ties with pharmaceutical companies producing the vaccine for the pandemic. As all the developed countries stocked up on the vaccines, reportedly, the pharmaceutical companies made profits ranging from $ 7-10 billion.

In this context, the media’s role in the coverage of pandemics raises questions. Where are the stories in the media about the lack of vaccines for Ebola, 40 years after the disease emerged? Or about the drug firms now in the race to produce a vaccine (the share prices of one of the companies ahead in the race have shot up exponentially)?

While certain prominent Western media houses have definitely pushed the panic button with regard to Ebola, the hard data about the overall coverage as studied by the Foreign Policy magazine indicates that it is not the case. But this study is merely restricted to the English language coverage. Further, the mainstream media has failed miserably in countering the serious issue of the racialisation of Ebola (as with AIDS before) as an African disease caused and spread merely by its cultural practices.

In a risk society, we have to confront new unknowns too, like social media and its impact. One media source called Ebola ‘the first major outbreak in the era of social media’. But, in the coverage of the outbreak, social media has reportedly been a negative force spreading misinformation and rumours that, in some cases, even led to deaths due to dangerous treatments administered.

#### The alternative is to adopt a social medicine approach to health.

Mohan J. DUTTA 15, Professor and Head of the Department of Communications and New Media at the National University of Singapore, Adjunct Professor of Communication at the Brian Lamb School of Communication at Purdue University [*Neoliberal Health Organizing*, 2015, p. 231-234]

Latin American social medicine depicts a distinct and long strand of theorizing of health systems that challenges the liberal capitalist organizing of health, grounded in the organizing principles of social medicine and noting [END PAGE 231] that changing the overarching structures is central to transforming the conditions of poor health (Waitzkin, 1991, 2011; Waitzkin & Modell, 1974). That health is constituted within broader social conditions is the basis for research, teaching, clinical practice, and activism in socialist medicine, with early roots in Latin America. Social medicine thus connects health, healing, and health care delivery to the politics of social change and structural transformation, clearly voicing an activist agenda directed at transforming the unequal social conditions.

One of the earliest influences of social medicine was evident in the work of the medical student activist Salvador Allende, who would later become the president of Chile. In his book The Chilean Medico-Social Reality, Allende (1939) outlined the social conditions in Chile that resulted in poor health outcomes, emphasizing the broader conditions of foreign debt dependence, underdevelopment, international dependence, and resource consolidation in the hands of the local elite. Proposing social rather than medical solutions to health, Allende emphasized “income redistribution, state regulation of food and clothing supplies, a national housing program, and industrial reforms to address occupational health problems” (Waitzkin, 2011, p. 160). In his political life, Allende sought reforms in the Chilean national health service, complemented by reforms in the housing and nutrition areas, efforts at national income redistribution, and minimizing the role of multinational corporations.

The individualized model of public health that sees health and illness as a dichotomy is interrogated by the framework of social medicine that suggests that health and illness exist in a dialectical relationship that is dynamic and is continually shifting on the basis of social conditions, structures, cultural practices, economic production, reproduction, marginalizing practices, and processes of political participation. Thus, interventions in social medicine point toward the necessity for transforming the underlying relationships of production and resource distribution, resisting the public health narrative of interventions as mechanisms for improving economic productivity. Taking a social-class-driven approach to health inequities, Latin American social medicine sees the problems with health being situated within means of economic production, patterns of ownership of means of production, and control over productive processes. Therefore, health is approached from the framework of transforming the processes of economic production and labor processes.

The dominant framework of health as integral to growth and economic productivity is questioned by the framework of social medicine that situates the relationship between health and illness amid the very processes of economic organization, distribution of economic resources, and the pervasive effects of social class on health services and health outcomes. [END PAGE 232] The innovations in organizing of health structures in Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Bolivia, and Venezuela offer invaluable insights about the possibilities of alternative organizing that seek to redo the entire structure of social organizing that constitute health. The strong health indicators in Cuba demonstrate the effectiveness of a health system that is committed to addressing the structural determinants of health, creating equitable contexts for the realization and delivery of health (Campion & Morrissey, 2013). Social medicine research has looked at the relations among work, reproduction, the environment, and health, describing in-depth the material conditions that constitute health. For instance, researchers studying health in Mexico within the context of unions and local communities have documented health problems that relate to work processes and the environment. Similarly, researchers in Chile have documented the relations between gender, work, and environmental conditions. A key strand of social medicine examines the relationship between violence and health, connecting violence to poverty, the structures of organizing, and the inequities in ownership of processes of economic production. Investigations of violence attached to the U.S.-supported dictatorship in Chile, the violence connected to narcotics traffic and paramilitary operations, and the violence within the broader structures of the state-imperial networks draw linkages to the broader political economic configurations of neoliberalism.

Emerging from the broader framework of social medicine, the Barrio Adentro movement in Venezuela, started by former president Hugo Chavez, offers insights into structures and processes of alternative organizing of health, connecting local community structures, community ownership, and community solutions with state infrastructures and state-driven public health resources and solutions (Briggs & Mantini-Briggs, 2009; Muntaner et al., 2006; Waitzkin, 2011). The state-driven referendum by the Chavez government to create public health infrastructures and structures of delivery of integrated family medicine, build preventive infrastructures, and develop community health resources in extremely marginalized communities is supported by massive mass-based participation in popular politics and widespread community participation in developing local community infrastructures, community-based resources of problem solving, and community decision-making capacities. The community health centers built within the barrios serve approximately 250 families and are staffed with one integrated family care doctor, one community health worker, and one health promoter. The community health centers are stocked with medical supplies. The health team not only provides health care but also conducts health surveys in the communities and makes home visits for patients that are too ill to travel to the health centers. The Barrio Adentro is integrated with other missiones addressing education, food insecurity, housing, and [END PAGE 233] unemployment, addressing health within a broader structural context (Muntaner et al., 2006). Local community participatory processes are connected with state-driven processes of building community health infrastructures at the local level.

The narrative of Barrio Adentro offers an alternative to the neoliberal narrative of the community in mainstream health communication and yet is marked by its absence from disciplinary discourses. Similarly, social medicine and its tradition of addressing the structural contexts of health is marked by its absence from the dominant discourses of health communication. A review of the two major collections of health communication scholarship, The Routledge Handbook of Health Communication and The Handbook of Global Health Communication, depicts the marked absence of the Latin American innovations of social medicine from the discursive space. Opportunities for resistance to neoliberal organizing of health structures and the invitation to imagine alternative possibilities is grounded in materially grounded concrete politics of popular participation in supporting state policies for building public health and health care infrastructures, complemented by local processes of participation in the creation of health solutions.

### Case

#### CX was embarassing--Covid doesn’t cause extinction

#### 1] Their evidence is from over 15 months ago—proves there isn’t a risk. Covid has been declining rapidly for the past few months—nonUQ.

#### 2] Companies have reopened which disproves industrial internal link. Use gut check

#### 3] No power war lash out—would’ve happened at peak of Delta variant—CX proves no escalation or scenario

4] Countries won’t risk recovery with diversionary war. Econ decline and trade non-UQ, Covid literally DESTROYED All international trade which proves no impact uniqueness.

**There is not one line in Kitfield that isn’t about Trump – Biden solves everything because their only internal is anti-china sentiment. Pen Blue.**

**1AC Kitfield 20**

(James, the only three-time winner of the prestigious Gerald R. Ford Award for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense, <https://breakingdefense.com/2020/05/will-covid-19-kill-the-liberal-world-order/>, 5-22)

For a brief moment it seemed that the worst global pandemic in a century might lead to increased comity between the United States, China and Russia after years of geopolitical eye-gouging. As the virus spread there were early signs of a pause in the escalating cycle of military brinksmanship, cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns and trade wars that has badly shaken the rules-based international order in this era of great power competition. Beijing seemed to initially embrace a spirit of cooperation when it donated protective gear and testing equipment to hard hit countries in Europe. President Trump for months was uncharacteristically effusive in his praise of Chinese President Xi Jinping’s efforts to combat the virus. Russian President Vladimir Putin got into the soft power act in early April when he dispatched an An-124 military transport to New York filled with donated masks and ventilators. (Of course, you can also argue it was a highly effective information operation designed to undermine U.S. standing in the world.) That moment was short lived. “Unfortunately, this crisis is likely to unfold in three consecutive waves, with a public health crisis followed by an economic crisis, quite possibly followed by a security crisis,” said David Kilcullen, author of the recent book “The Dragons and Snakes: How the Rest Learned to Fight the West,” and a former special adviser to Gen. David Petraeus in Iraq, and the U.S. Secretary of State. The United States is already experiencing high levels of domestic unrest at a time of paralyzing partisan rancor, he noted, and the discord will certainly increase as the presidential election nears in November. Adding to that combustible mixture is likely to be a **second wave of the virus** expected to hit in the fall, and foreign actors like Russian and China determined to use disinformation to stoke domestic divisions during the election. “Given the likelihood of internal instability and anti-government anger here and around the world, there will be a huge incentive for leaders who personalize politics like Trump, [Russian President Vladimir] Putin and [Chinese President] Xi Jinping **to look for external scapegoats for their domestic troubles**, which has already started to happen,” said Kilcullen. “This crisis also comes at a point when the international system that we’ve known since the end of World War II **was already rotting and weaker than it appears**. It may only take **one big shock to bring that whole structure down,** and, if we’re not very careful, the pandemic could be that shock. So this is the **most dangerous geopolitical dynamic** I have seen in my entire career.” Chinese President Xi Jinping inspects PLA troops As it became clear the Chinese Communist Party covered up the initial outbreak of the novel coronavirus in Wuhan, wasting precious time and allowing it to blossom into a global pandemic, Beijing launched a campaign of intimidation and economic threats to mute international criticism. Borrowing a page from Russian disinformation operations, Beijing posited the conspiracy theory that the virus originated with the U.S. military. Both China and Russia pushed alarmist narratives about the pandemic on social media to sow division and panic inside the United States. Much of the protective equipment Beijing “donated” to the West carried a price tag and turned out to be defective. In his own campaign of blame shifting and heated rhetoric, President Donald Trump accused China of being responsible for an attack on the United States that “is worse that Pearl Harbor,” and “worse than the World Trade Center” that fell in the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Chinese incompetence in dealing with the virus, Trump tweeted this week, is responsible for “mass Worldwide killing!” Trump darkly hinted in mid-April that he had information that a virology lab in Wuhan played an important role in the virus’ creation, even though the U.S. Intelligence Community consensus was that the virology lab in Wuhan had nothing to do the virus’ creation or origins. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo insisted there is “enormous evidence” the coronavirus originated in that lab. “We greatly underestimated the degree to which Beijing is ideologically and politically hostile to free nations,” Pompeo told reporters this week, after sending a rare, high-level message of congratulations to recently reelected Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-Wen, who has rejected the “one country, two systems” construct that has kept the peace between China and Taiwan for nearly half a century. As the Trump administration weighs retribution against China, it has continued to ratchet up the rhetoric and provocations, **angering and worrying allies** by cutting critical funding to the World Health Organization (WHO) in the midst of the pandemic, and boycotting a virtual meeting of G-20 nations that attempted to coordinate an international response to the crisis, leaving a leadership gap that China was happy to help fill. Open Skies surveillance plane On the Russian front, the Trump administration has reportedly decided to withdraw from the three-decade old Open Skies Treaty that allows 34 countries to fly over each other’s territory with sensors to confirm they are not preparing military action. The trump White House says the Russians are violating the accord by forbidding flights over military exercises and using its own flights over the United States to identify critical infrastructure that can be hit by cyberattacks.Meanwhile, populist leaders and autocratic regimes around the world are using the threat of the pandemic to assume extraordinary powers and crack down on their political opposition in what the United Nations Special Rapporteur for Counterterrorism and Human Rights called an “an epidemic of authoritarianism,” according to the The New York Times. Shaky World Order Even before the pandemic the post-WW II international order that the United States constructed and led for more than half a century was on shaky ground. The global institutions, alliances and rules governing international relations has been challenged by assertive autocratic regimes like China and Russia, and eroded from within by inward-looking nationalist-populists movements spreading throughout the Western democracies. The liberal international order has also been largely abandoned by its leader as Donald Trump’s administration retreats further into “America First” isolationism. The Trump doctrine in international affairs actively seeks to undermine the institutions of global order, whether it’s the World Health and Trade Organizations, the UN, the European Union or NATO. The administration has rejected or abolished all manner of multilateral agreements and treaties designed to peacefully constrain international rivalries, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, the Paris Climate Agreement, the Iran nuclear deal, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty, and quite possibly next year the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START). A Dark History History is rife with cautionary examples of natural disasters or economic crises conflating with geopolitical tensions, with cataclysmic results. The catastrophic 1918 Spanish flu pandemic, which killed more than 20 million victims worldwide, was accelerated and spread by troop movements during World War I. With many Americans disillusioned by the war and loss, the United States turned insular and isolationist during the 1920s, rejecting the League of Nations, dramatically curtailing immigration and erecting steep tariff barriers to trade. Much of the rest of the world followed suit. The U.S. stock market crash of 1929 was compounded the next year by one of the worst droughts in history. When the Japanese invaded China two years later, and Adolf Hitler became German chancellor soon after, there was no League of Nations nor stabilizing trading systems to contain the war fever that swept the globe and became World War II. “When you think back to 1918 and the Spanish flu, it’s worth remembering that more people died in the second wave than the first, and the Great Depression and the 1930s taught us that bad economic conditions can be transformative,” said Joseph Nye, a professor emeritus and former Dean of the Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, speaking recently on a videoconference organized by The National Interest. “The point is, in the current pandemic we’re likely only in **Act 1 of a multi-act play.”** Combustible Leadership The very real potential for the pandemic crisis to propel the major powers towards outright military conflict was noted recently by the Chinese Ministry of State Security, Beijing’s top intelligence agency. In a report for Xi Jinping and the senior Chinese leadership it reportedly concluded that global anti-China sentiment being stoked by the Trump administration has reached its highest peak since the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, and as a result China needs to be prepared for a worst-case scenario of **armed confrontation with the United States**. Despite the warnings, Xi Jinping has doubled down in recent months on provocative military maneuvers in its neighboring seas, sending its Liaoning carrier battle group and military flights off the coast of Taiwan; conducting anti-submarine exercises in contested areas of the South China Sea; ramming and sinking a Vietnamese fishing boat near the disputed Paracel Islands; dispatching a fishing boat “militia” to harass Philippine counterparts near the contested Spratly Islands; and harassing a Malaysian drillship. The littoral combat ship USS Montgomery conducts operations near drillship, the West Capella, in Malaysian waters. Some analysts see those moves as an attempt by Xi Jinping to show strength and bolster his image at home among a Chinese populace wearied by the pandemic shutdowns and economic disruptions. Those provocations are exactly the kind of saber-rattling that can escalate **dangerously in a time of crisis.** George Beebe is a former director of the CIA’s Russia analysis section, and author of the book “The Russia Trap: How Our Shadow War with Russia Could Spiral into Catastrophe.” “My concern is that the major power leaders Putin, Xi and Trump all tend to personalize international relations and politics. They are all going through severe economic and political distress. Each of them is convinced that their rivals are trying to **exploit the pandemic crisis, and not one of them is dealing from a position of strength and confidence**,” he told me. Putin has long felt betrayed and threatened by the United States, Beebe noted, and Xi Jinping is convinced that America is trying to thwart China’s rise. One of the few constants in Trump’s worldview is the conviction that China has taken advantage of the United States with trade going back decades. “So there’s a lot of fear and emotion and very little trust in the relationships between these leaders during a time of great strain, and their communications and diplomatic mechanisms to manage a crisis if one occurs have atrophied,” said Beebe. “Given that personalities and personal relationships among national leaders are far more important in international affairs than a lot of people appreciate, I do worry that we’re entering a very dangerous period when cooler heads may not prevail among the great power leaders.”

#### Expertise, processes, bio samples, cell lines, distribution, and cost are all alt causes to TRIPs – only IPR can reliably scale high quality low cost medicine

Shultz and Stevens 1/14 Mark Schultz is the Goodyear Endowed Chair in Intellectual Property Law at the University of Akron School of Law, United States. Philip Stevens is Executive Director of Geneva Network., Geneva Network, "Why intellectual property rights matter for COVID-19 - Geneva Network - Intellectual Property Rights and Covid-19", January 14th, 2021, https://geneva-network.com/research/why-intellectual-property-rights-matter-for-covid-19/ - BD

The real challenges

IP has underpinned the research and development that has led to the arrival of several game-changing vaccines. But the challenge does not end there. Perhaps the biggest hurdle is manufacturing billions of doses or new antibody treatments while maintaining the highest quality standards.

There’s more to it than starting a global manufacturing free for all by overriding or ignoring patents. A spokesperson for Regeneron, a manufacturer of a novel COVID-19 antibody treatment explained to The Lancet: “Manufacturing antibody medicines is incredibly complex and transferring the technology takes many months, as well as significant resources and skill. Unfortunately, it is not as simple as putting a recipe on the internet and committing to not sue other companies during the pandemic”.

John-Arne Røttingen, chair of the WHO COVID-19 Solidarity trial, explains that technology transfer will be crucial to scaling up production, but voluntary mechanisms are better: “If you want to establish a biological production line, you need a lot of additional information, expertise, processes, and biological samples, cell lines, or bacteria” to be able to document to regulatory agencies that you have an identical product, he explains.

“Manufacturing antibody medicines is incredibly complex and transferring the technology takes many months. Unfortunately, it is not as simple as putting a recipe on the internet”

The TRIPS waiver, he says, is the “wrong approach” because COVID-19 therapeutics and vaccines are complex biological products in which the main barriers are production facilities, infrastructure, and know-how. “IP is the least of the barriers”, he says.

Then there is the problem of distributing the vaccines to billions of people in every country. Even with plentiful supplies, a range of issues need to be considered such as regulatory bottlenecks; supply chain, transport and storage; maintenance of the cold chain; adequately trained staff; data tracking; and vaccine hesitancy amongst the population.

The costs of the vaccine itself is only a small component of the total cost of delivering doses to millions of people. The UK, for example, has spent around £2.9bn on procuring vaccines, far less than the official estimate of £8.8bn to be spent on distributing and delivering them. Comparable costs will exist for all other countries, even if they are subsidised by Overseas Development Assistance. Even then, the combined costs of vaccination are dwarved by the other economic costs of the pandemic.

IP is part of the solution

Far from being a problem, IP has repeatedly proven itself to be part of the solution in fighting disease. It allows innovators to manage production scale-up by selecting and licensing technology to partners who have the skills and capacity to reliably manufacture large quantities of high-quality products, which they distribute at scale in low and middle-income countries. It would make no sense for IP owners to use it to withhold access, when they can profit from supplying all demand. IP licensing is the way this is done.

This is the model unfolding for COVID-19, with new manufacturing licensing deals such as those between AstraZeneca and the Serum Institute in India (1bn doses), China’s BioKangtai (200m doses), Brazil’s FioCruz, Russia’s R-Pharm and South Korea’s SK Bioscience. Collectively, such deals will see the manufacture of 2 billion doses by the end of 2021. The Serum Institute has also entered into manufacturing licenses with a number of developers of yet to be approved COVID-19 vaccines, as have several other Indian vaccine manufacturers. Many of these doses will be procured on a non-profit basis by new collective procurement bodies such as COVAX, for distribution to low and middle-income countries.

IP is important because it allows the innovator to control which partners manufacture the product, ensuring the quality of supplies, while maximising low-cost access for low and middle-income countries. It also allows the innovator to preserve its ability to recoup costs from richer markets, meaning the preservation of incentives for future R&D investment.

Voluntary licensing has worked well in the past, particularly for low and middle-income countries. A recent academic analysis of hepatitis C voluntary licenses published by The Lancet Global Health concluded that they have increased access to medicines at a considerably faster pace than alternative access models, by avoiding the need for lengthy patent disputes and bringing to bear inter-company competition and economies of scale.

But again, these licenses model were criticised by public health NGOs and other stakeholders, who called for the confiscation of IP rights via compulsory licensing. Time has shown such calls to be mistaken.

Conclusion

As of January 2021, there are three vaccines approved by stringent regulatory authorities with several more likely to follow in the coming months. Prices of COVID-19 vaccines vary between more expensive but complex to manufacture, and cheaper ones based on existing technologies. Companies are offering their vaccines at cost, with pooled procurement mechanisms such as COVAX ready to leverage their enormous purchasing power to drive economies of scale and bring prices down further for developing countries, many of which will have the cost of vaccination subsidised by Overseas Development Assistance.

Meanwhile, the existence of multiple vaccines means there is no COVID-19 vaccine “monopoly”, and minimal risk of premium pricing. In fact, there is a competitive marketplace in which manufacturers are incentivised to refine and improve their vaccines – vital given the new strains of the virus which constantly emerge.

Providing COVID-19 vaccines rapidly at scale is a pressing challenge for all countries but there is no evidence that overriding intellectual property rights will achieve more than the licensing agreements currently being forged between innovators and reputable vaccine manufacturers in countries like India and Brazil.

Manufacturing of COVID-19 vaccines is continuing at speed, and mechanisms are gearing up to ensure a rapid global role out. Forceable tech transfer and other forms of IP abrogation such as those proposed by India and South Africa at the WTO TRIPS Council would throw manufacturing supply chain planning, financing and distribution systems into chaos for little upside.

Instead of sowing division and creating major distractions at venues such as the WTO, opponents of IP should stop the rhetoric. The IP system has put us in a position to end the pandemic. We should allow it to continue doing its job.

#### Data exclusivity is necessary to ensure effective clinical research

Bing 21

Dr. Han Bing (senior research fellow at the Institute of World Economics and Politics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). “TRIPS-plus Rules in International Trade Agreements and Access to Medicines: Chinese Perspectives and Practices.” Global Development Policy Center, Global Economic Governance Iniative. GEGI Working Paper 049, April 2021. JDN. https://www.bu.edu/gdp/files/2021/04/GEGI\_WP\_\_Bing\_FIN.pdf

Undisclosed test or other data refer to the data obtained in the entire medicine development process to demonstrate the medicine’s safety, efficacy and quality. The medicines and healthcare products regulatory agencies in various countries analyze and evaluate whether to approve the marketing of a new medicine based on such data. Since it is obtained from scientific studies, undisclosed test or other data are unable to satisfy the requirements of patent grant and cannot be protected by patent rights. However, the cost of obtaining marketing approval is expensive and the first registrant needs to be significant to overcome the negative price effects of competition from pharmaceutical manufacturers that free ride on the initial registrant’s marketing approval. Therefore, it is argued that, without a period of monopoly, the new drug developers will have no incentive to “conduct the costly clinical research and trials necessary to obtain marketing approval” (Chow and Lee 2018). Given its importance to the pharmaceutical industry, the United States is a strong proponent of adding such a provision in the TRIPS Agreement (Chow and Lee 2018). However, since the TRIPS Agreement was formally implemented 25 years ago, WTO members had not yet unified their opinions on the application of this provision. The United States, the European Union, and some members argue that, taking into account the considerable amount of efforts and costs for generating the necessary data, unless permitted by the originator, undisclosed test or other data should be granted exclusive rights against disclosure for a specific period of time (UNCTAD & ICTSD 2013, 613-615). During the period, government agencies shall not only protect such data against disclosure, but also prevent generic drug manufacturers from relying upon the data to obtain marketing approval. Developing countries such as Argentina, Brazil, India, and Thailand provide a non-exclusive protection on undisclosed test or other data, that is, such data are protected against unfair commercial use, but not granted exclusive rights, which allows government agencies to rely on such data to approve the marketing of generic medicines (UNCTAD & ICTSD 2013, 615-616). Developing countries believe that if the US and European practices were adopted, the marketing of generic medicines would be delayed, thereby unreasonably restricting the public access to medicines (UNCTAD & ICTSD 2013, 621). Prior to accession to the WTO in 2001, there were no data exclusivity provisions in China. After joining the WTO, China has assumed the obligation to protect such data in compliance with the TRIPS Agreement. Unlike most WTO members, as a condition for accession to the WTO, China agreed to provide data exclusivity protection for a period of six years (Feng 2010). Included in the Part V “Trade-Related Intellectual Property System” of the Report of the Working Party on the Accession of China (World Trade Organization 2001), China reiterated the content of and added what is not stipulated in Article 39(3) of the TRIPS Agreement. That is, during the period of six years, China does not allow approval of marketing for generic medicines, in order to provide exclusive protection for undisclosed test or other data of new chemical entities (World Trade Organization 2001, 284). Moreover, such protection is independent of patent protection, which means such data are protected whether a medicine is granted patent or not. The period of six years exclusive protection for undisclosed test or other data is longer than the period of 5 years of protection in the US and a number of bilateral free trade agreements.

#### Vaccine IP is insufficient for imitation; originators will challenge with intense litigation, and nations don’t have necessary ingredients and materials. Independently, the plan will cause companies to disengage from global efforts.

Silverman 3/15 [Rachel Silverman is a policy fellow at the Center for Global Development where she leads policy-oriented research on global health financing and incentive structures. Silverman’s current research focuses on the practical application of results-based financing; global health transitions; efficient global health procurement; innovation models for global health; priority-setting for UHC; alignment and impact in international funding for family planning; and strategies to strengthen evidence and accountability. BA with distinction in international relations and economics from Stanford University.) “Waiving vaccine patents won’t help inoculate poorer nations” Washington Post, PostEverything Perspective, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/03/15/vaccine-coronavirus-patents-waive-global-equity/>] RM

According to some activists, the solution to this inequity is relatively simple: By suspending protections on covid-19 vaccine patents, the international community “could help break Big Pharma monopolies and increase supplies so there are enough doses for everyone, everywhere,” [claims](https://peoplesvaccine.org/take-action/)the People’s Vaccine Alliance. Indeed, 58 low- and middle-income countries have mobilized in support of a proposed World Trade Organization [waiver](https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/SS/directdoc.aspx?filename=q:/IP/C/W669.pdf&Open=True) that would temporarily exempt [coronavirus](https://www.washingtonpost.com/coronavirus/?itid=lk_inline_manual_4)-related intellectual property from normal international rules and protections. And while the effort to waive IP protections has been a global health hot topic for months, it gained a high-profile endorsement in the United States recently from Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.). In a March 10 video statement, Sanders [called upon President Biden](https://twitter.com/GlobalJusticeUK/status/1369734275818549252?s=20) to support the IP suspension while slamming “huge, multibillion-dollar pharmaceutical companies [that] continue to prioritize profits by protecting their monopolies.”

The logic of the argument seems clear and intuitive — at first. Without patents, which serve narrow commercial interests, companies all over the world could freely produce the vaccine. Sure, Big Pharma would lose money — but this is a pandemic, and human life comes before private profit, especially when vaccines receive substantial public financing to support research and development. As with HIV drugs in years past, widespread generic production would dramatically increase supply and drive down prices to levels affordable even in the developing world.

Reality is more complicated, however. Because of the technical complexity of manufacturing coronavirus vaccines, waiving intellectual-property rights, by itself, would have little effect**.** **It could even backfire, with companies using the move as an excuse to disengage from global access efforts**. **There are more effective ways to entice — and to pressure — companies to license and share their intellectual property and the associated know-how, without broadly nullifying patents.**

The Moderna vaccine illustrates the limits of freeing up intellectual property. Moderna [announced in October](https://investors.modernatx.com/news-releases/news-release-details/statement-moderna-intellectual-property-matters-during-covid-19) that it would not enforce IP rights on its coronavirus vaccine — and yet it has taken no steps to share information about the vaccine’s design or manufacture, citing commercial interests in the underlying technology. Five months later, production of the Moderna vaccine remains entirely under the company’s direct control within its owned and contracted facilities. Notably, Moderna is also the only manufacturer of a U.S.- or British-approved vaccine [not yet participating in Covax](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/coronavirus-vaccine-access-poor-countries-moderna/2021/02/12/0586e532-6712-11eb-bf81-c618c88ed605_story.html?itid=lk_inline_manual_9), a global-aid-funded effort (including a [pledged $4 billion from the United States](https://www.npr.org/2021/02/18/969145224/biden-to-announce-4-billion-for-global-covid-19-vaccine-effort)) to purchase vaccines for use in low- and middle-income countries.

It is true, however, that activist pressure — including threats to infringe upon IP rights — can encourage originators to enter into voluntary licensing arrangements. So the global movement to liberate the vaccine patents may be useful, even if some advocates make exaggerated claims about the effects of waivers on their own.

One reason patent waivers are unlikely to help much in this case is that vaccines are harder to make than ordinary drugs. Because most drugs are simple chemical compounds, and because the composition of the compounds is easily analyzable, competent chemists can usually reverse-engineer a production process with relative ease. When a drug patent expires, therefore — or is waived — generic companies can readily enter the market and produce competitive products, [lowering prices dramatically](https://www.fda.gov/about-fda/center-drug-evaluation-and-research-cder/generic-competition-and-drug-prices).

Vaccines, in contrast, are complex biological products. Observing their contents is insufficient to allow for imitation. **Instead, to produce the vaccine, manufacturers need access to the developer’s “soft” IP — the proprietary recipe, cell lines, manufacturing processes and so forth**. While some of this information is confidentially submitted to regulators and might theoretically be released in an extraordinary situation (though not without legal challenge), manufacturers are at an enormous disadvantage without the originator’s cooperation to help them set up their process and kick-start production. Even with the nonconsensual release of the soft IP held by the regulator, the process of trial and error would cause long delays in a best-case scenario. Most likely, the effort would end in expensive failure. Manufacturers also need certain raw ingredients and other materials, like glass vials and filtration equipment; overwhelming demand, paired with disruptive export restrictions, has constricted the global availability of some of these items.

#### Underinvestment and regulation drive vaccine inefficiency---licenses are already available

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For the last year and a half I have been shouting from the rooftops, “invest in capacity, build more factories, shore up the supply lines, spend billions to save trillions.” Fortunately, some boffins in the Biden administration have found a better way, “the US supports the waiver of IP protections on COVID-19 vaccines to help end the pandemic.”

Waive IP protections. So simple. Why didn’t I think of that???

**Patents are not the problem**. All of the vaccine manufacturers are trying to increase supply as quickly as possible. Billions of doses are being produced–more than ever before in the history of the world. Licenses are widely available. **AstraZeneca have licensed their vaccine for production with manufactures around the world, including in India, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, China and South Africa**. J&J’s vaccine has been licensed for production by multiple firms in the United States as well as with firms in Spain, South Africa and France. Sputnik has been licensed for production by firms in India, China, South Korea, Brazil and pending EMA approval with firms in Germany and France. Sinopharm has been licensed in the UAE, Egypt and Bangladesh. Novavax has licensed its vaccine for production in South Korea, India, and Japan and it is desperate to find other licensees but t**echnology transfer isn’t easy and there are limited supplies of raw materials:**

Virtually overnight, [Novavax] set up a network of outside manufacturers more ambitious than one outside executive said he’s ever seen, but they struggled at times to transfer their technology there amid pandemic travel restrictions. They were kicked out of one factory by the same government that’s bankrolled their effort. Competing with larger competitors, they’ve found themselves short on raw materials as diverse as Chilean tree bark and bioreactor bags. They signed a deal with India’s Serum Institute to produce many of their COVAX doses but now face the realistic chance that even when Serum gets to full capacity — and they are behind — India’s government, dealing with the world’s worst active outbreak, won’t let the shots leave the country.

Plastic bags are a bigger bottleneck than patents. The US embargo on vaccine supplies to India was precisely that the Biden administration used the DPA to prioritize things like bioreactor bags and filters to US suppliers and that meant that India’s Serum Institute was having trouble getting its production lines ready for Novavax. CureVac, another potential mRNA vaccine, is also finding it difficult to find supplies due to US restrictions (which means supplies are short everywhere). As Derek Lowe said:

Abolishing patents will not provide more shaker bags or more Chilean tree bark, nor provide more of the key filtration materials needed for production. These processes have a lot of potential choke points and rate-limiting steps in them, and there is no wand that will wave that complexity away.

Technology transfer has been difficult for AstraZeneca–which is one reason they have had production difficulties–and their vaccine uses relatively well understood technology. The mRNA technology is new and has never before been used to produce at scale. Pfizer and Moderna had to build factories and distribution systems from scratch. There are no mRNA factories idling on the sidelines. If there were, Moderna or Pfizer would be happy to license since they are producing in their own factories 24 hours a day, seven days a week (monopolies restrict supply, remember?). **Why do you think China hasn’t yet produced an mRNA vaccine? Hint: it isn’t fear about violating IP**. Moreover, even Moderna and Pfizer don’t yet fully understand their production technology, they are learning by doing every single day. **Moderna has said that they won’t enforce their patents during the pandemic but no one has stepped up to produce because no one else can.**

The US trade representative’s announcement is virtue signaling to the anti-market left and will do little to nothing to increase supply.

What can we do to increase supply? Sorry, there is no quick and cheap solution. We must spend. Trump’s Operation Warp Speed spent on the order of $15 billion. If we want more, we need to spend more and on similar scale. The Biden administration paid $269 million to Merck to retool its factories to make the J&J vaccine. That was a good start. We could also offer Pfizer and Moderna say $100 a dose to produce in excess of their current production and maybe with those resources there is more they could do. South Africa and India and every other country in the world should offer the same (India hasn’t even approved the Pfizer vaccine and they are complaining about IP!??) We should ease up on the DPA and invest more in the supply chain–let’s get CureVac and the Serum Institute what they need. We should work like hell to find a substitute for Chilean tree bark. See my piece in Science co-authored with Michael Kremer et. al. for more ideas. (Note also that these ideas are better at dealing with current supply constraints and they also increase the incentive to produce future vaccines, unlike shortsighted patent abrogation.)

Bottom line is that producing more takes real resources not waving magic patent wands.

You may have gathered that I am angry. I am indeed angry that the people in power think they can solve real problems on the cheap and at someone else’s expense. This is not serious. I am also angry that they are sending the wrong message about business, profits and capitalism. So let me end on positive note. Like the Apollo program and Dunkirk, the creation of the mRNA vaccines by Pfizer and Moderna should be lauded with Nobel prizes and major movies. Churchill called the rescue at Dunkirk a “miracle of deliverance,” well the miracle of Moderna will rescue many more. Not only was a vaccine designed in under a year, an entirely new production process was set up to produce billions of doses to rescue the world. The creation of the mRNA vaccines was a triumph of science, logistics, and management and it was done at a speed that I had thought possible only for past generations.

#### No China war – neither side would escalate

Nolt 17 --- senior fellow at World Policy Institute and an adjunct associate professor at New York University James H. Nolt, “The Unlikely Prospect of War with China”, 2/16/17, World Policy Blog, http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2017/02/16/unlikely-prospect-war-china)

If war were to start between U.S. and China, it would certainly not be China that starts it. There are several reasons I am confident about that. First is that China’s collective leadership has a strong aversion to chaos and instability. Managing China’s many problems is tough enough. War would exacerbate these immensely, as China’s long and sad history of war illustrates, especially since 1840. Second is that China’s military forces are much weaker than those of the U.S., particularly for any naval and air conflict in the South or East China Seas. This is true even without considering China’s lack of reliable military allies, whereas the U.S. has numerous powerful military allies, including (with the U.S. itself) eight of the top 10 industrial powers on Earth. Third is that the economic consequences of any war with the U.S., even a limited war, would be much more severe for China than for the U.S. China’s military planners might attempt opportunistically to coerce isolated weaker countries, such as Vietnam, but their posture toward the U.S. and Japan is to deter potential foreign aggression rather than to initiate war. Furthermore, the economic vulnerability of China in event of a war is not sensitive to the lopsided military balance. Even if the U.S. halved its current navy and all of its numerous military allies stayed neutral, China’s overseas trade would cease from the first day of the war, much like what happened to Germany in both world wars. Many commentators suggest that China’s new bases in the South China Sea are changing this, but in doing so they fail to see the bigger picture. Little of China’s vital trade terminates in the South China Sea. Most of it extends over vast oceans easy for U.S. naval power to interdict with a distant blockade, just as the U.K. did to Germany twice in the 20th century. China is now vastly more trade dependent than it was when President Carter established diplomatic relations in 1979. Much of the machineryfor its factories comes from Europe, especially Germany. Much of its oiltravels over the long sea route from thePersian Gulf. Much of its metal ores come from South America, Canada, Australia, and India. Most of its exports are sold in North America and Europe. Many of its best naval and air weapons come from Russia. Though some of these could reach China by rail, with most of its overseas trade stopped, China would lack the means to pay for significant arms replenishment from Russia. The Chinese people’s living standard would fall drastically as many industries grind to a halt from lack of vital raw materials or overseas markets. It is extremely unlikely that China’s leaders would willingly inflict such a catastrophe on themselves. This is even before considering the devastation likely inflicted by the fighting itself.