# 1NC Dubs Valley

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### T

#### Interp: Precluding a future increase is not a reduction

Melinda **Harmon 12**, Judge, United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Houston Division, 3/6/12, Zieche v. Burlington Res., Inc., 2012 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 30134, p. lexis

Zieche contends that the Court erred when it concluded that "there was no reduction in Zieche's salary or bonus percentage" that would constitute "good reason" for his resignation. Doc. 70 at 8, 9. The Court relied on the fact that Zieche received "his full 2006 performance bonus" after he began working at ConocoPhillips and that the bonus percentage increased from 30% in 2005 to 40% in 2006 as proof that Zieche did not suffer a reduction in salary.

Zieche contends that an increase in his bonus is irrelevant to a determination of whether his salary was reduced because a "bonus is not part of the salary," but is instead [\*12] "something in addition to what is expected or strictly due." Doc. 72 at 4. Additionally, Zieche alleges that "the [C]ourt's analysis ignores the specific provisions of the retention agreement," which defines "good reason" to include "any reduction from your annual rate of base salary." Id.

Initially, although Zieche alleges that ConocoPhillips reduced his salary, he introduced no summary judgment **ev**idence to support this contention. In his Response to ConocoPhillip's Motion for Summary Judgment, Zeiche repeatedly asserts that, in his new position at ConocoPhillips, he would "**not be eligible for annual merit salary *increases***" as he had previously received at Burlington. Doc. 54 at 4 (emph. added). The summary judgment evidence before the Court included Zieche's deposition, in which he admitted that his salary "remained the same . . . up to the time [he] resigned from ConocoPhillips." Doc. 48-1 at 50 (emph. added). Nevertheless, Zieche argues that the Court unnaturally should read the word "reduce" in the retention agreement to mean "**not increase**," rather than interpreting the word according to its plain meaning. **The Court does not agree with this reasoning**, and Zieche has introduced [\*13] no evidence to convince the Court otherwise.

#### Violation: the affirmative prevents a future increase in patents by eliminating beyond the first patent

#### Negate: limits and ground—they allow the aff to monopolize prep by precluding a future increase anytime from now allowing affs to no link from uniqueness scenarios, delay CPs, etc which kills engageability—leads to unpredictable affs that skew the debate away from whether IP is good/bad to when a reduction should occur.

#### TVA – defend the advantage to an aff about reducing patents forever – they would still apply and allows for negative disads to link.

#### No RVIs – you don’t win for being fair and incentivizes baiting theory which leads to maximally abusive practices

No 1AR theory – resolvability – 2AR sandbagging – splitting

## 2

### CP

#### Text: An international panel of scientists including National Academies and corresponding organizations appointed by the member nations of the World Trade Organization should release a binding ruling to [reduce intellectual property protections for medicine].

#### They have the jurisdiction to rule over intellectual property and secure science diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Solves every existential threat.

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

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

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

What is science diplomacy?

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

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

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

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

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

Explore or Exploit? Managing international spaces

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

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

Science diplomacy going forward

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

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

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

## 3

### DA

#### Bipartisan USICA bill passing now but PC is necessary---passage solves competitiveness and hegemony.

Cohon et al 9/7 [Jared, Mary Sue Coleman, and Robert Conn; 9/7/21; Jared Cohon is President Emeritus at Carnegie Mellon University, Mary Sue Coleman is president emerita at University of Michigan and former president of the Association of American Universities; Robert Conn is president emeritus of The Kavli Foundation; “*US Innovation and Competition Act will ensure continued US leadership*,” The Hill, <https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/technology/571078-us-innovation-and-competition-act-will-ensure-continued-us>] Justin

While those paying attention to Capitol Hill recently have been focused on the massive infrastructure and budget packages, Congress has also been making progress on another bill of equal significance. If Congress can put that measure over the finish line, the U.S. will be in a much better position to compete with China and to assure our prosperity and security for decades to come. The measure — known in the Senate as the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act — would significantly increase the federal investment in research, would target more research dollars toward solving specific technological and societal problems, and would help speed the transition of ideas from the lab to the marketplace. The House and Senate have passed different versions of the legislation — both by wide, bipartisan margins — and negotiations that are about to begin will determine whether the U.S. will have the scientific wherewithal it needs for the years ahead. Flexible, thoughtful talks ought to be able to produce an agreement that can be signed into law. The House and Senate approaches are much more alike than they are different, and too much is at stake to let this opportunity pass. Both bills would create a new directorate at the National Science Foundation — an agency that has been funding research at universities since 1950. There are two sets of issues that must be resolved — both of which relate to longstanding debates about the role of the federal government in research. The first concerns the purpose and nature of the research the federal government should fund. The Senate legislation makes maintaining U.S. competitiveness the overriding goal for the new directorate; the House allows work on a wider set of problems. The final bill should make competitiveness at least one focus for the new directorate. Competitiveness is, in part, a technological problem that can be addressed through targeted research investments in basic science. Moreover, the U.S. will be hard-pressed to solve any other issues, like inequity and climate change, if we are in relative economic decline. How could a new research program best deal with competitiveness? By pursuing a kind of research federal programs have often neglected called use-inspired basic research. This means building research around solving specific problems — but problems that require breakthroughs in basic understanding of natural phenomena. A classic example is the research that led to the creation of semiconductors — the circuits that are the basis of our phones and computers. That research was designed to replace vacuum tubes, which were fragile and ungainly, but it required such fundamental new knowledge that the work earned a Nobel Prize. This kind of research is different from basic, curiosity-driven research — research driven just by the desire to understand the world better. That kind of work is essential, but it should not be the sole purpose of federal funding or university lab work. Use-inspired research is also different from applied or translational research — the work to turn the knowledge we have already at hand into useful processes and products. That work is also critical, but much of it should be left to industry to fund and to carry out. The second set of issues relates to where federally funded research should occur. Since at least the end of World War II, concerns have been raised that research is concentrated in too few locations, mostly on the coasts. The concern has intensified as economic growth has become more closely tied to being near leading science and technology centers. Both bills take aim at this issue. The Senate approach is to require fully one-fifth of the National Science Foundation’s money to be distributed through a program that funds work only in states that have not been the top winners of competitive federal research grants. The House approach is to try to build expertise at particular schools that have research programs but are not research leaders, including schools with large minority enrollments. London court says it will ensure that Prince Andrew is served with... US to help Australia acquire nuclear-powered submarines in counter to... Mixing these paths in a balanced way could help create centers of excellence in specific fields throughout the country and do so without losing the boost the U.S. as a whole gets by having a few dozen universities that are world leaders in research. The metric needs to be whether the distribution will strengthen U.S. research and prosperity around the country, not just whether everyone is getting some money. Congress has worked through these issues before when it created the federal agencies, like the National Science Foundation, that have underwritten so much of the research that has kept the U.S. prosperous and secure since 1945. But today we face urgent new challenges, including a rising China. Congress needs to rise to the occasion — as it did after World War II and after the launch of Sputnik — and make an investment in new institutions that can ensure continued U.S. leadership.

#### Aff doesn’t solve but requires negotiations that saps PC.

Pooley 21 [James; Former deputy director general of the United Nations’ World Intellectual Property Organization and a member of the Center for Intellectual Property Understanding; “Drawn-Out Negotiations Over Covid IP Will Blow Back on Biden,” Barron’s; 5/26/21; <https://www.barrons.com/articles/drawn-out-negotiations-over-covid-ip-will-blow-back-on-biden-51621973675>] Justin

The Biden administration recently announced its support for a proposal before the World Trade Organization that would suspend the intellectual property protections on Covid-19 vaccines as guaranteed by the landmark TRIPS Agreement, a global trade pact that took effect in 1995. The decision has sparked furious debate, with supporters arguing that the decision will speed the vaccine rollout in developing countries. The reality, however, is that even if enacted, the IP waiver will have zero short-term impact—but could inflict serious, long-term harm on global economic growth. The myopic nature of the Biden administration’s announcement cannot be overstated. Even if WTO officials decide to waive IP protections at their June meeting, it’ll simply kickstart months of legal negotiations over precisely which drug formulas and technical know-how are undeserving of IP protections. And it’s unthinkable that the Biden administration, or Congress for that matter, would actually force American companies to hand over their most cutting-edge—and closely guarded—secrets. As a result, the inevitable foot-dragging will cause enormous resentment in developing countries. And that’s the real threat of the waiver—precisely because it won’t accomplish either of its short-term goals of improving vaccine access and facilitating tech transfers from rich countries to developing ones. It’ll strengthen calls for more extreme, anti-IP measures down the road. Experts overwhelmingly agree that waiving IP protections alone won’t increase vaccine production. That’s because making a shot is far more complicated than just following a

recipe, and two of the most effective vaccines are based on cutting-edge discoveries using messenger RNA. As Moderna Chief Executive Stephane Bancel said on a recent earnings call, “This is a new technology. You cannot go hire people who know how to make the mRNA. Those people don’t exist. And then even if all those things were available, whoever wants to do mRNA vaccines will have to, you know, buy the machine, invent the manufacturing process, invent creation processes and ethical processes, and then they will have to go run a clinical trial, get the data, get the product approved and scale manufacturing. This doesn’t happen in six or 12 or 18 months.” Anthony Fauci, the president’s chief medical adviser, has echoed that sentiment and emphasized the need for immediate solutions. “Going back and forth, consuming time and lawyers in a legal argument about waivers—that is not the endgame,” he said. “People are dying around the world and we have to get vaccines into their arms in the fastest and most efficient way possible.” Those claiming the waiver poses an immediate, rather than long-term, threat to IP rights also misunderstand what the waiver will—and won’t—do. The waiver petition itself is more akin to a statement of principle than an actual legal document. In fact, it’s only a few pages long. As the Office of the United States Trade Representative has said, “Text-based negotiations at the WTO will take time given the consensus-based nature of the institution and the complexity of the issues involved.” The WTO director-general predicts negotiations will last until early December. That’s a lot of wasted time and effort. The U.S. Trade Representative would be far better off spending the next six months breaking down real trade barriers and helping export our surplus vaccine doses and vaccine ingredients to countries in need.

#### Extinction.

Baird ’20 [Zoë; October 2020; A.B. Phi Beta Kappa and J.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, Member of the Aspen Strategy Group, CEO and President of the Markle Foundation, Former Trustee at the Council on Foreign Relations and Partner in the law firm of O’Melveny & Myers; “Equitable Economic Recovery Is a National Security Imperative”, in Domestic and International (Dis)Order: A Strategic Response, Ed. Bitounis and King, p. 89-90]

Broadly shared economic prosperity is a bedrock of America’s economic and political strength—both domestically and in the international arena. A strong and equitable recovery from the economic crisis created by COVID-19 would be a powerful testament to the resilience of the American system and its ability to create prosperity at a time of seismic change and persistent global crisis. Such a recovery could attack the profound economic inequities that have developed over the past several decades. Without bold action to help all workers access good jobs as the economy returns, the United States risks undermining the legitimacy of its institutions and its international standing. The outcome will be a key determinant of America’s national security for years to come.

An equitable recovery requires a national commitment to help all workers obtain good jobs—particularly the two-thirds of adults without a bachelor’s degree and people of color who have been most affected by the crisis and were denied opportunity before it. As the nation engages in a historic debate about how to accelerate economic recovery, ambitious public investment is necessary to put Americans back to work with dignity and opportunity. We need an intentional effort to make sure that the jobs that come back are good jobs with decent wages, benefits, and mobility and to empower workers to access these opportunities in a profoundly changed labor market.

To achieve these goals, American policy makers need to establish job growth strategies that address urgent public needs through major programs in green energy, infrastructure, and health. Alongside these job growth strategies, we need to recognize and develop the talents of workers by creating an adult learning system that meets workers’ needs and develops skills for the digital economy. The national security community must lend its support to this cause. And as it does so, it can bring home the lessons from the advances made in these areas in other countries, particularly our European allies, and consider this a realm of international cooperation and international engagement.

Shared Economic Prosperity Is a National Security Asset

A strong economy is essential to America’s security and diplomatic strategy. Economic strength increases our influence on the global stage, expands markets, and funds a strong and agile military and national defense. Yet it is not enough for America’s economy to be strong for some—prosperity must be broadly shared. Widespread belief in the ability of the American economic system to create economic security and mobility for all—the American Dream— creates credibility and legitimacy for America’s values, governance, and alliances around the world.

After World War II, the United States grew the middle class to historic size and strength. This achievement made America the model of the free world—setting the stage for decades of American political and economic leadership. Domestically, broad participation in the economy is core to the legitimacy of our democracy and the strength of our political institutions. A belief that the economic system works for millions is an important part of creating trust in a democratic government’s ability to meet the needs of the people.

The COVID-19 Crisis Puts Millions of American Workers at Risk

For the last several decades, the American Dream has been on the wane. Opportunity has been increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small share of workers able to access the knowledge economy. Too many Americans, particularly those without four-year degrees, experienced stagnant wages, less stability, and fewer opportunities for advancement.

Since COVID-19 hit, millions have lost their jobs or income and are struggling to meet their basic needs—including food, housing, and medical care.1 The crisis has impacted sectors like hospitality, leisure, and retail, which employ a large share of America’s most economically vulnerable workers, resulting in alarming disparities in unemployment rates along education and racial lines. In August, the unemployment rate for those with a high school degree or less was more than double the rate for those with a bachelor’s degree.2 Black and Hispanic Americans are experiencing disproportionately high unemployment, with the gulf widening as the crisis continues.3

The experience of the Great Recession shows that without intentional effort to drive an inclusive recovery, inequality may get worse: while workers with a high school education or less experienced the majority of job losses, nearly all new jobs went to workers with postsecondary education. Inequalities across racial lines also increased as workers of color worked in the hardest-hit sectors and were slower to recover earnings and income than White workers.4

The Case for an Inclusive Recovery

A recovery that promotes broad economic participation, renewed opportunity, and equity will strengthen American moral and political authority around the world. It will send a strong message about the strength and resilience of democratic government and the American people’s ability to adapt to a changing global economic landscape. An inclusive recovery will reaffirm American leadership as core to the success of our most critical international alliances, which are rooted in the notion of shared destiny and interdependence. For example, NATO, which has been a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy and a force of global stability for decades, has suffered from American disengagement in recent years. A strong American recovery—coupled with a renewed openness to international collaboration—is core to NATO’s ability to solve shared geopolitical and security challenges. A renewed partnership with our European allies from a position of economic strength will enable us to address global crises such as climate change, global pandemics, and refugees. Together, the United States and Europe can pursue a commitment to investing in workers for shared economic competitiveness, innovation, and long-term prosperity.

The U.S. has unique advantages that give it the tools to emerge from the crisis with tremendous economic strength— including an entrepreneurial spirit and the technological and scientific infrastructure to lead global efforts in developing industries like green energy and biosciences that will shape the international economy for decades to come.

## 4

### DA

#### WTO consensus on fishing subsidies likely now but requires negotiations- consensus is key to solving overfishing- the brink is now.

Koop 21 [Fermin; Argentine journalist specializing in the environment with experience across diverse publications; “WTO Inches Towards a Deal to End Harmful Fishing Subsidies,” Maritime-Executive; 7/30/21; <https://www.maritime-executive.com/editorials/wto-inches-towards-a-deal-to-end-harmful-fishing-subsidies>] Justin

After more than 20 years of negotiations, the World Trade Organization (WTO) has moved a step closer to an agreement on ending harmful fishing subsidies. The deal would set new rules for the global fishing industry and limit government funding that contributes to unsustainable fishing and the depletion of global fish stocks. In a meeting with government ministers and heads of national delegations, WTO members vowed to finish the negotiations before the WTO’s Twelfth Ministerial Conference (MC12) in late November, and to empower their delegations in Geneva to do so. Members also said the negotiating text currently on the table can be used as the basis to strike a final agreement. “It’s been a successful day,” WTO chief Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala told reporters at the close of the meeting. “In 20 years of negotiations, this is the closest we have ever come towards reaching an outcome – a high-quality outcome that would contribute to building a sustainable blue economy. I feel new hope.” The talks’ chair, Santiago Wills, was also upbeat: “I believe that the answers today have given us the ingredients to reach a successful conclusion. Members now want to move to text-based negotiations. Twenty years has been long enough. If we continue [negotiating] for another 20 years, there won’t be any fish left.” Negotiators at the WTO had been tasked with eliminating subsidies for illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing and prohibiting certain subsidies that contribute to overcapacity and overfishing. Talks have been going on since 2001 but differences between governments have hindered progress. 2020 had been set as a deadline to strike an agreement, but talks were delayed due to Covid-19 restrictions and the US presidential elections. A deadline was then set for this July, which was again missed. Now, Okonjo-Iweala, appointed as head of the WTO in March, aims to reach an agreement by year-end in what will be a key test for the organization’s credibility, with members deadlocked on other fronts. “In international negotiations of this type only two things are relevant. The nitty-gritty to make sure everybody is on the same page, and the spirit that prevails. If Ngozi and Wills reflected correctly what happened in the meeting, we can say there’s cautious optimism over an agreement,” Remi Parmentier, director of environmental consultancy The Varda Group, told China Dialogue Ocean. A potential agreement At the meeting, ministers discussed an eight-page draft agreement, which lists a range of subsidy bans and some conditions for exemptions for poorer countries, all of which are yet to be finalised. While some delegations like the EU were positive, several ministers expressed reservations over the content of the text. “Clearly, it will lead to capacity constraints for developing countries, while advanced nations will continue to grant subsidies,” Indian trade minister Piyush Goyal said at the meeting, regarding one part of the text. Pakistan described the draft as “regressive and unbalanced,” while the African coalition said “significant gaps” remain. Countries’ differences were acknowledged by Ngozi and Wills at the meeting. Nevertheless, they remain optimistic and said the issues would be resolved once countries move into text-based negotiations. The agreement on fishing subsidies will require a consensus among all member states, according to WTO rules. The draft deal essentially proposes three categories of prohibited subsidies; those that support IUU fishing, affect overfished stocks, or lead to overcapacity and overfishing. While this may sound simple, the political, economic and cultural complexities represent real challenges. One of the main issues has been the demand for developing countries and the poorest nations to receive so-called special and differential treatment. While this is widely accepted for the poorest countries, demands from self-identified developing countries to be exempt from subsidy constraints has proven to be difficult to accept. Many of the major fishing nations are considered developing countries by the WTO, including China, which has one of the world’s biggest fishing fleets. China’s minister of commerce, Wang Wentao, expressed China’s “support for the conclusion of [fishing subsidies] negotiations before the end of MC12.” Speaking at the meeting on 15 July, Wang stressed that concluding the negotiations would represent a major contribution from the WTO to the United Nations’ 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. “As a developing country and a major fishing power, China will take on obligations commensurate with our level of development," he said. At the meeting, Wang also introduced China’s emphasis on green development in future policies on fishing subsidies and its “zero-tolerance” policy towards IUU. Isabel Jarrett, manager of The Pew Charitable Trusts’ project to end harmful fisheries subsidies, told China Dialogue Ocean that an agreement “with too many loopholes” would undermine the WTO’s sustainability goals. The final text has to ensure that governments aren’t allowed to subsidize “irresponsible practices that can hurt fish populations,” she added. The scale of the problem Subsidies paid to the global fishing industry amount to around $35 billion per year (228 billion yuan). Of this, $20 billion is given in forms that enhance the capacity of large fishing fleets, such as fuel subsidies and tax exemption programmes, according to the European Parliament’s Committee on Fisheries. In 2018, the world’s top 10 providers of harmful fisheries subsidies gave out $15.4 billion in total, according to a report by Oceana. The EU, as a bloc, provided $2 billion, ranking third behind China and Japan. Research by Pew has found that eliminating all harmful subsidies could help fish populations recover. Specifically, it would result in an increase of 12.5 percent in global fish biomass by 2050, which translates into nearly 35 million metric tonnes of fish – almost three times Africa’s entire fish consumption in a single year. The need for progress on an agreement has gained new urgency during the last few years, as the world’s fish populations have continued to fall below sustainable levels. Around 60 percent of assessed stocks are fully exploited and 30 percent are overexploited, according to the latest figures from the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. The termination of harmful subsidies, which is embedded in the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), would be seen as key progress on ocean sustainability ahead of this year’s UN biodiversity conference in Kunming, scheduled for October, and the COP26 climate summit in Glasgow in November. “This is the year that the agreement has to be delivered. The WTO chief has made positive pronouncements of an agreement this year. There’s light at the end of this 20-year tunnel. The alternative of being in the tunnel shadows is a depressing prospect at the time ocean life is declining,” Peter Thomson,?UN special envoy for the ocean, said in a recent webinar.

#### Plan requires TRIPs negotiations.

Holman 18 [Christopher; 9/21/18; Professor at the University of Missouri-Kansas City School of Law, where his primary research focus lies at the intersection of intellectual property and biotechnology; “*Why Follow-On Pharmaceutical Innovations Should Be Eligible For Patent Protection*,” Intellectual property watch, <https://www.ip-watch.org/2018/09/21/follow-pharmaceutical-innovations-eligible-patent-protection/>] Justin

Compatibility with TRIPS The heightened requirements of patentability proposed in the Guidelines not only pose a threat to important follow-on pharmaceutical innovation, but if they were to be adopted could constitute noncompliance with certain international treaties, including in particular the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (“TRIPS Agreement”), which the 164 Members of the World Trade Organization (WTO) have agreed to abide by. The TRIPS Agreement requires WTO Members to provide certain minimum levels of protection for patentable inventions, thus placing substantive limitations on the ability of WTO Members to raise the bar for patentability. The TRIPS Agreement in no way sanctions subject matter-specific heightened requirements of patentability; to the contrary, the antidiscrimination provision in the TRIPS Agreement affirmatively precludes such measures. Unfortunately, this point is all too often lost in discussions of international and domestic patent policy.

#### Negotiations on IPR require tradeoffs- empirics prove.

DC = DEVELOPING COUNTRY

NET = NET EXPORTER OF TECH (advanced countries)

TNC = Trade Negotiations Committee

Anell = Lars Anell the Chair of the TRIPS negotiations

Marcellin 16 Marcellin, Sherry (Professor, London School of Economics). The political economy of pharmaceutical patents: US sectional interests and the African Group at the WTO. Routledge, 2016. SJMS

Regarding the provisions in the section on patents, including that on exclusions from patentability, another DC negotiator maintained that the stipulations should reflect ‘a well-balanced system’ (ibid: 3). Ironically however, he proceeded to categorise the texts as ‘reasonably satisfactory’, contending that a positive attitude of his delegation towards them would depend to a large extent on progress in other areas of the negotiation (ibid). This was the second time in the negotiations that a DC delegate made such an obvious attempt to concede in TRIPS while seeking bargains in other negotiating areas, suggesting that the real access-to-medicines implications of patents were not fully appreciated by all such participants (Abbott 2002: 43–4); and that such participants may have understood that the negotiations would not have culminated in their favour. Immediately after the April TNC of 1989 a similarly affiliated participant had also affirmed that if some participants were to be required to make sacrifices in the area of IPRs, there should be a readiness to make such sacrifices for their benefit in agriculture, natural resources or other negotiating groups (MTN.GNG/NG11/13: 5).10 This first declaration could be construed as a signal of a prejudged outcome that disfavoured DCs. Towards the end of this session another DC participant, supported by several others, pointed out that some other delegations had very high ambitions in the area of TRIPS and that the time had come to review the subject matter in the context of the Uruguay Round negotiations as a whole, particularly in relation to what was being offered in the more traditional areas of the GATT (ibid: 12). At these final stages in the negotiations, DCs were actively seeking trade-offs in other areas in return for agreeing to IPRs in the manner in which the NETs had anticipated (Adede 2003: 30 and Matthews 2002: 109). Anell’s informal consultations and his proposed bilateral bargaining strategies worked in tandem to consolidate the weakening position of DCs propagated during the April TNC meeting in 1989. Anell ended this final session by sharing concerns expressed about the need for results in all areas of the UR, explicitly urging delegations to manufacture consensus through concessionary bargaining. The effects would later be seen in Dunkel’s ‘Draft Final Acts Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations’.11

#### That collapses biodiversity.

Osmanski 20 [Stephanie; Freelance Journaler, Writer at GreenMatters; “How Does Overfishing Affect Biodiversity? Let's Do a Deep Dive,” GreenMatters; 12/29/20; <https://www.greenmatters.com/p/how-overfishing-affects-biodiversity>] Justin

Three out of seven people — about 260 million worldwide — rely on seafood as their primary source of protein, which means the environmental and health impacts of fishing are more relevant than ever. In fact, overfishing is becoming a huge problem; Conservation.org reports that one-third of the world’s wild-caught fisheries are depleted as a direct result of overfishing, pollution, and climate change. As fish populations decline, farmed fisheries have started supplying most of our seafood, which is often plagued with additives, growth hormones, genetically modified organisms, and even food dye. However, overfishing results in other issues, too — mainly, environmental issues. Overfishing significantly affects biodiversity, which in turn, changes the ecosystem. Keep reading to find out more on how overfishing contributes to biodiversity. What is overfishing? Overfishing refers to non-sustainable practices of fishing that result in the depletion of fish species. In layman’s terms, overfishing happens when fishermen catch fish faster than the fish can reproduce. Long ago, when fishing relied on more natural methods (instinct, word-of-mouth, and guesswork), fishing practices were more natural and therefore, sustainable. But due to modern technology, fishermen now get significant help from high-tech machinery that can detect and track schools of fish, enable fishermen to explore new areas of water they had not been able to access before, and also embark in deeper waters. According to the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), over 70 percent of the world’s fisheries are “fully exploited,” “over exploited,” or “significantly depleted” as a direct result of overfishing. What is biodiversity? Biodiversity refers to the variety of life on Earth, referring to our planet’s vast number of biological species and organisms. It's heavily impacted when certain species cease to exist, or become threatened at a rate that is faster than that species can reproduce. Ultimately, the number of plants, animals, and microorganism species on Earth determines biodiversity. According to Global Issues, varying genes in each of these species also contributes to more biodiversity. If ecosystems or species become threatened or cease to exist, biodiversity decreases — and ultimately, all walks of life are impacted — because of the degrading food chain and other necessary biological processes. How does overfishing affect biodiversity? Overfishing impacts biodiversity in more ways than one — per Marine Science Today, overfishing alters the food chain. If a certain species is wiped out due to overfishing, the animals that rely on that species as a food source could starve, or might resort to eating other species of fish, thus altering the ecosystem and food chain as a whole. On the other end of the spectrum, the population generally consumed by the extinct species would grow disproportionately, often making way for an influx of pests. Overfishing creates a domino effect that impacts all living organisms, therefore significantly affecting biodiversity. Why is biodiversity important? Biodiversity is necessary, because every organism plays a role in the eco-system. If one species is compromised, biodiversity becomes compromised as a whole: the food chain, ecosystems, and more. The more biodiversity there is on this planet, the more productive ecosystems are, contributing to a greater availability of biological resources. Apart from food, biodiversity impacts medicinal resources, wood products, and ornamental plants. Biodiversity also helps ecosystems recover in cases of disaster. If a weather event threatens natural disasters, healthy, biodiverse ecosystems have a better chance of bouncing back. It also ensures protection of water resources, soil formation, nutrient storage and recycling, and the necessary breakdown of pollution. Why is marine biodiversity is important to humans? Aside from assuring food security, marine biodiversity also provides social and socioeconomic benefits. Socioeconomically, many areas of the world rely on fisheries to survive. If fishermen cannot sell seafood, fisheries cannot purchase fish, and these ways of life are forced out of business. A side effect of that would be that so many populations that rely on fisheries would be out of their main source of protein. Biodiversity also brings many social benefits to human populations: the opportunities to research and educate about fisheries, natural habitats, ecosystems, and various species. It also increases tourism and recreational activities, while having a lasting cultural impact, too — if specific populations rely on a species for food, loss of that population would affect that population’s culture and food supply. Marine biodiversity is incredibly important — let's take a stand against overfishing to ensure it doesn't plague eco-systems and human populations alike. TBH, might be best to go fish-free. instead.

#### Biodiversity loss causes extinction.

Torres 19[Phil; Affiliate Scholar at the Institute for Ethics and Emerging Technologies, Founder of the X-Risks Institute, Writer Appearing in Skeptic, Free Inquiry, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Salon, Truthout, Erkenntnis, Metaphilosophy; “Biodiversity Loss: An Existential Risk Comparable To Climate Change,” Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; 4/11/16; <https://thebulletin.org/2016/04/biodiversity-loss-an-existential-risk-comparable-to-climate-change/>] Justin

Catastrophic consequences for civilization. The consequences of this rapid pruning of the evolutionary tree of life extend beyond the obvious. There could be surprising effects of biodiversity loss that scientists are unable to fully anticipate in advance. For example, prior research has shown that localized ecosystems can undergo abrupt and irreversible shifts when they reach a tipping point. According to a 2012 paper published in Nature, there are reasons for thinking that we may be approaching a tipping point of this sort in the global ecosystem, beyond which the consequences could be catastrophic for civilization.

As the authors write, a planetary-scale transition could precipitate “substantial losses of ecosystem services required to sustain the human population.” An ecosystem service is any ecological process that benefits humanity, such as food production and crop pollination. If the global ecosystem were to cross a tipping point and substantial ecosystem services were lost, the results could be “widespread social unrest, economic instability, and loss of human life.” According to Missouri Botanical Garden ecologist Adam Smith, one of the paper’s co-authors, this could occur in a matter of decades—far more quickly than most of the expected consequences of climate change, yet equally destructive.

Biodiversity loss is a “threat multiplier” that, by pushing societies to the brink of collapse, will exacerbate existing conflicts and introduce entirely new struggles between state and non-state actors. Indeed, it could even fuel the rise of terrorism. (After all, climate change has been linked to the emergence of ISIS in Syria, and multiple high-ranking US officials, such as former US Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel and CIA director John Brennan, have affirmed that climate change and terrorism are connected.)

The reality is that we are entering the sixth mass extinction in the 3.8-billion-year history of life on Earth, and the impact of this event could be felt by civilization “in as little as three human lifetimes,” as the aforementioned 2012 Nature paper notes. Furthermore, the widespread decline of biological populations could plausibly initiate a dramatic transformation of the global ecosystem on an even faster timescale: perhaps a single human lifetime.

The unavoidable conclusion is that biodiversity loss constitutes an existential threat in its own right. As such, it ought to be considered alongside climate change and nuclear weapons as one of the most significant contemporary risks to human prosperity and survival.

## 5

### DA

#### Liquidity stays robust in 2021 despite challenges – status-quo ensures declines are controlled.

Lokeshwarri 21 [SK; Chief of Research Bureau; “3 reasons why market liquidity will stay robust in 2021,” BusinessLine; 1/3/21; <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/data-stories/deep-dive/3-reasons-why-market-liquidity-will-stay-robust-in-2021/article33487346.ece>] Justin

As we step into 2021, investors in Indian equity market have much to be thankful for. While the deep cut in March 2020 — that made the Nifty50 and the Sensex lose almost 40 per cent from the January peak — had everyone losing their head in worry, all the losses were recouped in the following months. The benchmark indices have gained a whopping 79 per cent from the March lows and ended the year with gains of over 15 per cent.

It’s clear that investors are chasing growth, making valuation pricey in select pockets, even as value continues to exist in cyclical stocks. The question that begs an answer now is: will this rally continue in 2021? That depends, to a large extent, on the demand for stocks, also called market liquidity. There are three main reasons why liquidity will remain robust in 2021 as well. While market corrections and sporadic volatility cannot be ruled out, these factors will ensure that the declines do not get too serious.

Interest rates at rock bottom

One of the principal reasons why investors flocked to equity markets after March 2020 was due to the large interest rate cuts by all central banks including the RBI to stimulate the economy. The RBI slashed the repo rate from 5.15 per cent towards the beginning of 2020 to 4 per cent by May; the lowest level in two decades. This made banks lower their deposit rates making fixed income investments unattractive. It needs to be noted the Indian central bank has been consistently lowering rates since 2012, when the repo rate was 8.5 per cent, in a bid to boost growth. This has been one of the drivers of the structural bull-run since 2013.

Other central banks including the US Federal Reserve also similarly slashed rates in March and April. As the accompanying table shows, policy rates of countries such as the US, UK, Canada, Australia, Norway, etc are close to zero; while countries such as Switzerland, Denmark, Japan and the Euro zone have negative policy rates. Maximum global wealth lies in the US and Europe with most FPIs originating from these regions. It is, therefore, not surprising that the hunt for higher returns attracted these investors to Indian stocks.

With global monetary policy expected to be dovish through 2021, the FPI flows in to India equity is likely to be supportive this year.

Dollar movement and global central bank stimulus

Another factor that needs to be tracked closely to gauge liquidity in stock market is the movement of the US dollar. Dollar along with gold is a safe haven with value increasing in times of extreme risk-off sentiments, due to money flowing in to US treasury instruments.

If we track the long-term movement of the dollar index, it can be noted that the index consistently moved lower from 116 in 2002 to 73 in 2008. This was the period of an unbridled bull-run in most equity markets. The period from 2014 to 2016, when the dollar index rallied was accompanied by volatility in global stocks.

The dollar index is once again weak. The weakness is partly on account of the Federal Reserve’s next tranche of stimulus announced recently and the unlimited dollar printing. But it also signifies that there is certain degree of complacency in financial markets regarding the ability of the central banks to keep economies afloat. This is making money move out of the haven of dollar-denominated securities. Continued dollar weakness in 2021 will keep the bias of FPIs tilted towards equities in emerging markets such as India.

The other factor that is supplying liquidity to markets is the stimulus funding being unleashed by Advanced Economies. Some of this money tends to move in to risky assets as the flood of money coupled with lows interest rates in these economies boosts currency carry trades.

Vaccine roll-out, normalisation of economic activity

As far as domestic liquidity goes, there isn’t much to worry about. Though equity oriented mutual funds have witnessed outflows over the last five months, there are other indications that domestic investors have enough liquidity on their hands. One, turnover on domestic stock exchanges has been booming with cash volumes almost doubling since April 2020. Two, the massive over-subscription in IPOs shows that people have surplus on their hands which they are willing to deploy in to stocks.

Also, the Covid-led job losses has not really affected the upper and upper-middle class much. A survey by UBS of 1,508 consumers aged between 18 and 54 found that while 47 per cent of the respondents saw a decline in income in 2020, 49 per cent witnessed stable income or an increase. Also, close to two-thirds of respondents expect income to increase in 2021.

While economic growth is largely expected to contract in the 8-10 per cent range in FY21, most research houses think that growth in FY22 in India will be the fastest globally, around 8 per cent. Revival in activity, of course, hinges on the vaccine roll-out and people getting the confidence to resume activities at pre-Covid levels. With over 56 per cent of the country’s GDP being derived by consumption, success of the vaccine and elimination of the Covid virus would be the key to sustained earnings growth in companies.

One negative fall-out of easing of movement restriction and end of work-from-home would be the inability of the people to trade from offices due to the restrictions in office Wi-Fi and other protocols. This could dampen trading turnover to some extent, though it won’t have a material affect on investing behaviour.

#### The plan collapses market liquidity – our evidence is super recent and really good.

* DiD- Difference in Difference

Dass et al 21 [Nishant Dass, Vikram Nanda, Steven Xiao; Scheller College of Business, Georgia Institute of Technology Rutgers Business School; “Intellectual Property Protection and Financial Markets: Patenting versus Secrecy,” 4/22/21 (**The download site says 4/22/21 but the pdf says 11/20/20 so I just put the former – correct if wrong**); <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2648770&download=yes>] Justin

5.2.1 TRIPS and Patents

First, we test Hypothesis H1 for the effect of TRIPS on patenting. Our prediction is that stronger international patent protection will encourage firms in patent–reliant industries to use patents over trade secrecy to protect their IPs. We formally test the effect of TRIPS on patenting and stock liquidity (H1) using the following DiD model:

Patentsi,t = α1 + β1Post–TRIPSi,t × Treatedj + γ 0 1CONT ROLi,t−1 + φi + ψt + i,t. (4)

We estimate Model (4) over a five–year window, [t−2, t+ 2], around the implementation of TRIPS. Patents are counted based on the timing of either applications or issuances. Since the implementation of TRIPS in the United States was enforced by the passage of URAA on December 8, 1994, and it became effective on January 1, 1995, we define 1995 as the event year and test the DiD model in a five–year window centered on 1995.20 Post–TRIPSi,t is a binary variable that equals one if the observation is in or after 1995, and equals zero otherwise. We consider industries that are reliant on patents as the treated group. Following Delgado, Kyle, and McGahan (2013), we categorize four–digit NAICS industries as patent–reliant or not based on a 2012 report by the Economics and Statistics Administration (ESA) and the USPTO. Our prediction based on H1 is that the estimate of β1 on the interaction term should be significantly positive.

Since our analysis focuses on firms’ patenting decisions and stock liquidity, we follow the literature and control for a set of firm and industry characteristics that are likely related to firms’ patenting activities and/or stock liquidity. We include firm size and age because older and larger firms tend to generate more patents (Atanassov, 2015). We include asset characteristics for cash holding and tangibility, because asset liquidity is correlated with stock liquidity (Gopalan, Kadan, and Pevzner, 2012). We include firm performance using Tobin’s Q and return on assets (ROA) because firms with better performance tend to be more innovative and have higher stock liquidity. We include industry concentration using the Herfindahl–Hirschman index at four–digit NAICS industry level because corporate innovation is related to the level of product market competition (Aghion et al., 2005). We include the number of analysts following the stock, which is related to higher stock liquidity (Balakrishnan et al., 2014). Standard errors are estimated with clustering at the four–digit NAICS industry level to account for within–industry correlation in patenting activity.21

We estimate this model in four different forms to account for the fact that the number of patent applications and the number of patent grants are count variables with high skewness (see Table 1). The first one is a linear regression with log one plus the number of patent applications or patent grants as the dependent variable. The second one is a negative binomial regression with the number of patent applications or patent grants as the dependent variable. The third one is a Poisson regression with the number of patent applications or patent grants as the dependent variable. The fourth one is a logit regression in which the dependent variable is a binary variable that equals one if a firm has any patent applications or patent grants in a year. Across all forms of regressions, we control for firm fixed effects and year fixed effects, and, thus, the stand–alone variables Post–TRIPS and Treated are absorbed by the fixed effects and cannot be estimated.22

Table 3 reports the coefficient estimates of Model (4). The estimates in columns 1 to 3 and 5 to 7 show that the number of both patent applications and patent grants for firms in patent– reliant industries significantly increased after the implementation of TRIPS. These increases are also economically significant. For example, the linear regression estimates in column 1 (5) suggest that the number of patent applications (patent grants) increased by 10.2% (7.7%) in the post–TRIPS period. Based on Lemley’s (1994) estimate that the average patentee received 253 additional days of protection with the new term conferred by the URAA, our estimates suggest that firms in patent– reliant industries increase the number of patent applications (patent grants) by 0.04% (0.03%) for every additional day of patent protection. In columns 2, 3, 6, and 7, where we present estimates of negative binomial regressions and Poisson regressions, the sample size falls by more than half. This is because firms with zero patents throughout the sample period are dropped from the regression as the outcome variables are perfectly explained by firm fixed effects. Nevertheless, the DiD estimates remain robustly positive in these regressions.23

In columns 4 and 8, where we present estimates of logit regressions, the sample size is even smaller because firms that have non–zero patents every year in the sample period are also dropped from the regression. In the logit regressions, the DiD estimates are insignificant. These results suggest that the increase in the number of patents is not driven by the extensive margin, which would be the case if firms that did not patents prior to TRIPS started patenting afterward. Instead, the results are driven by the intensive margin, whereby firms that patented prior to TRIPS increased their patenting activity after TRIPS. A plausible explanation is that the marginal benefits of a longer patent term and the international enforcement of patent protection conferred by TRIPS may not be sufficient to offset the fixed costs of starting to patent, such as the cost of hiring legal experts and developing the institutional knowledge about the patenting procedure. In our sample, 69% of firms in patent–reliant industries (i.e., the treated group) had at least one patent application in the pre–TRIPS period, whereas only 21% of firms in the control group did so. Hence, the treated group is more likely to increase patenting along the intensive margin. This is consistent with our assumption that firms in patent–reliant industries benefit more from a marginal improvement in the strength of patent protection.

We test the parallel–trend assumption for Model (4) by estimating a dynamic version of the model. We estimate the dynamic DiD model using the quarterly number of patents so that we have more data points when observing the pre–trends. Figure 4 reports the estimates of the dynamic DiD model. The sample includes 20 quarters for the same five–year period used in Table 3, with 1993Q1 as the base level (and hence not estimated) and 1995Q1 as quarter 0. The figure shows that the pre–trends appear parallel until quarter 0, after which the number of patent applications by the treated group sharply spikes in quarter 1 (1995Q2). As Abrams (2008) points out, the enforcement of the patent term extension of the URAA likely drives this spike. The new patent term, which is 20 years from the application date, applies to patents that are filed on and after June 8, 1995. However, subsection (c)(1) of URAA (1994) implicitly allows patents that were filed before June 8, 1995, to receive the longer of the old term and the new term. This provision incentivizes firms to rush their patent applications before June 8 to maximize the patent term. After the spike in patent filings in quarter 1, the number of patent applications by the treated group gradually but significantly increase. Overall, the parallel trend in patenting activity appears to hold in the pre–TRIPS period, supporting the validity of our DiD design.

5.2.2 TRIPS and Stock Liquidity

Given the results that firms in patent–reliant industries increase patenting more than other firms after the implementation of TRIPS, we expect these firms to also experience a greater improvement in stock liquidity post–TRIPS. We test our prediction using the following model:

Stock Illiquidityi,t = α1 + β1Post-TRIPSi,t × Treatedj + γ 0 1CONT ROLi,t−1 + φi + ψt + i,t. (5)

We measure stock illiquidity using Amihud’s measure and the annual average of daily closing bid– ask spread, because the high–frequency data used for relative effective spread are not available before 1993 and have limited coverage for the first few years. We control for the same set of control variables used in Model (4) and include firm and year fixed effects to account for time–invariant unobservable firm characteristics and the macroeconomic conditions, respectively. Standard errors are estimated with clustering at the four–digit NAICS industry level to account for within–industry correlation in stock liquidity. Based on H1, we predict the estimated β1 on the interaction term to be significantly negative, since we expect firms in patent–reliant industries to experience a greater reduction in stock illiquidity after the implementation of TRIPS relative to other firms.

Table 4 presents the estimates of Model (5). The results show that the DiD estimator is significantly negative for both measures of stock illiquidity. The effect is also economically significant: in the five–year period surrounding the implementation of TRIPS in the United States, the bid– ask spread (Amihud’s illiquidity) of treated firms decreased by 14.0% (27.1%) more than that of the control firms. Based on Lemley’s (1994) estimate of the average number of additional days of patent protection with the new term conferred by the URAA, our estimates suggest that the bid– ask spread (Amihud’s illiquidity) of firms in patent–reliant industries decreases by 0.06% (0.11%) for every additional day of patent protection. This is consistent with our prediction that the stock liquidity of firms in patent–reliant industries significantly improved more than that of other firms after the implementation of TRIPS.

Similar to Figure 4, here we also examine the pre–trends in stock illiquidity by estimating a dynamic version of Model (5) using quarterly data. Figures 5 and 6 present the estimates of the dynamic DiD models for the two measures of stock illiquidity. The figures show that the stock illiquidity of the treated firms does not exhibit a significant downward trend relative to the control firms until quarter 0, when TRIPS became effective. These results again support the parallel trends assumption of our DiD models.

#### Statistics prove liquidity is key to long-term growth.

Abdul-Khaliq 13 [Shatha; Assistant Professor, AlBlqa Applied University, Jordan; “The Impact of Stock Market Liquidity on Economic Growth in Jordan,” European Journal of Business and Management [www.iiste.org](http://www.iiste.org); 2013; <https://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/EJBM/article/viewFile/9456/9661#:~:text=Focusing%20on%20liquidity%2C%20Bencivenga%2C%20et,key%20role%20in%20economic%20growth.&text=By%20facilitating%20longer%20term%2C%20more,for%20long%20term%20economic%20growth>.] Justin

5. Data and Methodology

Generally, previous research using cross-country data supports the hypothesis that financial development leads to economic growth. Levine and Zervos (1996), use the regression equation: where X is a set of control variables, GROWTH is the real GDP growth rate and STOCK represents measurements of the stock market. So relationship of the form is :

GROWTH = β0 + β1 MC + β2MTR + e3

Where

MC = market capitalization as percentage of GDP

MTR = market turnover ratio as measure of stock market liquidity

The 20-year time-series (1991-2011) data used for this study was collected from Amman Stock Exchange Annual Reports and Accounts, Central Bank of Jordan Statistical Bulletin, various issues.

The summary descriptive statistics of the variables used (Table 1) show the mean, standard deviation and minimum and maximum value of the data. It is obvious from the table that GDP growth in Jordan ranges from 2% to 14% with an average of 5%. The average market capitalization as percentage of GDP has remained on 1.47 and its ranking continuously rise from 0.49 to 3.6 in the year 2005. The market turnover ratio is averaged at 51.9 starting from its minimum value of 11.59 in year 2000 to 102.1 in 2010.

5.1 Stationary Test: table 2 shows the unit root test using the augmented Dickey - Fuller (ADF). The objective of the unit root test is to empirically examine whether series contains a unit root or not. If the series contains a unit root, this means that the series is non-stationary. Otherwise, the series will be categorized as stationary. The unit root tests show that Economic growth, market capitalization as percentage of GDP and market turnover ratio are not stationary at the zero order both with constant and constant and trend terms. Hence, we move ahead to conduct the ADF test at first difference to further ascertain the stationary of the series. The unit root results at first difference rejects the null hypothesis of non-stationary at both 1 and 5 percent levels for Economic growth, market capitalization as percentage of GDP and market turnover ratio.

6.Results and discussions:

The methodology of the series of the regression using the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) model to prove a significant correlation between market liquidity and economic growth. The Table 3 shows the regression results for the impact of Stock Market Liquidity on Economic Growth in Jordan. It shows that over 28 percent of the total changes in economic growth rate are explained by the included exogenous variables. The adjusted R-square result explains over 20 systemic changes in the model. The Durbin Watson Statistics indicates insignificant autocorrelation in the model represented above. The F-statistics is statistically significant at the 5 percent level The coefficient of market capitalization as percentage of GDP (MC) is negative but it is statistically insignificant. The coefficient of market turnover ratio (MTR) is significant at the 5% level and the sign is positive indicating that 1% increase in market turnover ratio will increase the growth rate of GDP by 0.06%. This means that market turnover ratio has more positive influence on economic growth in Jordan.

7. Conclusion

This study investigates the relationship of stock market liquidity and economic growth by taking market capitalization to GDP and turnover ratio as independent variables. The impact of these variables is empirically tested on economic growth as a dependant variable for the period of 1991 to 2011 using ADF unit root testing methodology and OLS regression. We find that the market turnover ratio has a stronger influence on economic growth than the of market capitalization to GDP

Finally,, governments should promote stock market liquidity by for instance propagating knowledge to the public of the benefits of investing in stock markets and to ensure higher liquidity on stock markets. These incentives would promote both domestic and foreign investments to penetrate the domestic economies, and thus help to increase economic growth.

#### Growth solves extinction.

Aschenbrenner 20 [Leopold Aschenbrenner; Student in economics at Columbia University and research affiliate at the University of Oxford’s Global Priorities Institute; "Securing posterity," Works in Progress; 10/19/20; <https://worksinprogress.co/issue/securing-posterity/>] julian // Re-Cut Justin

I argue that the opposite is the case. It is not safe stagnation and risky growth that we must choose between; rather, it is stagnation that is risky and it is growth that leads to safety. We might indeed be in “time of perils”: we might be advanced enough to have developed the means for our destruction, but not advanced enough to care sufficiently about safety. But stagnation does not solve the problem: we would simply stagnate at this high level of risk. Eventually, a nuclear war or environmental catastrophe would doom humanity regardless. Faster economic growth could initially increase risk, as feared. But it will also help us get past this time of perils more quickly. When people are poor, they can’t focus on much beyond ensuring their own livelihoods. But as people grow richer, they start caring more about things like the environment and protecting against risks to life. And so, as economic growth makes people richer, they will invest more in safety, protecting against existential catastrophes. As technological innovation and our growing wealth has allowed us to conquer past threats to human life like smallpox, so can faster economic growth, in the long run, increase the overall chances of humanity’s survival. This argument is based on a recent paper of mine, in which I use the tools of economic theory—in particular, the standard models economists use to analyze economic growth—to examine the interaction between economic growth and the risks engendered by human activity. In this model, society must choose how much of its resources to allocate to consumption and how much to safety efforts. Consumption makes us happy, but also creates risks of catastrophe. Investing in safety can in turn help mitigate that risk. For example, consuming fossil fuels can engender great prosperity, but also increases the risk of tail-end climate change. We can spend money on carbon abatement to reduce this risk. Or consider air travel. It’s very useful as well, but also facilitates the spread of infectious diseases, including potentially a pandemic that could wipe out the human race. We can spend money on pandemic preparedness to mitigate that risk. Crucially, society is impatient; it discounts the future. People generally care most about their more immediate well-being. Although they may care about their kids and grandkids, they are certainly not particularly concerned about the trillions of potential lives billions of years in the future that the aforementioned philosophers appeal to. However, an impatient society does care about not getting wiped out. Therefore, what fraction of its resources this impatient society will allocate to safety depends on how much the people in this society value their own lives. As it turns out, under the standard preferences used in economic theory, people value life more and more as they grow richer. This is because of the diminishing marginal returns of consumption. As you grow richer, using an extra dollar to purchase more consumption goods gives you less and less additional utility; meanwhile, as your life becomes better and better, you stand to lose more and more if you die. As a result, the richer people are, the greater the fraction of their income they are willing to sacrifice to protect their lives. Comparing the current pandemic to the 1918 pandemic illustrates this phenomenon. Today, we are putting much of life on hold to minimize deaths. By contrast, in 1918, nonpharmaceutical interventions were milder and went on only for a month on average in the U.S., even though the Spanish Flu was arguably deadlier and claimed younger victims. We are willing to sacrifice much more today than a hundred years ago to prevent deaths because we are richer and thus value life much more. What does this mean for our model? Initially, a poor society will start out by allocating nearly all of its resources to consumption. And so as the economy grows, so does risk. However, as people grow richer, they start valuing life more. They start investing in safety to mitigate risk, shifting more and more resources from consumption to safety. At this point, as the economy grows, risk begins to fall. The risk of a existential catastrophe then looks like an inverted U-shape over time: The dot represents where we might be right now. Over the past centuries, as we have grown out of poverty, we have overwhelmingly focused on consumption. As a result, risk is growing. But as we are growing richer, we are beginning to value life more, and are slowly investing more in safety. Eventually, we will have shifted enough resources to safety such that risk begins to fall—fall exponentially to zero, in fact, such that there is a positive probability of humanity surviving to reach a grand future. And all of this occurs despite our society’s impatience. There is an analog to this in environmental economics, called the “environmental Kuznets curve.” It was theorized that pollution initially rises as countries develop, but, as people grow richer and begin to value a clean environment more, they will work to reduce pollution again. That theory has arguably been vindicated by the path that Western countries have taken with regard to water and air pollution, for example, over the past century. The idea that we are in a unique time in history in which we are facing an elevated risk of existential catastrophe is not new either. Carl Sagan was the one who coined the term “time of perils.” Derek Parfit called it the “hinge of history.” They argue that the discoveries of the last centuries have granted humanity immense power, and so we are in a most “dangerous and decisive” period. But if we manage to survive, our descendants will be able to spread throughout the galaxy, making us much less vulnerable. They will have mastered new technologies that make us immune to bioengineered pathogens, neutralize the threat from atomic bombs, provide plentiful energy without destroying the environment, and keep artificial intelligence in check so it faithfully serves human needs. With their technology and wisdom, our descendants will be able to secure a long and safe future. Our challenge, then, is to make it through this unique perilous period. Seeing the rising levels of existential risk over the past centuries, some might call for an end to economic growth. They might argue, rightfully so, that economic growth has only led to rising risk in the past. Indeed, a period of accelerated economic growth would initially also accelerate the rise in risk. The level of risk might look something like this, where the lighter line is the path with accelerated growth: Even a few hundred years later, the critics of growth would seem to be vindicated! Faster growth just increased the risk! Except that they are missing the whole picture: The accelerated economic growth also accelerated our path along the inverted-U shape of risk. Faster growth means people are richer sooner, so they value life more sooner, so society shifts resources to safety sooner—and ultimately we will begin the decline in risk sooner. As a result, the overall probability of an existential catastrophe—the area under the risk curve—declines! Faster growth means we get through the “time of perils” more quickly. Indeed, stagnation would be the most dangerous choice of all: we would be stuck at an elevated level of risk, meaning an eventual existential catastrophe would be inevitable.

## 6

### K

#### International relations is the royal science of imperialism – the affirmative engineers sustainability through a reformist, mutating logic of violence.

Grove 19 [Jairus, PoliSci at the University of Hawai’i. 2019. “Savage Ecology: War and Geopolitics in the Anthropocene.”] pat // Re-Cut Justin

Because I wanted this book to inspire curiosity beyond the boundaries of international relations (ir), I considered ignoring the field altogether, removing all mentions of ir or ir theory. However, upon closer reflection, I have decided to keep these references as I think they are relevant for those outside the discipline and for those who, like myself, often feel alienated within its disciplinary boundaries. In the former case, it is important to know that, unlike some more humble fields, ir has always held itself to be a kind of royal science. Scholarship in ir, particularly in the United States, is half research, and half biding time until you have the prince’s ear. The hallowed names in the mainstream of the field are still known because they somehow changed the behavior of their intended clients—those being states, militaries, and international organizations. Therefore, some attention to ir is necessary because it has an all-too-casual relationship with institutional power that directly impacts the lives of real people, and ir is all too often lethal theory. As an American discipline, the political economy of the field is impossible without Department of Defense money, and its semiotic economy would be equally dwarfed without contributory figures like Woodrow Wilson, Henry Kissinger, and Samuel Huntington. The ubiquity of Huntington’s “clash of civilizations” thesis and Kissinger’s particular brand of realpolitik are undeniable throughout the field, as well as the world. Each, in their own way, has saturated the watchwords and nomenclature of geopolitics from an American perspective so thoroughly that both political parties in the United States fight over who gets to claim the heritage of each. Although many other fields such as anthropology and even comparative literature have found themselves in the gravitational pull of geopolitics, international relations is meant to be scholarship as statecraft by other means. That is, ir was meant to improve the global order and ensure the place of its guarantor, the United States of America. Having spent the better part of a decade listening to national security analysts and diplomats from the United States, South Korea, Japan, Europe, China, Brazil, and Russia, as well as military strategists around the planet, I found their vocabulary and worldview strikingly homogeneous. If this seems too general a claim, one should take a peek at John Mearsheimer’s essay “Benign Hegemony,” which defends the Americanness of the ir field. What is most telling in this essay is not a defense of the U.S. as a benign hegemonic power, which Mearsheimer has done at length elsewhere. Rather, it is his vigorous defense that as a field, ir theory has done well by the world in setting the intellectual agenda for global challenges, and for creating useful theoretical approaches to addressing those problems. For Mearsheimer, the proof that American scholarly hegemony has been benign is that there is nothing important that has been left out. A quick scan of the last ten or twenty International Studies Association conferences would suggest otherwise. That issues like rape as a weapon of war, postcolonial violence, global racism, and climate change are not squarely in the main of ir demonstrates just how benign American scholarly hegemony is not. As one prominent anthropologist said to me at dinner after touring the isa conference in 2014, “it was surreal, like a tour through the Cold War. People were giving papers and arguing as if nothing had ever changed.” These same provincial scholars aspire and succeed at filling the advisory roles of each successive American presidency. One cannot help but see a connection between the history of the ir field, and the catastrophes of U.S. foreign policy during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. One could repeat the words of the anthropologist I mentioned to describe the 2016 presidential campaign debates over the future of U.S. foreign policy: it is as if “nothing had ever changed.” And yet these old white men still strut around the halls of America’s “best” institutions as if they saved us from the Cold War, even as the planet crumbles under the weight of their failed imperial dreams. If international relations was meant to be the science of making the world something other than what it would be if we were all left to our own worst devices, then it has failed monumentally. The United States is once again in fierce nuclear competition with Russia. We are no closer to any significant action on climate change. We have not met any of the Millennium Development Goals determined by the United Nations on eradicating poverty. War and security are the most significant financial, creative, social, cultural, technological, and political investments of almost every nation-state on Earth. The general intellect is a martial intellect. Despite all this failure, pessimism does not exist in international relations, at least not on paper. The seething doom of our current predicament thrives at the conference bar and in hushed office conversations but not in our research. In public, the darkness disavowed possesses and inflames the petty cynicisms and hatreds that are often turned outward at tired and predictable scapegoats. After the fury of three decades of critique, most ir scholars still camp out either on the hill of liberal internationalism or in the dark woods of political realism. Neither offers much that is new by way of answers or even explanations, and each dominant school has failed to account for our current apocalyptic condition. One is left wondering what it is exactly that they think they do. Despite the seeming opposition between the two, one idealistic about the future of international order (liberals) and the other self-satisfied with the tragedy of cycles of war and dominance (realists), both positions are optimists of the positivist variety. For both warring parties, ir optimism is expressed through a romantic empiricism. For all those who toil away looking for the next theory of international politics, order is out there somewhere, and dutifully recording reality will find it—or at least bring us closer to its discovery. For liberal internationalism, this will bring the long-heralded maturity of Immanuel Kant’s perpetual peace. For second-order sociopaths known as offensive realists, crumbs of “useful strategic insight” and the endless details that amplify their epistemophilia for force projection and violence capability represent a potential “advantage,” that is, the possibility to move one step forward on the global political board game of snakes and ladders. Still, the cynicism of ir always creeps back in because the world never quite lives up to the empirical findings it is commanded to obey. Disappointment here is not without reason, but we cynically continue to make the same policy recommendations, catastrophe after catastrophe. I have an idea about where ir’s recent malaise comes from. I think it is a moment, just before the awareness of the Anthropocene, after the Cold War and before September 11, when the end of everything was only a hypothetical problem for those of a certain coddled and privileged modern form of life. The catastrophe of the human predicament was that there was no catastrophe, no reason, no generation-defining challenge or war. Now the fate of this form of life is actually imperiled, and it is too much to bear. The weird denial of sexism, racism, climate change, the sixth extinction, and loose nukes, all by a field of scholars tasked with studying geopolitics, is more than irrationalism or ignorance. This animosity toward reality is a deep and corrosive nihilism, a denial of the world. Thus ir as a strategic field is demonstrative of a civilization with nothing left to do, nothing left to destroy. All that is left is to make meaning out of being incapable of undoing the world that Euro-American geopolitics created. Emo geopolitics is not pretty, but it is real. The letdown, the failure, the apocalypse-that-was-not finally arrived, and we are too late. Still, the United States of America continues to follow the advice of “the best and the brightest,” testing the imperial waters, not quite ready to commit out loud to empire but completely unwilling to abandon it. Stuck in between, contemporary geopolitics—as curated by the United States—is in a permanent beta phase. Neuro-torture, algorithmic warfare, drone strikes, and cybernetic nation-building are not means or ends but rather are tests. Can a polis be engineered? Can the human operating system be reformatted? Can violence be modulated until legally invisible while all the more lethal? Each incursion, each new actor or actant, and new terrains from brains to transatlantic cables—all find themselves part of a grand experiment to see if a benign or at least sustainable empire is possible. There is no seeming regard for the fact that each experiment directly competes with Thomas Jefferson’s democratic experiment. One wonders if freedom can even exist anywhere other than temporarily on the fringe of some neglected order. Is this some metaphysical condition of freedom, or is the world so supersaturated with martial orders that the ragged edges between imperial orders are all that we have left? It feels like freedom’s remains persist only in the ruins of everything else. No space is left that can be truly indifferent to the law, security, or economy. Such is the new life of a human in debt. The social contract has been refinanced as what is owed and nothing more: politics without equity. Inequity without equality. What about the impending collapse of the post–World War II order, the self-destruction of the United States, the rise of China and a new world order? If humanity lasts long enough for China to put its stamp on the human apocalypse, I will write a new introduction. Until then, we live in the death rattle of Pax Americana. While I think the totality of this claim is true, I do not want to rule out that many of us throughout the world still make lives otherwise. Many of us even thrive in spite of it all. And yet, no form of life can be made that escapes the fact that everything can come to a sudden and arbitrary end thanks to the whim of an American drone operator, nuclear catastrophe, or macroeconomic manipulation like sanctions. There are other ways to die and other organized forms of killing outside the control of the United States; however, no other single apparatus can make everyone or anyone die irrespective of citizenship or geographic location. For me, this is the most inescapable philosophical provocation of our moment in time. The haphazard and seemingly limitless nature of U.S. violence means that even the core principles of the great political realist concepts like order and national interest are being displaced by subterranean violence entrepreneurs that populate transversal battlefields, security corridors, and border zones. Mercenaries, drug lords, chief executive officers, presidents, and sports commissioners are more alike than ever. Doomsayers like Paul Virilio, Lewis Mumford, and Martin Heidegger foretold a kind of terminal and self-annihilating velocity for geopolitics’ technological saturation, but even their lack of imagination appears optimistic. American geopolitics does not know totality or finality; it bleeds, mutates, and reforms. Furthermore, the peril of biopolitics seems now almost romantic. To make life live? Perchance to dream. The care and concern for life’s productivity is increasingly subsumed by plasticity—forming and reforming without regard to the telos of productivity, division, or normative order. There are, of course, still orders in our geoplastic age, but they are almost unrecognizable as such. When so many citizens and states are directly invested in sabotaging publicly stated strategic ends, then concepts like national interest seem equally quaint. We are witnessing creative and horrifying experiments in the affirmative production of dying, which also deprive those targeted and in some cases whole populations from the relief of death. To follow Rucker, I want to try to see the world for what it is. We can only say that tragedy is no longer a genre of geopolitics. Tragedy redeems. The occluded character of contemporary geopolitics shoehorned into experience produces the feeling that there is no relief, no reason, no victory, no defeats, and no exit within the confines of national security’s constricted world. This is not tragedy: it is horror. We live in an age of horror that, like the victims of gore movies who never quite die so that they can be tortured more, furthers our practice of collective violence and goes on for decades as a kind of sustainable warfare.

#### The affirmative greenlights themselves as the moral savior but hides a history of imperialism – the 1ACs reform is empty and coopted by capitalist imperialist logic which justifies colonialism and reinforces racial difference.

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Supporters and opponents of a TRIPS waiver for the COVID-19 vaccines (February 2021) Despite calls to make COVID-19 vaccines and related technologies a global public good, western pharmaceutical companies have declined to loosen or temporarily suspend IP protections and transfer technology to generic manufacturers. Such transfer would enable the scale-up of production and supply of lifesaving COVID-19 medical tools across the world. Furthermore, these countries are also blocking the TRIPS waiver proposal put forward by South Africa and India at the WTO despite being supported by 57 mostly developing countries. The waiver proposal seeks to temporarily postpone certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement for treating, containing and preventing the coronavirus, but only until widespread vaccination and immunity are achieved. This means that countries will not be required to provide any form of IP protection on all COVID-19 related therapeutics, diagnostics and other technologies for the duration of the pandemic. It is important to reiterate the waiver proposal is time-limited and is different from TRIPS flexibilities, which are safeguards within the Agreement to mitigate the negative impact of patents such as high price of patented medicines. These safeguards include compulsory licenses and parallel importation. However, because of the onerous process of initiating these flexibilities as well as the threat of possible trade penalties by the US through the United States Trade Representative (USTR) “Special 301” Report targeting countries even in the absence of illegality, many developing countries are reluctant to invoke TRIPS flexibilities for public health purposes. For example, in the past, countries such as Colombia, India, Thailand and recently Malaysia have all featured in the Special 301 Report for using compulsory licenses to increase access to cancer medications. It is these challenges that the TRIPS waiver seeks to alleviate and, if approved, would also provide countries the space, without fear of retaliation from developed countries, to collaborate with competent developers in the R&D, manufacturing, scaling-up, and supply of COVID-19 tools. However, because this waiver is being opposed by a group of developed countries, we are grappling with the problem of artificially-created vaccine scarcity. The effect of this scarcity will further prolong and deepen the financial impact of this pandemic currently estimated to cost USD 9.2 trillion, half of which will be borne by advanced economies. Thus, in opposing the TRIPS waiver with the hopes of reaping huge financial rewards, developed countries are worsening pandemic woes in the long term. Perhaps it is time to reorient our sight and call the ongoing practices of buying up global supply of vaccine what it truly is – vaccine imperialism. Another kind of scarcity caused by vaccine nationalism has also reduced equitable access. Vaccine nationalism is a phenomenon where rich countries buy up global supply of vaccines through advance purchase agreements (APA) with pharmaceutical companies for their own populations at the expense of other countries. But perhaps it is time to reorient our sight and call the ongoing practices of buying up global supply of vaccine what it truly is – vaccine imperialism. If we take seriously the argument put forward by Antony Anghie on the colonial origins of international law, particularly how these origins create a set of structures that continually repeat themselves at various stages, we will begin to see COVID-19 vaccine accumulation not only as political, but also as imperial continuities manifesting in the present. Take, for instance, the report released by the Duke Global Health Innovation Center that shows that high-income countries have already purchased nearly 3.8 billion COVID-19 vaccine doses. Specifically, the United States has secured 400 million doses of the Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna vaccines, and has APAs for more than 1 billion doses from four other companies yet to secure US regulatory approval. The European Union has similarly negotiated nearly 2.3 billion doses under contract and is negotiating for about 300 million more. With these purchases, these countries will be able to vaccinate their populations twice over, while many developing states, especially in Africa, are left behind. In hoarding vaccines whilst protecting the IP interests of their pharmaceutical multinational corporations, the afterlife of imperialism is playing out in this pandemic. Moreover, these bilateral deals are hampering initiatives such as the COVID-19 Vaccine Global Access Facility (COVAX) – a pooled procurement mechanism for COVID-19 vaccine – aimed at equitable and science-led global vaccine distribution. By engaging in bilateral deals, wealthy countries impede the possibility of effective mass-inoculation campaigns. While the usefulness of the COVAX initiative cannot be denied, it is not enough. It will cover only the most vulnerable 20 per cent of a country’s population, it is severely underfunded and there are lingering questions regarding the contractual obligations of pharmaceutical companies involved in the initiative. For instance, it is not clear whether the COVAX contract includes IP-related clauses such as sharing of technological know-how. Still, even with all its faults, without a global ramping-up of production, distribution and vaccination campaigns via COVAX, the world will not be able to combat the COVID-19 pandemic and its growing variants. Health inequity and inequalities in vaccine access are not unfortunate outcomes of the global IP regime; they are part of its central architecture. The system is functioning exactly as it is set up to do. These events – the corporate capture of the global pharmaceutical IP regime, state complicity and vaccine imperialism – are not new. Recall Article 7 of TRIPS, which states that the objective of the Agreement is the ‘protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights [to] contribute to the promotion of technological innovation and to the transfer and dissemination of technology’. In similar vein, Article 66(2) of TRIPS further calls on developed countries to ‘provide incentives to enterprises and institutions within their territories to promote and encourage technology transfer to least-developed country’. While the language of ‘transfer of technology’ might seem beneficial or benign, in actuality it is not. As I discussed in my book, and as Carmen Gonzalez has also shown, when development objectives are incorporated into international legal instruments and institutions, they become embedded in structures that may constrain their transformative potential and reproduce North-South power imbalances. This is because these development objectives are circumscribed by capitalist imperialist structures, adapted to justify colonial practices and mobilized through racial differences. These structures are the essence of international law and its institutions even in the twenty-first century. They continue to animate broader socio-economic engagement with the global economy even in the present as well as in the legal and regulatory codes that support them. Thus, it is not surprising that even in current global health crisis, calls for this same transfer of technology in the form of a TRIPS waiver to scale up global vaccine production is being thwarted by the hegemony of developed states inevitably influenced by their respective pharmaceutical companies. The ‘emancipatory potential’ of TRIPS cannot be achieved if it was not created to be emancipatory in the first place. It also makes obvious the ways international IP law is not only unsuited to promote structural reform to enable the self-sufficiency and self-determination of the countries in the global south, but also produces asymmetries that perpetuate inequalities. Concluding Remarks What this pandemic makes clear is that the development discourse often touted by developed nations to help countries in the Global South ‘catch up’ is empty when the essential medicines needed to stay alive are deliberately denied and weaponised. Like the free-market reforms designed to produce ‘development’, IP deployed to incentivise innovation is yet another tool in the service of private profits. As this pandemic has shown, the reality of contemporary capitalism – including the IP regime that underpins it – is competition among corporate giants driven by profit and not by human need. The needs of the poor weigh much less than the profits of big business and their home states. However, it is not all doom and gloom. Countries such as India, China and Russia have stepped up in the distribution of vaccines or what many call ‘vaccine diplomacy.’ Further, Cuba’s vaccine candidate Soberana 02, which is currently in final clinical trial stages and does not require extra refrigeration, promises to be a suitable option for many countries in the global South with infrastructural and logistical challenges. Importantly, Cuba’s history of medical diplomacy in other global South countries raises hope that the country will be willing to share the know-how with other manufactures in various non-western countries, which could help address artificial supply problems and control over distribution. In sum, this pandemic provides an opportune moment to overhaul this dysfunctional global IP system. We need not wait for the next crisis to learn the lessons from this crisis.

#### Voting negative adopts failed IR for a dose of pessimism – at the end of the world, all we can do is hope to be buried alive together.

Grove 19 [Jairus, PoliSci at the University of Hawai’i. 2019. “Savage Ecology: War and Geopolitics in the Anthropocene.”] pat // Re-Cut Justin

Failed ir affirms the power of this kind of negative thinking as an alternative to the endless rehearsing of moralizing insights and strategic foresight. The negative is not “against” or reacting to something. Rather, it is the affirmation of a freedom beyond the limits of life and death. That is, it is making a life by continuing to think about the world, even if that thinking is not recuperative, and even if nothing we think can save us. In the face of it all, one celebrates useless thinking, useless scholarship, and useless forms of life at the very moment we are told to throw them all under the bus in the name of survival at all costs. This is a logic referred to lately as hope and it is as cruel as it is anxiety inducing. Hope is a form of extortion. We are told that it is our obligation to bear the weight of making things better while being chided that the failure of our efforts is the result of not believing in the possibility of real change. In such an environment, pessimism is often treated as a form of treason, as if only neoliberals and moral degenerates give up—or so goes the op-ed’s insisting upon the renewed possibility of redemption. In response to these exhortations, pessimism offers a historical atheism, both methodologically and morally. The universe does not bend toward justice. Sometimes the universe bends toward the indifference of gravity wells and black holes. Affirming negativity, inspired by Achille Mbembe, is grounds for freedom, even if that freedom or relief is only fleeting and always insecure. I am not arrogant enough to think a book can attain freedom of this sort, but this book is inspired by refusals of critique as redemption in favor of useless critique and critique for its own sake. That the pursuit of knowledge without immediate application is so thoroughly useless, even profane, is a diagnosis of our current moment. The neoliberal assault on the university is evidence of this condition, as is the current pitch of American politics. Our indifference as intellectuals to maximizing value has not gone unnoticed. We are still dangerous, worthy of vilification, of attack, sabotage, and derision because we fail so decadently. We are parasites according to Scott Walker, Donald Trump, and the rest. So be it. We are and shall remain irascible irritants to a worldwide assault on thinking that is well underway and facing few obstacles in other jurisdictions. What would failed scholarship do? Learn to die, learn to live, learn to listen, learn to be together, and learn to be generous. These virtues are useless in that they do not prevent or manage things. They do not translate into learning objectives or metrics. Virtues of this order are selfsame, nontransferable experiences. They are meaningful but not useful. These are luxurious virtues. Like grieving or joy, they are ends unto themselves. But how will these ideas seek extramural grants, contribute to an outcomes-based education system, or become a policy recommendation? They will not, and that is part of their virtue. Even if there is no straight line to where we are and where we ought to be, I think we should get over the idea that somehow the U.S. project of liberal empire is conflicted, or “more right than it is wrong,” or pragmatically preferable to the alternatives. I hope this book can contribute to the urgent necessity to get out of the way by reveling in the catastrophic failure that should inspire humility but instead seems to embolden too many to seek global control yet again. Demolition may be an affirmative act if it means insurgents and others can be better heard. And yet this may fail too. If we can accomplish nothing at all, we can at least, as Ta-Nehisi Coates and other pessimists have said, refuse to suborn the lie of America any longer. Telling the truth, even if it cannot change the outcome of history, is a certain kind of solace. In Coates’s words, there is a kind of rapture “when you can no longer be lied to, when you have rejected the dream.” Saying the truth out loud brings with it the relief that we are not crazy. Things really are as bad as we think. If there are those of us who want to break from this one-hundred-year-old race to be the next Henry Kissinger, then why do we continue to seek respect in the form of recognizable standards of excellence? I am not sure where the answer finally lies, but I do know that professionalization will not save us. To appear as normal and recognizably rigorous will not be enough to stave off the neoliberal drive to monetize scholarship, or to demand of us strategically useful insights. The least we can do in the face of such a battle is to find comfort in meaningful ideas and the friendships they build rather than try to perform for those we know are the problem. Some will ask, who is this “we” or is that “they”—where is your evidence? More will know exactly what I am talking about. The virtues I seek are oriented toward an academy of refuge, a place we can still live, no matter how dire the conditions of the university and the classroom. It is not the think tank, boardroom, or command center. We are, those of us who wish to be included, the last of the philosophers, the last of the lovers of knowledge, the deviants who should revel in what Harney and Moten have called the undercommons. In one of his final lectures, Bataille speaks of the remnants of a different human species, something not quite so doomed, something that wasted its newly discovered consciousness and tool-being on the art that still marks the walls of prehistoric caves. This lingering minor or vestigial heritage is philosophy’s beginning. Philosophy survives war, atrocity, famine, and crusades. Thinking matters in a very unusual way. Thinking is not power or emancipation. Thinking matters for a sense of belonging to the world, and for believing in the fecundity of the world despite evidence to the contrary. How do you get all this from pessimism, from failure? Because willing failure is a temptation, a lure to think otherwise, to think dangerous thoughts. Pessimism is a threat to indifferentism and nihilism in the sense of the phenomenon of Donald Trump. Pessimism is a provocation and an enemy of skepticism, particularly of the metaphysical variety. It is not redemption from these afflictions, but in pessimism there is solace in the real. To put it another way, to study the world as it is means to care for it. The exhortation that our care or interest should be contingent on how useful the world is and how much of it conforms to our designs is as much opposed to care as it is to empiricism. We can study airports, poetry, endurance races, borders, bombs, plastic, and warfare, and find them all in the world. To consider the depth of their existence can be an invitation to the world rather than a prelude to another policy report. One cannot make a successful political career out of such pursuits, but you might be able to make a life out of it, a life worth repeating even if nothing else happens. At the end of Jack Halberstam’s The Queer Art of Failure, we are presented with the Fantastic Mr. Fox’s toast as an exemple of something meaningful in these dark times of ours. They say all foxes are slightly allergic to linoleum, but it’s cool to the paw—try it. They say my tail needs to be dry cleaned twice a month, but now it’s fully detachable—see? They say our tree may never grow back, but one day, something will. Yes, these crackles are made of synthetic goose and these giblets come from artificial squab and even these apples look fake—but at least they’ve got stars on them. I guess my point is, we’ll eat tonight, and we’ll eat together. And even in this not particularly flattering light, you are without a doubt the five and a half most wonderful wild animals I’ve ever met in my life. So let’s raise our boxes—to our survival. Halberstam says of this queer moment: Not quite a credo, something short of a toast, a little less than a speech, but Mr. Fox gives here one of the best and most moving—both emotionally and in stop-motion terms—addresses in the history of cinema. Unlike Coraline, where survival is predicated upon a rejection of the theatrical, the queer, and the improvised, and like Where the Wild Things Are, where the disappointment of deliverance must be leavened with the pragmatism of possibility, Fantastic Mr. Fox is a queerly animated classic in that it teaches us, as Finding Nemo, Chicken Run, and so many other revolting animations before it, to believe in detachable tails, fake apples, eating together, adapting to the lighting, risk, sissy sons, and the sheer importance of survival for all those wild souls that the farmers, the teachers, the preachers, and the politicians would like to bury alive. Although not as much fun as Halberstam’s monument to low theory, Savage Ecology is for all the other wild animals out there studying global politics. May we be buried alive together.

# Case

## 1NC – Circumvention

### 1NC – WTO

#### The WTO can’t enforce the aff- causes circumvention.

Lamp 19 [Nicholas; Assistant Professor of Law at Queen’s University; “What Just Happened at the WTO? Everything You Need to Know, Brink News,” 12/16/19; <https://www.brinknews.com/what-just-happened-at-the-wto-everything-you-need-to-know/>] Justin

Nicolas Lamp: For the first time since the establishment of the WTO in 1995, the Appellate Body cannot accept any new appeals, and that has knock-on effects on the whole global trade dispute settlement system. When a member appeals a WTO panel report, it goes to the Appellate Body, but if there is no Appellate Body, it means that that panel report will not become binding and will not attain legal force.

The absence of the Appellate Body means that members can now effectively block the dispute settlement proceedings by what has been called appealing panel reports “into the void.”

The WTO panels will continue to function as normal. When a panel issues a report, it will normally be automatically adopted — unless it is appealed. And so, even though the panel is working, the respondent in a dispute now has the option of blocking the adoption of the panel’s report. It can, thereby, shield itself from the legal consequences of a report that finds that the member has acted inconsistently with its WTO obligations.

### 1NC – WTO

#### Make them prove how the inhuman can reduce IP.

Marcellin 16 Marcellin, Sherry (Professor, London School of Economics). The political economy of pharmaceutical patents: US sectional interests and the African Group at the WTO. Routledge, 2016./SJKS

In July 1988, prior to the Montreal Mid-Term Review, DCs had sensed that the approach being proposed by industrialised countries was desirable on the grounds that the alternative would be a proliferation of unilateral or bilateral actions (MTN.GNG/NG11/8: 31). These NITs maintained that acceptance of such an approach would be tantamount to creating a licence to force, in the name of trade, modifications in standards for the protection of IP in a way that had not been found acceptable or possible so far in WIPO (ibid). Brazil subsequently informed the Group that on October 20, 1988, unilateral restrictions had been applied by the US to Brazilian exports as a retaliatory measure in connection with an IP issue; that this type of action seriously inhibited Brazil’s participation in the work of the Group, since ‘no country could be expected to participate in negotiations while experiencing pressures on the substance of its position’ (MTN.GNG/NG11/10: 27). The Brazilian delegate maintained that such action by the US constituted a blatant infringement of GATT rules and was contrary to the Standstill commitment of the Punta del Este Declaration. ‘The United States action was an attempt to coerce Brazil to change its intellectual property legislation, and furthermore represented an attempt by the United States to improve its negotiating position in the Uruguay Round’ (ibid). A US delegate countered that the measures had been taken with regret and as a last resort after all alternative ways of defending legitimate US interests had been exhausted, and that the US further believed that the adoption of effective patent protection was in Brazil’s own interest (ibid: 28). The US had therefore applied its strategy of coercive unilateralism against one of the two most important players championing the cause of the South in the TRIPS negotiations, the other being India. Apprehensive about the resistance of this dominant Southern duo, the United States sought to utilise its market size as a bargaining tool to secure changes to national IP regimes. It therefore decided to impact the more powerful of the two at the time, thereby indirectly admonishing India and the entire coalition against strengthened IP rules, as well as their domestic export constituencies who would be affected by US decisions to restrict imports. Moreover, because Brazil and India appeared to be collaborating extensively in maintaining a united front, a resulting strain on Brazil’s economy would likely affect their co-operation. However, since market opening and closure have been treated as the currency of trade negotiations in the post-war period (Steinberg 2002: 347), the move to place restrictions on Brazilian exports by the largest consumer market in the GPE should not have been entirely unanticipated. Brazil was also the regional leader in South America and disciplining it would send an unequivocal warning to other South American countries (Drahos and Braithwaite 2002: 136), including Argentina, Chile and Peru who were also active participants in the negotiations. This would mark the start of a series of coercive strategies aimed at compliance with the US private-sector envisioned GATT IPP.

## 1NC – Evergreening

### 1NC – AT: Evergreening

#### Evergreening is a myth.

Lietzan 20 [Erika; Professor of Law, University of Missouri School of Law, Research interests in Pharmaceutical Regulation, Device Regulation, Intellectual Property; “The Evergreening Myth Claims that drug innovators extend their patents obscure a radical policy‐​making goal.,” Cato Institute; Fall 2020; <https://www.cato.org/regulation/fall-2020/evergreening-myth>/] Justin

In recent years, U.S. policymakers have considered proposals intended to prevent — or at least reduce — “evergreening” by pharmaceutical companies. Some proposals would change the antitrust enforcement landscape, others the intellectual property landscape, and still others the regulatory framework that governs new medicines. Some proposals — such as those creating new causes of action under the antitrust laws or limiting the availability of patents for discoveries — are profound and their proponents cite a body of academic and policy literature that decries supposed “evergreening” by companies to justify their ideas. The term “evergreening” is a metaphor, meant to remind audiences of evergreen trees, which have green foliage year‐​round. It implies that something has been extended, and users of the metaphor view this extension as improper or undesirable. When offering descriptions and examples of evergreening, they focus on drug companies continuing to innovate after first introducing a new molecule, and on the broader marketplace for medicines after subsequent innovations have been introduced to the market. But proponents are frustratingly inconsistent and unclear about what, exactly, has been “extended” in these situations. A close look at the regulatory landscape in which continuing pharmaceutical innovation occurs shows that arguments for reform are grounded in myths, such as the myth that pharmaceutical companies continuing to innovate somehow “extend” their patents. Once the myths of “evergreening” are laid bare, it becomes apparent that proponents of these proposals really want for the government to limit medical innovators to one medical product in the marketplace for each useful new molecule discovered. They are arguing that an innovator should not enjoy an exclusive market — and the resulting advantageous pricing — for innovations that, though discrete and independently satisfying the standard for a patent under U.S. law, stem in some fashion from an earlier innovation for which that innovator separately enjoyed exclusivity and the resulting pricing advantages. Or, at least, that drug innovators should not. This is a radical proposal that merits careful reflection and discussion, and it is not ripe for action. Understanding that this is the true policymaking objective requires unpacking the regulatory landscape and market more carefully, and paying closer attention to word choice, than proponents of reform often do. The Evergreening Allegation In the United States, every new medicinal product requires premarket approval from the Food and Drug Administration. The drug statute refers to approval of a “new drug,” and ambiguity in the term “drug” provides fertile ground for confusion and rhetorical mischief, as discussed later in this article. A firm that wants to market a new drug must prove to the FDA that the drug is safe and effective. Generating this information takes years, beginning with work in the laboratory and on animals, and progressing through several rounds of “clinical” testing in humans. For new molecules, the clinical portion of this research and development program averages six years. The process is also expensive: the Tufts Center for the Study of Drug Development now estimates the average cost of developing a new molecular entity at $2.6 billion. That figure includes average out‐​of‐​pocket costs of $1.4 billion and reflects the cost of unsuccessful projects. Most research and development programs fail. When new drugs are first launched by innovators, they tend to be sold under brand names and protected by patents as well as statutory rights in the data that supported FDA approval (known as “data exclusivity”). Although the pricing of these products may reflect competitive pressure from other branded products, it also reflects the fact that patent rights and statutory data exclusivity delay the launch of cheaper copies. But no more than five years later, and often earlier, the innovator’s competitors may file applications seeking approval of their own products based on the innovator’s research, rather than performing their own. They file what are known as “abbreviated applications” — abbreviated because they omit some, or all, of the research needed to prove safety and effectiveness. Abbreviated applications are much less expensive and time‐​consuming to assemble, and the competitors’ drugs correspondingly much less expensive than the original drugs they copy. When a competitor seeks to market an exact copy through an abbreviated application, we call its drug a “generic” drug. Pharmacists usually dispense generic copies even when doctors prescribe the corresponding branded products by name. Some people use the “evergreening” label when an innovator holds more than one patent protecting its product, especially if some patents expire later than others. More often, though, these people use the label when an innovator introduces a newer version of its own product that is already on the market. These newer products tend to be sold under brand names and protected by their own patents and statutory data exclusivity. Sometimes the innovator also stops selling its older product. If purchasers shift to the innovator’s newer product rather than purchasing cheap copies of the innovator’s older product, some say the innovator has engaged in evergreening. Although the term “evergreening” is a metaphor and signifies an extension of something, proponents of reform proposals do not agree on the particulars of the term’s use. Some say the company has evergreened its invention, its drug, or its product. Others say the company has evergreened the drug’s patent or patent life, or its exclusivity. Some say it has extended the drug’s patents, or the drug’s patent coverage or patent life, or the drug’s exclusivity period. Some say the company has evergreened the drug’s price, or its own profits or monopoly, or the company has extended its market power. Many argue that through evergreening — whatever the term means — the innovator has improperly blocked other firms from competing with it. On this basis, they seek government intervention. For instance, one recent proposal would allow the Federal Trade Commission to bring antitrust actions against innovators who introduced newer products to replace their older products. Three Myths of Evergreening The circumstances that trigger the “evergreening” label occur at the intersection of several complex bodies of law: the federal framework requiring premarket approval of new medicines and their copies, federal intellectual property laws, federal and state laws governing promotion of medicines, and federal laws and practices and state laws relating to prescribing and dispensing medicines. Many who propose aggressive government intervention because of evergreening give short shrift to this landscape, which allows the perpetuation of three myths that distort policymaking discussions. Before reviewing the myths, it will help to understand two points about the framework in which innovators compete with the companies that submit abbreviated applications. First, the FDA approves products, not active ingredients. And second, patents protect inventions, not products. Federal law states that every “new drug” requires an approved application. But at the FDA the term “drug” has more than one meaning. It includes a medicine’s active ingredient, to be sure. But it also includes drug products. A drug product is a medicine in its finished form, meaning the form that will be sold in the market and administered to patients. And the FDA approves a particular product described in a particular application — the specific combination of active and inactive ingredients (often called a drug’s “formulation”), in a particular dosage form (such as capsule or tablet), for a particular route of administration (such as oral or topical), at a particular strength, for particular medical uses (also known as the product’s “indications”), manufactured as described in the application, and accompanied by labeling written for prescribers based on the data in the application. Federal law allows a patent to issue for any new, useful, non‐​obvious invention, including a process, a composition of matter, and an improvement to an existing process or composition of matter. The patent usually expires 20 years after its application date. For any particular drug product approved by the FDA, the innovator might own patents on various types of inventions. The innovator usually owns a patent claiming the product’s active ingredient, and because the innovator generally files this patent before starting clinical trials, it is usually the first to expire. Other inventions protected by patent might include the product’s formulation or a dosage form and dosage of the active ingredient (or formulation). These inventions may emerge later in the premarket development process. If the resulting patent applications refer to the active ingredient patent, the patents will expire when the active ingredient patent expires, but otherwise they will expire later. The innovator may also own other patents claiming inventions embodied in the product, such as a patent claiming methods of using or administering the product, a patent claiming the manufacturing process, or a patent claiming a metabolite of the active ingredient. These, too, could expire later than the first patent — sometimes much later. These two points work together. A single active ingredient associated with a single brand name might be the subject of a half dozen, dozen, or more discrete products. Suppose an active ingredient was formulated into tablets and the innovator sold six strengths. Suppose the innovator also formulated an injectable version, which it sold in two strengths. Suppose it also developed a disintegrating tablet for oral administration, which it sold in four strengths. This innovator would sell 12 discrete products with the same active ingredient and probably (though not necessarily) the same brand name. And because a single product might incorporate many discrete inventions, the patents relevant to one product might differ from the patents relevant to another. Failure to realize this — and its regulatory significance — leads to three myths, as follows. Myth of evergreening patents / The first myth is that innovators extend their patents. This is legally impossible. In the United States, a patent expires 20 years after its application date. There are only two ways a patent’s expiration date can shift later in time: (1) When it issues a patent, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office (PTO) adjusts the expiry date later to compensate for routine delays at the PTO. And (2), if the marketing application proposed a new active ingredient, then if the company asks the PTO for a patent term extension within 60 days of FDA approval, the PTO will use a statutory formula to extend one patent claiming the product to compensate partially for the lapse of patent life during premarket testing and regulatory review. There is no other mechanism by which a patent might be extended. In particular, a patent on one invention — no matter when it expires — does not extend the patent on another invention. Myth of blocked competitors / The second myth is that when an innovator holds patents that expire after its active ingredient patent, or when it introduces newer products to market, it can prevent its competitors from bringing their copies to market. Instead, once the initial patent and (if applicable) statutory exclusivity on the innovator’s active ingredient have expired, its competitors have substantial freedom to operate. This freedom reflects two facts that are often overlooked. First, the innovator’s competitor does not have to propose an exact copy. Federal law permits the competitor to rely on the innovator’s research but propose competing products that are not identical. To be sure, a competitor may submit an ANDA for a product that essentially duplicates the innovator’s product — that is, a generic. Ordinarily, the company shows in the ANDA that its product has the same active ingredient, route of administration, dosage form, strength, and labeling as the innovator’s product. The generic must also be “bioequivalent” to the original drug that it references, meaning that its active ingredient must reach the site of action in the body to the same extent and at the same rate as the active ingredient of the referenced product. But even a generic can be a little different. For example, it usually does not need the same inactive ingredients in the same quantities. And the generic competitor need not use the same manufacturing process. If a competitor wants to offer a different route of administration, dosage form, or strength — for instance, to avoid infringing a patent — it may still be able to use the generic drug approval pathway. It simply files a “suitability petition” asking the FDA’s permission. The agency will approve the petition unless more data are needed to establish the proposed product’s safety and effectiveness. And at this point, the competitor may file an ANDA. More significantly, though, a competitor can always use a different abbreviated application pathway: a “505(b)(2)” application for a product that differs more substantially from the innovator’s product. Although the changes proposed in this hybrid application must be supported by new data, the competitor otherwise relies on the innovator’s data, avoiding the expensive and time‐​consuming research and development process the innovator went through. In addition to using this mechanism to propose modifications that avoid a patent, a competitor might use the mechanism to propose innovations that will offer an advantage in the market — such as changes to the active ingredient and new medical uses. Second, an abbreviated application cites a specific innovative product, not the active ingredient or brand writ large. The competitor selects one innovative product as the reference product on which it relies — for instance, one of the 12 products in the hypothetical above. Its regulatory burden is tied to that specific product alone. The requirement to show sameness and bioequivalence (for an ANDA) and, critically, the obligation to contend with patents and wait for statutory exclusivity to expire are linked to the one specific product, alone. (In rare circumstances, when filing a hybrid application, a competitor might cite two innovative products, but the same point applies.) To be sure, the patents associated with the cited innovative product affect when the FDA may approve the abbreviated application. Whether it files an ANDA or a hybrid application, a competitor must address the unexpired patents listed in the FDA’s “Orange Book” for the specific innovative product it has chosen to cite. For each listed patent, it has two choices, and its selection dictates the timing of FDA approval as far as that patent is concerned. The competitor may state the date on which the patent will expire, signaling that it does not plan to market its product until expiry. This precludes final approval of its product until patent expiry. Or it may assert that the patent is invalid or will not be infringed by its product, notifying the innovator of this position. If the innovator sues within 45 days, the drug statute stays final approval of its abbreviated application for 30 months. Under changes to the law made in 2003, though, unless the competitor changes its position on a patent after filing its abbreviated application, approval of its application is stayed only once. At the end of the 30 months, the FDA must approve the abbreviated application if the approval standard is met, even if there is ongoing patent litigation. Although a competitor using the abbreviated application pathway must contend with the innovator’s patents and approval of its product may be delayed because of those patents, this is true of only the patents associated with the specific product that it references. The competitor does not have to contend with patents associated with other products that happen to contain the same active ingredient or bear the same brand name. Similarly, the competing applicant grapples with only the statutory exclusivity associated with the product it references. The drug statute provides five years of exclusivity in the data supporting new chemical entities and three years of exclusivity for most new products that are not new chemical entities. Separately, if an innovator introduces what the FDA calls a new “condition of approval” — such as a new strength or dosage form — the drug statute may provide three years of exclusivity. This delays approval of abbreviated applications proposing products with the same active ingredient for the same condition of approval. But a competitor that proposed a different strength or dosage form — or that cited a product with a different strength or dosage form (such as the innovator’s original product) — would not need to grapple with that exclusivity. This debunks the myth that an innovator with later‐​expiring patents and an innovator that introduces newer products can prevent its competitors from bringing copies to market. Instead, competitors have several options. For instance, empirical studies show that competitors file abbreviated applications as early as the law permits them to do so, arguing that the innovator’s patents are invalid or, if applicable, not infringed by the new drug. They tend to lose these arguments when the active ingredient patent is at issue, but they tend to win if a formulation patent is at issue. If a competitor believed it would infringe a patent or feared it would lose the patent infringement suit brought by the innovator, it could seek a license. Settlements of patent litigation between innovators and competitors seeking to market generic copies usually include a license allowing the competitor to bring its product to market earlier than the date of patent expiry. There are also other options. Once the patent on the active ingredient expires, a competitor can use the ingredient in its own product and file an abbreviated application, relying on the research performed and submitted by the innovator. Even in an ANDA, a true generic application, only the active ingredient must be the same. A competitor may be able to design around patents claiming other aspects of the innovator’s product (such as its strength and route of administration) and still file a true generic application. The competitor would simply file a suitability petition and, upon approval of that petition, a generic application proposing the difference that allowed it to avoid patent infringement. Then it would assert non‐​infringement in its application. If it could not file a generic application (for instance, because the FDA requested data to support the changes made), it could always file a hybrid application. It would still rely on the innovator’s research and it would similarly assert non‐​infringement in its application. In either case, the innovator might not sue if the competitor clearly avoided its patents. It is thus misleading for advocates of intervention to complain about the number of “patents” associated with a “drug.” A competitor filing an abbreviated application does not copy a “drug” in the broad sense of the term. Accurately describing a company’s freedom to operate in the market would require focusing on discrete products that can serve as references for abbreviated applications and on the number, scope, and breadth of the patent claims held by the innovator for those products. This would tell policymakers more about the market effects of a firm’s innovation and patenting practices than the number of patents associated with a particular brand name or the number of patents associated with the many finished products containing a particular active ingredient. Myth that automatic substitution is critical / The final myth of evergreening is that continuing innovation — especially when an innovator introduces a newer version of its product and stops selling its old version — precludes uptake of less expensive medicines by interfering with automatic pharmacy substitution under state pharmacy law. This myth reflects an assumption that competitors who file abbreviated applications depend on automatic pharmacy substitution — rather than the ordinary rough and tumble of a competitive marketplace — to obtain market share. The truth may be more complicated. Automatic pharmacy substitution arises through a combination of longstanding FDA practices and state pharmacy law. Once the agency has approved two products with the same active ingredient, it assesses whether they are “therapeutically equivalent.” Designating two as therapeutically equivalent means that they have the same clinical profile and that they can be “substituted”: either can be dispensed instead of the other. A true generic drug, an exact copy of the innovator’s product approved based on an ANDA, will be deemed therapeutically equivalent. Every state either permits or requires pharmacists to dispense a therapeutically equivalent generic drug when a doctor prescribes an innovator’s drug by its brand name, unless the doctor has said not to. The notion advanced by critics of alleged “evergreening” is that once an innovator introduces a newer version of its branded product, doctors will prescribe the newer version. And because the generic company instead copied the older version, pharmacists will not — cannot under state law — substitute the generic product when the patient presents a prescription for the newer innovator product. The problem with this argument is that actual dispensing decisions probably reflect a more complex interaction of prescriber decisions, payer preferences, and state law. To begin with, a doctor may specify either branded drugs or generic drugs. A doctor could write the brand name, to be sure, but the doctor could also simply identify the active ingredient, which will usually lead the pharmacist to dispense one of the available generic drugs. In theory, the doctor could even identify a particular generic company’s drug containing a particular active ingredient. And while drugmakers rarely promote generic drugs to doctors and patients, nothing prevents them from doing so. They do promote their therapeutically equivalent generic drugs to pharmacies and payers, focusing on the lower prices they offer. And a company that filed a hybrid application for a product that differed from the innovator’s product might brand its product and promote the distinguishing features, or (depending on the reason it filed the hybrid application) position the product as a near‐​duplicate of the more expensive branded alternatives and promote it as such. In short, an innovator’s newer product creates a new choice for doctors and payers. To be sure, if doctors select this product, pharmacists will dispense it rather than generic copies of the innovator’s older product. Doctors might shift their prescribing to the newer product for many reasons, including persuasive advertising and promotion — meaning they come to believe (based on advertising that, per FDA rules, must be truthful and not misleading) that there are benefits to the newer product. They might shift for other reasons, including experience treating patients with the two options. But companies may advertise and promote generic products to doctors and patients as well, and based on this advertising (or for other reasons, such as experience with the older innovative product that the competitor copied) doctors might not select the innovator’s newer product. They might specify the innovator’s older product (which would lead to automatic substitution, even if the innovator no longer markets the product) or, again, a generic product itself. Generic companies will be able to introduce copies of the innovator’s first product and they may or may not enjoy sales depending on the choices they make and the choices made by others in the market. The assumption that competing companies depend on automatic substitution for market share may be simplistic. Only a minority of states require substitution; most instead have permissive laws. In these states, if a generic product is therapeutically equivalent to the prescribed product and the payer requires its use, the permissive state pharmacy law makes it possible for a pharmacist to substitute, in accordance with the patient’s insurance, without consulting the physician. In these cases, the patient’s insurance drives the product selection. State law just makes it possible to comply with the insurance without contacting the doctor. If a payer perceives the innovator’s new product as less cost effective than available generic drugs containing the same active ingredient, it may decline to cover the product. A rational payer will adopt strategies that steer doctors and patients to less expensive products that are equally or adequately effective — not only those that are therapeutically equivalent, but also those that are not. In these cases, even if a doctor specifies a branded product, the patient’s insurance might prompt a conversation among the doctor, pharmacist, and patient, ultimately leading to modification of the prescription and dispensing of the cheaper copy of the innovator’s first‐​version product. In short, when an innovator introduces a new product into the market, generic companies will be able to introduce copies of the innovator’s first product and they may or may not enjoy sales depending on the choices they make and the choices made by others in the market. In this scenario, products compete for the business of rational payers based on their comparative benefits and cost. Substitution may play almost no true role, and whether the innovator still markets its older branded product may be irrelevant.

#### Prefer legal studies.

Parker and Mooney 7 [Scott and Kevin; “Is ‘evergreening’ a cause for concern? A legal perspective,” Journal of Commercial Biotechnology; 2007; <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/palgrave.jcb.3050066>] Justin

THE LEGAL BACKGROUND The patent system provides an incentive for companies to incur the cost and risk of research by providing the time-limited exclusive right to commercialise a patented product. At the heart of the patent system in the UK (and all other fully TRIPs compliant countries) is the requirement that to qualify for the monopoly right that the patent confers (20 years from the date of filing the patent application) the invention covered by the patent must be novel, non-obvious (ie it involves an inventive step) and capable of industrial application (‘utility’ or ‘usefulness’ in the US). The novelty and inventiveness of the patent is evaluated against the ‘state of the art’, which consists in general of every item of information which has ever been made available to the public by any kind of publication, or by use, anywhere in the world, at any point in time before the first filing date of the patent. It is a basic principle of patent law that once details of a product have entered the public domain (by being published anywhere without patent protection, or when any patents for the product or proposal expire or lapse), then everyone has freedom to use that information and any obvious developments of it. So before assuming that any new development relating to a known compound can be patented, we have to ask: 1 Is this new? Any previous publication or use, no matter how obscure, of the same invention destroys novelty and prevents a patent being issued or, if issued in ignorance of such a publication, this will subsequently cause the patent to be declared invalid if sought to be enforced. 2 Is there an inventive step? A patent cannot be granted for anything which is simply an obvious development or variant on any individual piece of information which is part of the state of the art. It is no answer that the piece of information in question may never have come to the attention of the fictitious ‘person skilled in the art’ who is central to any determination of ‘obviousness’. 3 Is there a proposed industrial application for the invention (in the broad sense of having some useful purpose)? The invention does not have to demonstrate an improvement on what is already known, but it cannot be speculative. It must have a use. For example, a DNA sequence for a recombinant gene fragment with a well-defined function is a patentable invention whereas a DNA sequence alone without any indication of function or of its useful attributes is not. 4 Does the patent describe how to put the invention into effect? The patent must be ‘enabling’; it must add to public knowledge, and contribute in its own right to the state of the art. In this way each new patent moves the frontier of the state of the art forward and makes it more difficult to find improvements which are neither old nor obvious. This disclosure enables third parties to implement the invention once the patent has expired and, is the consideration (in the legal sense) for the monopoly right granted by a patent. HOW THE PATENT SYSTEM DEALS WITH ‘EVERGREENING’ The criteria of patentability set out above apply equally to all inventions from the most basic mechanical patent to the most complex microelectronic or biotechnological invention. Similarly patent law does not distinguish between the invention of a wholly new product and inventions relating to improvements upon an existing product. The same criteria for patentability apply. ‘Double patenting’ is prohibited. That is to say the same invention cannot be covered by more than one patent. Thus for an improvement upon an existing pharmaceutical product to be patentable in its own right it will need to satisfy the criteria of novelty and non-obviousness taking into account the earlier product and all that is known about it in the public domain at the time that the second patent is applied for. If a patent is granted in respect of this improvement it will only cover the improvement to which it relates and will not extend to the originator product. That is to say a patent for a new product in a class will always be broader than any subsequent patent covering an improvement, modification or derivative of that product and so the exclusivity granted is in broad terms commensurate with the scope of the scientific advance that it reflects. An important corollary to the prohibition on ‘double patenting’ is that a patent covering an improved version of a pharmaceutical (or any other) product does not preclude a generic company from copying all forms of the originator product once the patents protecting these forms have expired. For example, if a company selling a patented pharmaceutical reformulates that product as a syrup for paediatric administration and then patents the new formulation, generic competition to the original adult formulation will be possible once the patents covering it expire or are invalidated. The existence of the patent on the paediatric formulation will not delay or prevent generic competition on the original formulation. The innovator company will, however, continue to have the exclusive right to sell the paediatric formulation for the remainder of the life of the patent covering this specific improvement. If in the above example the improvement made is not a paediatric formulation but a slow release formulation that allows once daily dosing and so improves patient compliance as a result of increased convenience, doctors and patients will have a choice between generic versions of the original formulation or the new once-daily product once any patent on the original formulation expires. The patents on the slow release formulation will not delay or prevent marketing of the original formulation. The market will then decide whether the benefits offered by the improved formulation make it worth paying for in the face of cheaper versions of the original product. The answer to this question will inevitably vary from market to market and between different patient populations. Either way the patient would appear to benefit from the increased choice available. A simple and further example of this is ibuprofen. The supermarket shelf carries premium-priced ibuprofen formulations which typically are quicker acting or easier to take than the traditional tablet. These formulations may be patent protected. Customers can, however, decide for themselves whether the added benefit is worth the extra cost. The patents do not prevent anybody from buying the ordinary, cheapest kind of tablet. Reference to patents covering the colour and scoring of tablets has been made in several articles criticising the pharmaceutical industry (without the specific patents that are complained of being identified).4 It is informative to consider how the patent system would apply to such ‘developments’. To the best of the authors’ knowledge no patents have ever been granted for the colour of pharmaceutical products. In fact, since UK patent law (and most others) expressly excludes the patenting of ‘aesthetic creations’ the colour of a pharmaceutical product could only ever be patentable if either: (a) it could be established that the colour itself produces a technical effect, such as a therapeutic benefit caused by increased compliance, that is novel and not obvious; or (b) that the means of obtaining that colour, the manufacturing process of colouring the tablet, is itself novel and not obvious. It goes without saying that for a ‘pink pill’ patent application the technical effect, novelty and inventiveness would be scrutinised carefully. Nevertheless, the application would be looked at on its own facts and applying the patentability criteria described above. Similarly, as regards the scoring of tablets, the same standard of patentability and scrutiny must be satisfied. It would need to be established that tablets had never been scored in this way before and that to do so was not an obvious departure from what has gone before. Without further investigation it should not be assumed that such an invention would be of no value to patients (eg it could be that compliance among children would be improved if the tablet is more cleanly cut as a result of the means of scoring employed). There are plenty of examples of developments (reformulations, new salts, combinations and the like) that have real therapeutic benefit but which at first blush may seem trivial. Again, the more minor that a variation is (eg a pink tablet or means of scoring the tablet) the more narrow the relevant patent protection will be and the easier it should be for a competitor to design around the patent without needing to seek to invalidate it. For example, if a patent is (or has been) granted that covers a particular colour of tablet or a particular means of scoring such tablet then such a patent would not stop a competitor from marketing (respectively) a different colour tablet or a tablet that is not scored or that is scored in a different way. In summary, therefore, the patent system is inherently adapted to reflect how much innovation in fact takes place (by way of improvements to existing technology) and to prevent ‘evergreening’. It allows the use of ‘old’ technology while protecting (and thus providing incentives for) improvements to that technology. Another factor to be taken into account in any debate on the patenting of ‘minor variations’ is that it is not only the company that owns the patents covering the originator product that can patent improvements thereto. Other companies (including generics) can (and do) do this, with the consequence that there may be a number of companies having similar products (some of which may for a variety of reasons be better suited to particular patients) and healthy competition in the marketplace. ‘STRATEGIC PATENTING’ A related charge that is sometimes made against innovator companies is that they file numerous patents on multiple attributes of a single product so as to create a ‘patent thicket’ that so complicates third-party research that it strangles innovation, or that they are guilty of what is sometimes referred to as ‘strategic patenting’.5 Implicit in these charges is that the only reason for filing these patents is maintenance of market share for as long as possible after the expiry of the patents covering the originator product itself. This is a serious charge that deserves to be looked at in more detail. Of course, pharmaceutical and biotechnology companies (like companies in all other R&D-based industries) have patenting strategies. In no other industry is there any suggestion that companies should restrict themselves to patenting inventions that meet some higher standard over and above the basic criteria for patentability or that companies should not seek protection for certain types of technological advance or that exceeding a certain number of patents in a technical area is per se reprehensible. When one considers that intellectual property rights are the life-blood that propels pharmaceutical advances in the private sector (and to an increasing extent in the public sector as well) and takes into account the sums that are typically spent on a new product during the 10–15-year-period from discovery through pre-clinical and clinical trials to regulatory approval and market launch, any company that did not do all that it could to protect its inventions would be acting negligently towards its shareholders. On the subject of patenting strategies in the pharmaceutical industry the UK Patents Court judge Mr Justice Jacob (now Lord Justice Jacob) said in the case of Synthon v SmithKline Beecham ‘I ask myself whether SB have done anything blameworthy…and I cannot see that they have. On the contrary, so far as I can see, they have employed competent and careful patent agents to obtain for them the best patent position which they think they can get. It may be good, it may be bad, but they are doing their job and I see no criticism whatever in the conduct of SB’.6 If one accepts that the nature of pharmaceutical and biotechnological innovation (as with other R&D based industries) is most often incremental and cumulative then it follows that the patent system should reflect this reality. This is indeed the case. As we have seen above, the patent system does not distinguish between ‘breakthroughs’ and ‘incremental improvements’ in terms of the patentability requirements that apply. At the same time a greater reward (a broader patent) is granted in respect of the ground breaking research than for inventions directed at solving further technical hurdles and optimisation of the initial invention. In the experience of the authors most of the patents that have been challenged by generic companies wishing to enter the market were applied for during the development of the originator product rather than once it has been established as a commercial success. This reflects the organic process of drug discovery and development and the time lag between drug discovery development, clinical testing and regulatory approval (ie that inventions are made in overcoming the various technical challenges faced during drug development). Nevertheless, some innovations are made at a later stage. For example, it may be that it is only after the product has been prescribed to a population of patients post-launch that it will become evident that further improvements need to be made to improve efficacy, deal with a compliance (or other) problem or expand the target patient population or disease indications. Such improvements may stem from greater experience of the product, problems unexpectedly encountered in particular patient populations or other advances made in the field. Given that the purpose of the patent system is to encourage innovation and (in the pharmaceutical sector) to lead to better medicines, it would be strange indeed if this incentive was removed or diminished once the first product of a particular type has been launched.

#### Evergreening is good---your authors misunderstand it.

Banana 19 [BananaIP; “DEMYSTIFYING THE EVERGREEN MYTH,” Executive Office of the President of the United States; 7/19/19—originally appeared 5/19/14; [https://www.bananaip.com/ip-news-center/chapter-iii-demystifying-evergreen-myth-comprehending-apprehension-apprehending-comprehension/]](https://www.bananaip.com/ip-news-center/chapter-iii-demystifying-evergreen-myth-comprehending-apprehension-apprehending-comprehension/%5d) Justin

Evergreening is like any other business strategy that market players would adopt to seek a competitive edge in the market. It doesn’t stop anyone from making the product claimed in the expired patent, but only makes sure that they can differentiate themselves from the other generic products through incremental inventions. More often than not, the R&D efforts and investments that go into the making of these incremental inventions can be very high and their results invaluable for treatment.

One of the rationales of the patent system is to incentivize innovation which is believed to lead to the progress in technology. A patent application is published 18 months after it is filed so as to ensure that the knowledge in the patent is made public for aspiring inventors to design around and build on it. Anyone, including the owner of an existing patent and their competitors, is free to invest in research in this direction as early as 18 months from the filing of such a patent. If a competitor files for an incremental patent, it is branded as innovation, but when a patent holder files for an incremental patent, it is looked upon as innovation leading to life cycle management or Evergreening.

In most parts of the world, life cycle management is considered as positive development. However, to the frustration of many pharmaceutical companies, symbolically represented by Bayer, life cycle management is quite a tricky business in India, thanks to the infamous Section 3(d) of the Indian Patent Act, often alluded to as the anti-evergreening law, which bears the burden of keeping a check on incremental pharmaceutical inventions that add no therapeutic value. Section 3(d) states that “the mere discovery of a new form of a known substance which does not result in the enhancement of the known efficacy of that substance, or the mere discovery of any new property or new use for a known substance or of the mere use of a known process, machine or apparatus, unless such known process results in a new product or employs at least one new reactant” is not patentable.

#### AT: PFAD

1] This card only says they have already been on the market – which doesn’t mean they aren’t inventive – hold the line

#### The affs wholesale attack on secondary patents ruins innovation---prefer contingencies that solve evergreening.

Holman 18 [Christopher; 9/21/18; Professor at the University of Missouri-Kansas City School of Law, where his primary research focus lies at the intersection of intellectual property and biotechnology; “*Why Follow-On Pharmaceutical Innovations Should Be Eligible For Patent Protection*,” Intellectual property watch, <https://www.ip-watch.org/2018/09/21/follow-pharmaceutical-innovations-eligible-patent-protection/>] Justin

Why Protect Follow-On Innovation? The attack on secondary pharmaceutical patents is based in part on the flawed premise that follow-on innovation is of marginal value at best, and thus less deserving of protection than the primary inventive act of identifying and validating a new drug active ingredient. In fact, follow-on innovation can play a critical role in transforming an interesting drug candidate into a safe and effective treatment option for patients. A good example can be seen in the case of AZT (zidovudine), a drug ironically described in the Guidelines as the “first breakthrough in AIDS therapy.” AZT began its life as a failed attempt at a cancer drug, and it was only years later that its potential application in the fight against AIDS was realized. Follow-on research resulted in a method-of-use patent directed towards the use of AZT in the treatment of AIDS, and it was this patent that incentivized the investment necessary to bridge the gap between a promising drug candidate and a safe, effective, and FDA-approved pharmaceutical. Significantly, because of the long lag time between the first public disclosure of AZT and the discovery of its use in the treatment of AIDS, patent protection for the molecule per se was unavailable. In a world where follow-on innovation is unpatentable, there would have been no patent incentive to invest in the development of the drug, and without that incentive AZT might have languished on the shelf as simply one more failed drug candidate. Other examples of important drugs that likely never would have been made available to patients without the availability of a “secondary” patent include Evista (raloxifene, used in the treatment of osteoporosis and to reduce the risk of invasive breast cancer), Zyprexa (olanzapine, used in the treatment of schizophrenia), and an orally-administrable formulation of the antibiotic cefuroxime. Pharmaceutical development is prolonged and unpredictable, and frequently a safe and effective drug occurs only as a result of follow-on innovation occurring long after the initial synthesis and characterization of a pharmaceutically interesting chemical compound. The inventions protected by secondary patents can be just as critical to the development of drugs as a patent on the active ingredient itself. The Benefits of Follow-On Innovation The criticism of patents on follow-on pharmaceutical innovation rests on an assumption that follow-on innovation provides little if any benefit to patients, and merely serves as a pretense for extending patent protection on an existing drug. In fact, there are many examples of follow-on products that represent significant improvements in the safety-efficacy profile. For example, the original formulation of Lumigan (used to treat glaucoma) had an unfortunate tendency to cause severe hyperemia (i.e., redeye), and this adverse event often lead patients to stop using the drug, at times resulting in blindness. Subsequent research led to a new formulation which largely alleviated the problem of hyperemia, an example of the type of follow-on innovation that significantly benefits patients but that which would be discouraged by a patent regime that does not reward follow-on innovation. Follow-on pharmaceutical innovation can come in the form of an extended-release formulation that permits the drug to be administered at less frequent intervals than the original formulation. Critics of secondary patents downplay the significance of extended-release formulations, claiming that they represent nothing more than a ploy to extend patent protection without providing any real benefit to patients. In fact, the availability of a drug that can be taken once a day has been shown to improve patient compliance, a significant issue with many drugs, particularly in the case of drugs taken by patients with dementia or other cognitive impairments. Extended-release formulations can also provide a more consistent dosing throughout the day, avoiding the peaks and valleys in blood levels experienced by patients forced to take an immediate-release drug multiple times a day. Other examples of improved formulations that provide real benefits to patients are orally administrable formulations of drugs that could previously only be administered by more invasive intravenous or intramuscular injection, combination products that combine two or more active pharmaceutical agents in a single formulation (resulting in improved patient compliance), and a heat-stable formulation of a lifesaving drug used to treat HIV infection and AIDS (an important characteristic for use in developing countries with a hot climate). “Evergreening” – an Incoherent Concept Drug innovators are often accused of using secondary patents to “evergreen” the patent protection of existing drugs, based on an assumption that a secondary patent somehow extends the patent protection of a drug after the primary patent on the active ingredient is expired. As a general matter, this is a false assumption — a patent on an improved formulation, for example, is limited to that improvement and does not extend patent protection for the original formulation. Once the patents covering the original formulation have expired, generic companies are free to market a generic version of the original product, and patients willing to forgo the benefits of the improved formulation can choose to purchase the generic product, free of any constraints imposed by the patent on the improvement. Of course, drug innovators hope that doctors and their patients will see the benefits of the improved formulation and be willing to pay a premium for it, but it is important to bear in mind that ultimately it is patients, doctors, and third-party payers who determine whether the value of the improvement justifies the costs. Of course, this assumes a reasonably well-functioning pharmaceutical market. If that market breaks down in a manner that forces patients to pay higher prices for a patented new version of a drug that provides little real improvement over the original formulation, then it is the deficiency in the market which should be addressed, rather than the patent system itself. For example, if a drug company is found to have engaged in some anticompetitive activity to block generic competition in the market for the original product once it has gone off patent, then antitrust and competition laws should be invoked to address that problem. If doctors are prescribing an expensive new formulation of a drug that provides little benefit compared to a cheaper, unpatented original product, then that is a deficiency in the market that should be addressed directly, rather than through a broadside attack on follow-on innovation. In short, if is found that secondary patents are being used in a manner that creates an unwarranted extension of patent protection, it is that misuse of the patent system which should be addressed directly, rather than through what amounts to an attack on the patent system itself.

### 1NC – AT: Feldman

#### Feldman is a joke.

Risch 17 [Michael; “Data for the Evergreening Debate,” Written Description; 11/21/17; <https://writtendescription.blogspot.com/2017/11/data-for-evergreening-debate.html>] Justin

**Feldman and Wang** argue that the Orange Book has been used by companies to "evergreen" their drugs - that is, to extend exclusivity beyond patent expiration. The paper is on SSRN and the abstract is here:

Why do drug prices remain so high? Even in sub-optimally competitive markets such as health care, one might expect to see some measure of competition, at least in certain circumstances. Although anecdotal evidence has identified instances of evergreening, which can be defined as artificially extending the protection cliff, just how pervasive is such behavior? Is it simply a matter of certain bad actors, to whom everyone points repeatedly, or is the problem endemic to the industry?

This study examines all drugs on the market between 2005 and 2015, identifying and analyzing every instance in which the company added new patents or exclusivities. The results show a startling departure from the classic conceptualization of intellectual property protection for pharmaceuticals. Key results include: 1) Rather than creating new medicines, pharmaceutical companies are recycling and repurposing old ones. Every year, at least 74% of the drugs associated with new patents in the FDA’s records were not new drugs coming on the market, but existing drugs; 2) Adding new patents and exclusivities to extend the protection cliff is particularly pronounced among blockbuster drugs. Of the roughly 100 best-selling drugs, almost 80% extended their protection at least once, with almost 50% extending the protection cliff more than once; 3) Once a company starts down this road, there is a tendency to keep returning to the well. Looking at the full group, 80% of those who added protections added more than one, with some becoming serial offenders; 4) The problem is growing across time.

I think the data the authors have gathered is extremely important, and I think that their study sheds important light on what happens in the pharmaceutical industry. That said, as I explain below, my takeaways from this paper are much different from theirs.

My concerns are fourfold. First, even assuming that every one of the efforts listed by the the study were an attempt to evergreen, I have no sense for whether evergreening actually happened. This study doesn't provide any data about generic entry or pricing. For example, the study describes 13 listings for OxyContin, but I'd bet dollars to donuts that there was plenty of generic oxycodone available. Similarly, many of the new listings are changes from Drug 1.0 to "new and improved!" Drug 2.0. This, of course, has been criticized as anti-competitive (since generics rely on auto-substitution laws), but the study presents no data about whether insurers refuse to pay for Drug 2.0 and instead require the generic, nor does it explain why generics can't do their own advertisements to get doctors to prescribe Drug 1.0.

Second, many of these listings and the new patents that go with them are for advances, like extended release and dissolvables. These can be critically important advances, and they are preferred by consumers. Thus, one person's "evergreening" is another person's innovation. I take extended release drugs (and expensive generic) to avoid side effects and I gave my son dissolvable Prevacid when he wouldn't stop crying with GERD (and was glad for it). Without consumer data or patent data, it is impossible to tell just how much evergreening is going on (or how harmful it is). Now, if these patents are obvious because making them dissolvable or extended is easy, I'm all for stripping protection - but that's a different issue.

Third, the article speaks of orphan drug approvals as if they are a bad thing. This made me bristle, quite frankly. My mother has an extremely rare autoimmune disease that is very painful. I often wondered, isn't there some incentive to develop drugs to treat it? Turns out there is, and though she got no relief, apparently a bunch of other rare diseases did, and that's the whole point behind orphan drug exclusivity. Concern about this exclusivity seems misguided anyway. If it turns out that drug companies are gaming it and nobody actually needs the drug, then the the loss is not too large, because it's a small population and nobody needs the generic anyway. And if it turns out that they do need it, the Orange Book only limits labeling, and doctors are free to prescribe a generic for off-label use. Without evidence that doctors refuse to do so, there's no real evidence that Orphan exclusivity does much harm. In another personal story, my wife was prescribed a generic drug in a different formulation than the patented tablet for off-label use.

Fourth, and most generally, the article speaks of new patents as if there is no innovation. New use discoveries are important. Many of our most important drugs are not for their original uses. As far as I know, generics are not barred from finding new uses and patenting them, either, though admittedly their hands are tied for patient use. So, where the authors see evergreening, I see innovation. Maybe. Maybe it's obvious. But we can't tell that from this high level, and I'm not ready to write it all off as evergreening. It is telling that I was able to provide four personal stories about how supposed evergreening efforts benefited, would have benefited, or did not increase costs for my family or me (and thankfully none of them involved oxycodone).

#### Answers Arnold Ventures.

