

## Epidemias na Política Global / Infectious Disease and Epidemics in Global Politics

Dr. Markus Fraundorfer

Instituto de Relações Internacionais

Universidade de São Paulo

Email: [fraundorfer@usp.br](mailto:fraundorfer@usp.br)

Office Hour / Horários disponíveis: to be arranged by email / pode ser organizado por email

### **Resumo**

Doenças infecciosas e epidemias sempre moldaram a história da humanidade. A morte negra no século 14 matou mais da metade da população da Europa. A grande maioria da população nativa das Américas foi apagada pela varíola, um vírus trazido para o continente pelos europeus no final do século 15. A gripe espanhola em 1918 e 1919 matou 50 milhões de pessoas em todo o mundo. Em comparação, a Primeira Guerra Mundial, que terminou em 1918, resultou em cerca de 17 milhões de mortes. Desde o início do século 21, os surtos e epidemias de vírus tornaram-se uma realidade recorrente, com cada poucos anos uma nova doença se espalhando pelo mundo e se transformando em pandemias. SARS (síndrome respiratória aguda grave) em 2003, H5N1 (gripe aviária) várias vezes entre 2003 e 2009, H1N1 (gripe suína) em 2009, o vírus Ebola em 2014 e o vírus Zika entre 2014 e 2016. A epidemia do vírus Ebola foi certamente o mais perigoso e horrível nesta lista de epidemias recentes, infectando cerca de 30 mil pessoas e matando 11 mil. Esta nova realidade pandêmica está transformando a forma como o sistema global funciona, tornando fúteis as fronteiras estatais, deixando os governos desesperados e desafiando toda a ideia de relações internacionais. Os vírus começaram a desempenhar um papel importante na política global. Portanto, é vital compreender as causas, o impacto, as consequências e o significado de vírus, doenças infecciosas e epidemias no sistema político global.

### **Abstract**

Infectious disease and epidemics have always shaped the history of humankind. The Black Death in the 14<sup>th</sup> century erased more than half of Europe's population. The huge majority of the native population in the Americas was erased by smallpox, a virus brought to the continent by the Europeans in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Spanish Flu in 1918 and 1919 killed 50 million people worldwide. By comparison, the First World War, which had ended in 1918, had resulted in about 17 million deaths. Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, virus outbreaks and epidemics have become a recurring reality, with every few years a new disease spreading around the globe and turning into pandemics. SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) in 2003, H5N1 (avian flu) several times between 2003 and 2009, H1N1 (swine flu) in 2009, the Ebola virus in 2014 and the Zika virus between 2014 and 2016. The Ebola virus epidemic was certainly the most dangerous and horrific one on this list of recent epidemics, infecting around 30 thousand people and killing 11 thousand. This new pandemic reality is transforming the way the global system functions, rendering state borders meaningless, leaving governments desperate and challenging the whole idea of inter-national relations. Viruses have started to play a major role in global politics. Therefore, it is vital to come to terms with the causes, the impact, the consequences and the meaning of viruses, infectious disease and epidemics in the global political system.

### **Conteúdo**

Esta disciplina serve para familiarizar os alunos e as alunas com as consequências de surtos de doenças e epidemias de escala transnacional para o sistema político global. Primeiro, o curso fornece esclarecimentos

conceituais sobre terminologia epidemiológica e os conceitos-chave da governança global da saúde e da diplomacia da saúde global. Então, exploramos as narrativas tradicionais de doenças e epidemias para entender quais significados são tradicionalmente atribuídos a surtos de doenças e epidemias. Posteriormente, observamos epidemias em um contexto histórico que examina como os vírus moldaram o curso da história humana. O curso passa para o século 20 e 21, analisando os diferentes atores e processos da arquitetura de saúde global em vigor para lutar contra epidemias. Depois de ter discutido as transformações atuais que ocorrem nesta arquitetura global, nos concentramos nos vírus mais importantes que já se espalharam globalmente, como HIV/AIDS, formas diferentes de influenza, tuberculose, malária e Ebola, e analisar as consequências políticas, econômicas e sociais de seus impacto na política global.

## Content

This course serves to familiarise students with the consequences of disease outbreaks and epidemics of a transnational scale for the global political system. First, the course provides conceptual clarifications on epidemiological terminology and the key concepts of global health governance and global health diplomacy. Then, we explore the traditional narratives of disease and epidemics to understand which meanings are traditionally attributed to disease outbreaks and epidemics. Thereafter, we look at epidemics in a historical context examining how viruses have shaped the course of human history. The course moves on to the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century analysing the different actors and processes of the global health architecture in place to fight epidemics. After having discussed current transformations taking place in this global architecture, we focus on the most important viruses which have already spread globally, such as HIV/AIDS, influenza, tuberculosis, malaria and Ebola, and analyse the political, economic and social consequences of their impact on global politics.

## Resultados da aprendizagem

- familiarizar-se com debates-chave na governança global da saúde
- ter uma idéia de como as epidemias moldam e remodelam nossa compreensão das políticas (globais)
- aprender sobre alguns dos principais mecanismos e atores da governança global da saúde para enfrentar epidemias
- compreender como as epidemias podem ser abordadas com sucesso na arquitetura de governança global contemporânea

## Learning outcomes

- get familiarised with key debates in global health governance
- get a sense for how epidemics shape and reshape our understanding of (global) politics
- learn about some of the key mechanisms and actors in global health governance to confront epidemics
- understand how epidemics can be tackled successfully in the contemporary global governance architecture

## Marcação / Notas

- Participação (20%)
- 11 registros de aprendizagem (30%)
- Ensaio + Proposta de pesquisa (50%)



## Marking

- Attendance / Participation (20%)
- 11 Learning logs (30%)
- Essay + Project Proposal (50%)

## Participacão

Uma vez que esta é uma disciplina baseada em tarefas de estudantes, trabalho em grupo e outros métodos de interação social, o atendimento e a participação dos alunos são vitais para o sucesso do curso.

### Attendance / Participation

Since this is a course based on student assignments, group work and other social interaction methods, student attendance and participation is vital to the success of the course.

## Registros de aprendizagem / Learning Logs

Um Learning Log é um resumo dos principais argumentos da leitura obrigatória; um registro ou registro de sua própria aprendizagem (do processo dessa aprendizagem). Os registros de aprendizagem não são um trabalho formal / trabalho acadêmico.

- Tarefa principal: resuma o argumento principal de dois textos do material de leitura para cada sessão! Em total: 11 learning logs (Sessões 2 – 12)!
- 2 páginas DIN-A-4, fonte 12, espaçamento entre linhas 1.5
- Idioma: inglês ou português
- Dicas:
  - Escreva frases curtas e concisas
  - Concentre-se no que é importante
  - Concentre-se nos argumentos principais
  - Concentre-se em comparações / diferenças nos argumentos
  - Nos registros de aprendizado posteriores, você pode comparar os argumentos do material de leitura com material de leitura, discussões e debates de sessões anteriores
  - Inclua suas próprias reflexões críticas sobre a leitura e o que você faz dela / como isso ajuda você a entender melhor o problema em questão
- Entregue cada registro de aprendizagem em papel  
**ANTES DO INÍCIO DE CADA SESSÃO !!!!**

## Learning Logs

Learning Logs are a summary of the key arguments of the compulsory reading; a log, or record, of your own learning (process). Learning logs are not a formal piece of academic work.

- Main task: summarise the main argument of two texts of the reading material for each session! Altogether 11 learning logs (sessions 2 – 12)!
- 2 pages DIN-A-4, font 12, line spacing 1.5
- Language: English or Portuguese

- Tips:

- Write short and concise sentences
- Concentrate on what is important
- Concentrate on the key arguments
- Focus on comparisons/differences in the arguments
- In later learning logs you may compare the arguments of the reading material with reading material, discussions and debates of former sessions
- Include your own critical reflections on the reading and what you make of it / how it helps you to better understand the issue at hand

**Submit each learning log in paper form  
BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF EACH SESSION!!!!**

**Redacão de ensaio:**

- texto de 15 páginas (sem bibliografia), DIN-A-4
- Fonte 12
- Espaçamento entre linhas: 1,5
- Idioma: inglês ou português
- Requisitos:
  - Desenvolva sua própria pergunta e argumento de pesquisa
  - Ao escolher seu tópico para o seu ensaio, você deve se concentrar em uma das doenças discutidas no curso e selecionar uma das duas questões:
    - 1) Mecanismos de governança, incluindo atores participantes, estruturas de governança e impacto
    - 2) Narrativas da doença
  - Organização: Introdução (com fundo do tópico, questão principal, possivelmente um enigma, argumento chave, layout do ensaio); Teoria (seu fundamento teórico), Parte Empírica (mostrando sua evidência baseada na teoria), Conclusão (resumo de seus resultados, resposta à sua pergunta e argumento, pensamentos adicionais e possíveis implicações)
  - Escreva frases curtas e concisas
  - Concentre-se em uma questão ONE, ONE question, ONE argument
  - Claro, você pode usar o material de leitura do curso
  - É obrigatório enviar uma proposta de projeto de 800 palavras até **25 de maio de 2018** detalhando sua pergunta de pesquisa, abordagem teórica e estrutura argumentativa!
  - Prazo de entrega do ensaio: **04 de Julho de 2018, 24h (horário de Brasília), por email ([fraudorfer@usp.br](mailto:fraudorfer@usp.br))**

**Essay:**

- 15 pages of text (without bibliography), DIN-A-4
- Font 12
- Line spacing: 1.5
- Language: English or Portuguese
- Requirements:
  - Develop your own research question and argument
  - When choosing your topic for your essay, you are required to concentrate on one of the diseases discussed in the course and select one of the following two issues:
    - 1) governance mechanisms including participating actors, governance structures and impact
    - 2) disease narratives
  - Organisation: Introduction (with background of the topic, main question, possibly a puzzle, key argument, layout of the essay); Theory (your theoretical underpinning), Empirical Part (showing your evidence based on the theory), Conclusion (summary of your results, answering your question and argument, further thoughts and possible implications)
  - Write short and concise sentences
  - Concentrate on ONE issue, ONE question, ONE argument
  - Of course, you may use the reading material of the course
  - **It is mandatory to submit a project proposal of 800 words by 25 May 2018 detailing your research question, theoretical approach and argumentative structure!**
  - Essay deadline: **04 July 2018, 24hrs (Brasília time)**

## **Conteúdo e material de leitura / Content and Compulsory Reading Material**

### **1) Introduction**

*The historical influence of viruses and infectious diseases in world politics*

- Introduction to the course, student assignments and goals
- Short video clip, “How pandemics spread”, from <http://ed.ted.com/lessons/how-pandemics-spread>

### **2) Conceptual clarifications**

*How to think about a virus, an outbreak, an epidemic and a pandemic?*

- Ilona Kickbusch, Gaudenz Silberschmidt and Paulo Buss (2007), “Global health diplomacy: the need for new perspectives, strategic approaches and skills in global health”, *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 85 (3), pp. 230–232, available from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2636243/>
- Nicholas B. King (2002), “Security, Disease, Commerce. Ideologies of Post-colonial Global Health”, *Social Studies of Science*, 32 (5-6), pp. 763 – 789.
- Yanqiu Rachel Zhou & William D. Coleman (2016), “Accelerated Contagion and Response: Understanding the Relationships among Globalization, Time, and Disease”, *Globalizations*, 13(3), pp. 285-299.

### **3) The impact of global epidemics in historical perspective**

*The virus and the course of human history*

- Andrew T Price-Smith (2009), “Pandemic Influenza: On Sclerosis in Governance”, in: *Contagion and Chaos: Disease, Ecology, and National Security in the Era of Globalization*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, pp. 57 – 87.
- Jared Diamond (2003), *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company (chapters 3 and 11)
- J. N. Hays (2009), “The Great Plague Pandemic”, in: *The burdens of disease. Epidemics and human response in Western history*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, pp. 37 – 61.

### **4) The narratives of disease and virus outbreak**

*Our dystopian fear of the virus*

- Susan Sontag (1986), *The Way We Live Now*, The New Yorker, available from <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1986/11/24/the-way-we-live-now>

- Priscilla Wald (2008), *Contagious: Cultures, Carriers, And the Outbreak Narrative*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, Chapter 1 (Imagined Communities: The Epidemiology of Belonging)
- Rosenberg, Charles (1989), “What is an epidemic? AIDS in historical perspective”, *Daedalus*, 118 (2), pp. 1-17.

## 5) Global health governance I

*Intellectual property vs human rights*

- Jonathan Wolff (2012), *The Human Right to Health*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Chapter 4 (TRIPS and the Price of Medicines).
- Wolfgang Hein (2007), Global Health Governance and WTO/TRIPS: Conflicts between `Global Market-Creation` and `Global Social Rights`, in: Wolfgang Hein, Sonja Bartsch and Lars Kohlmorgen (eds), *Global Health Governance and the Fight Against HIV/AIDS*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 38–66.
- John H. Barton (2004), “TRIPS and the Global Pharmaceutical Market”, *Health Affairs*, 23 (3), pp. 146–154.

## 6) Global health governance II

*New perspectives, new actors, new ways of governing*

- Sophie Harman (2016) The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Legitimacy in Global Health Governance, *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, July-September 2016, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 349-368.
- Julian Lob-Levyt (2011), “Contribution of the GAVI Alliance to improving health and reducing poverty”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B*, 366, pp. 2743-2747, available from <http://rstb.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/royptb/366/1579/2743.full.pdf>
- Markus Fraundorfer (2015), “Experiments in Global Democracy. The Cases of UNITAID and the FAO Committee on World Food Security”, *Global Constitutionalism*, 4 (3), pp. 328 – 364. ([read introduction and pages on UNITAID](#))

## 7) Global health governance III

*Humanitarian and cosmopolitan elements*

- Robert DeChaine (2002), “Humanitarian Space and the Social Imaginary: Médecins Sans Frontières / Doctors Without Borders and the Rhetoric of Global Community”, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 26 (4), pp. 354 – 369.

- Peter Redfield (2011), *Life in Crisis: The Ethical Journey of Doctors Without Borders*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. (chapter 9, pp. 229 – 244)
- MSF (2014), Pushed to the Limit and Beyond. A year into the largest ever Ebola outbreak, available from <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/sites/usa/files/msf143061.pdf>
- David P. Forsythe and Barbara Ann J. Rieffer-Flanagan (2007), “Humanitarian Assistance and Restoration of Family Ties”, in: *The International Committee of the Red Cross. A neutral humanitarian actor*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 54 - 74.

## 8) HIV/AIDS

*A disease changing everything*

- Jane Galvão (2005), “Brazil and Access to HIV/AIDS Drugs: A Question of Human Rights and Public Health”, *American Journal of Public Health*, 95 (7), pp. 1110–1116.
- Markus Fraundorfer (2015), Brazil’s emerging role in global governance, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 34–85.
- Markus Fraundorfer (2014), “Global Power Shifts and Transnational Law – A Case Study of Brazil and the Human Right to Health”, available from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292948861\\_How\\_to\\_Confront\\_the\\_Threat\\_of\\_Ebola\\_Arguing\\_for\\_Reinforced\\_Efforts\\_to\\_Promote\\_Transnational\\_Solidarity](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292948861_How_to_Confront_the_Threat_of_Ebola_Arguing_for_Reinforced_Efforts_to_Promote_Transnational_Solidarity)

## 9) Influenza

*The flu is in the air*

- Sudeepa Abeysinghe (2015), “Narrating the Nature of H1N1”, in *Pandemics, Science and Policy: H1N1 and the World Health Organization*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan p. 6 – 31.
- David Fidler and Lawrence Gostin (2011), “The WHO Pandemic Influenza Preparedness Framework: A Milestone in Global Governance for Health”, *JAMA*, 306, pp. 200 – 201, available from <http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1681&context=facpub>
- Sara Davies, Adam Kamradt-Scott and Simon Rushton (2015), “Swine Flu. The first test of the IHR (2005)”, in Disease Diplomacy. International Norms and Global Health Security, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Kerry Lee and David Fidler (2010), “Avian and pandemic influenza: Progress and problems with global health governance”, *Global Public Health*, 2 (3), pp. 215 – 234.

## 10) Neglected and emerging infectious diseases

*New and old scourges in the global south*

- Patrice Trouiller, Els Torreele, Piero Olliaro, Nick White, Susan Foster, Dyann Wirth, Bernard Pécoul (2001), “Drugs for neglected diseases: a failure of the market and a public health failure?”, *Tropical Medicine & International Health*, 6 (11), pp. 945 – 951.
- Markus Fraundorfer (2016), “How to confront the threat of Ebola? Arguing for reinforced efforts to promote transnational solidarity”, *Global Policy*, 7 (3), pp. 340 – 350.
- David Fidler (2004), “China confronts Public Health’s ‘New World Order’”, in: SARS, Governance and the Globalization of Disease, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 106–131.

## 11) Ebola

*The horror virus going global*

- Sudeepa Abeysinghe (2016), “Ebola at the borders: newspaper representations and the politics of border control”, *Third World Quarterly*, 37 (3), pp. 452 – 467.
- João Nunes (2017), “Doctors Against Borders: Médecins sans Frontières and Global Health Security”, in Michiel Hofman and Sokhieng Au (eds), *The Politics of Fear. Médecins Sans Frontières and the West African Ebola Epidemic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3 – 24.
- João Nunes (2016), “Ebola and the production of neglect in global health”, *Third World Quarterly*, 37 (3), pp. 542 – 556.

## 12) Zika

*Of mosquitoes, women and babies*

- João Nunes and Denise Nacif Pimenta (2016), “A epidemia de zika e os limites da saúde global”, *Lua Nova*, 98, pp. 21–46.
- Debora Diniz (2016), *Zika. Do Sertão Nordestino à Ameaca Global*, Rio de Janeiro: Civilizacao Brasileira, pp. 69–81, 133–151.
- Barbara Ribeiro, Sarah Hartley, Brigitte Nerlich and Rusi Jaspal (2018), Media coverage of the Zika crisis in Brazil: The construction of a ‘war’ frame that masked social and gender inequalities, *Social Science & Medicine*, 200, pp. 137–144.

### 13) Antibiotic resistance and other dangers looming at the horizon

- Summary, lessons learned, final discussions
- Ramanan Laxminarayan, Adriano Duse, Chand Wattal, Anita K M Zaidi, Heiman F L Wertheim, Nithima Sumpradit, Erika Vlieghe, Gabriel Levy Hara, Ian M Gould, Herman Goossens, Christina Greko, Anthony D So, Maryam Bigdeli, Göran Tomson, Will Woodhouse, Eva Ombaka, Arturo Quizhpe Peralta, Farah Naz Qamar, Fatima Mir, Sam Kariuki, Zulfi qar A Bhutta, Anthony Coates, Richard Bergstrom, Gerard D Wright, Eric D Brown, Otto Cars (2013), "Antibiotic resistance – the need for global solutions", *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*, 13 (2), pp. 1057 – 1098, available from [http://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/8996/CarsEtAl\\_AntibioticResistance-TheNeedforGlobalSolutions\\_LancetInfectiousDiseases\\_2013\[1\].pdf?sequence=1](http://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/8996/CarsEtAl_AntibioticResistance-TheNeedforGlobalSolutions_LancetInfectiousDiseases_2013[1].pdf?sequence=1)

#### Further reading (non-exhaustive):

Barry, John M. (2005), *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History*, London: Penguin Books.

Crawford, Dorothy H. (2007), *Deadly Companions: How Microbes Shaped our History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davies, Sara E., Kamradt-Scott, Adam and Rushton, Simo (2015), *Disease Diplomacy: International Norms and Global Health Security*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Doyal Leslie and Doyal, Len (2013), *Living with HIV and Dying with AIDS: Diversity, Inequality and Human Rights in the Global Pandemic*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Dry, Sarah and Leach, Melissa (eds) (2010), *Epidemics: Science, Governance and Social Justice*, Abingdon: Earthscan.

Hein, Wolfgang, Bartsch, Sonja and Kohlmorgen, Lars (eds) (2007), *Global Health Governance and the Fight against HIV/AIDS*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hofman, Michiel and Au, Sokhieng (eds) (2017), *The Politics of Fear: Médecins sans Frontières and the West African Ebola Epidemic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kelly, John (2005), *The Great Mortality: An Intimate History of the Black Death, the Most Devastating Plague of All Time*, New York: HarperCollins.

Quah, Stella R. (ed) (2007), *Crisis Preparedness: Asia and the Global Governance of Epidemics*, Stanford University: Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

Youde, Jeremy (2012), *Global Health Governance*, Cambridge: Polity.

Zacher, Mark W. and Keefe, Tanja J. (2011), *The Politics of Global Health Governance: United by Contagion*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.