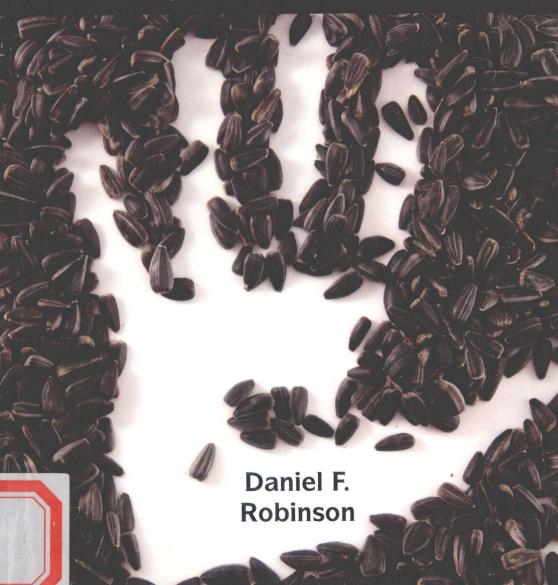


Confronting Biopiracy

Challenges, Cases and International Debates





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Daniel F. Robinson





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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABS access and benefit-sharing

ARIPO African Regional Intellectual Property Organization

ASEAN Association of South-East Asian Nations

BIT bilateral investment treaty

BMC Biodiversity Management Committee, India

Bonn Guidelines Bonn Guidelines on Access to Genetic Resources and Fair and Equitable Sharing of the Benefits

Arising out of their Utilization

CBD United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity

CIAT International Center for Tropical Agriculture

CGIAR Consultative Group on International Agricultural

Research

CIEL Centre for International Environmental Law

CITES Convention on International Trade in Endangered

Species of Wild Fauna and Flora

COICA Coordinating Body of Indigenous Organizations of

the Amazon Basin

CONAP Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del

Perú

CSIRO Australian Commonwealth Scientific and Research

Organization

DIP Department of Intellectual Property, Thailand

disclosure requirement A proposed patent requirement that applicants

disclose the source and/or country/place of origin or legal provenance of genetic resources used in an

invention

DUS distinctness, uniformity and stability (of plant

varieties)

EC/EU European Communities/European Union

EMG Environmental Monitoring Group, Southern

Africa

EPA economic partnership agreement

EPO European Patent Office

ETC Group Action Group on Erosion, Technology and

Concentration

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization FDA US Food and Drug Administration

FTA free trade agreement

GATT General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade

GI geographical indication GM genetically modified

GRAIN Genetic Resources Action International

GRIN Genetic Resources Information Network, US Department of

Agriculture

GRRF Genetic Resources Recognition Fund GURTs genetic-use restriction technologies HSCA Heritage Seed Curators Australia

IARC International Agricultural Research Centre
IBIS Indian Biodiversity Information System

ICARDA International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas

ICBG International Cooperative Biodiversity Groups Programs

ICRISAT International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics

ICSIR Indian Council for Scientific and Industrial Research

ICTSD International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development,

Geneva

IGC World Intellectual Property Organization Intergovernmental

Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources,

Traditional Knowledge and Folklore

ILO International Labour Office

IP intellectual property

IPC International Patent Classification

IPR intellectual property right

IRRI International Rice Research Institute

ITPGRFA International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and

Agriculture

IUCN International Union for the Conservation of Nature IUPGR International Undertaking on Plant Genetic Resources

JPO Japanese Patent Office
MTA material transfer agreement
NGO non-governmental organization

OAU Organization for African Unity (now African Union)

OCCAAM Organización Central de Comunidades Aguarunas del Alto

Marañon

PBR plant-breeder rights

PCT Patent Cooperation Treaty of the World Intellectual Property

Organization

PeBR People's Biodiversity Registers

PIC prior informed consent PVP plant-variety protection

PVPFR Plant-Variety Protection and Farmers' Rights Act, India

RAFI Rural Advancement Foundation International

R&D research and development

SACSIR South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research

TK traditional knowledge

TKDL Traditional Knowledge Digital Library

TRIPS World Trade Organization Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects

of Intellectual Property Rights

UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP United Nations Development Programme
UNEP United Nations Environment Programme

UPOV International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants

USDA US Department of Agriculture USPTO US Patent and Trademark Office

WG-ABS Ad Hoc Open-Ended Working Group on Access and Benefit-

sharing, United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity

WHO World Health Organization

WIMSA Working Group on Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

WIPO World Intellectual Property Organization

WTO World Trade Organization

Introduction

This book has been written to address a lack of direct engagement with the issue of biopiracy by researchers, academics and policy-makers. Biopiracy has largely been a term utilized by activists and some specific non-governmental organizations (NGOs) until recently. While a considerable amount of literature has emerged dealing with the protection of indigenous or traditional knowledge, the success or failure of bioprospecting ventures and related areas, there has been a tendency to side-step the issue of biopiracy or to avoid using the term. Despite the frequent international negotiations on issues relating to intellectual property, biological resources, traditional knowledge and folklore, there has been hesitancy among these international negotiators regarding the overt use of biopiracy to describe specific cases of unfair or spurious intellectual property claims over biological resources and traditional knowledge.

This is a result of the lack of an appropriate definition of biopiracy, concerning which international organizations like the Secretariat of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have not been forthcoming. This is probably a deliberate avoidance of the direct recognition of the polemical and often emotionally charged nature of incidents claimed as biopiracy. These organizations have instead tended to deal with the issues indirectly, thereby avoiding possible conflicts between their mandates – particularly between the international laws administered by the CBD Secretariat and the WTO.

The title of this book is *Confronting Biopiracy* precisely because it directly acknowledges and addresses the main issues and implications of biopiracy. This text gives a detailed historical context, the background to the use of the term 'biopiracy', and a description of the international legal framework, followed by a case-study based approach. A typology or definition of biopiracy is provided that draws upon some previous descriptions of biopiracy, the biopiracy cases discussed and the international debates surrounding the issue. Several cases of biopiracy are analysed and critiqued including both patent-based and nonpatent biopiracy incidents. The implications and impacts of these cases are then described before making suggestions for ways of resolving these problems at different scales and in different contexts. As a result, it is hoped that this will encourage a more direct acknowledgement and engagement with the issue.

Research Insights

Key research insights for this book were drawn from the author's PhD and postdoctoral research; working as a reporter on WTO trade negotiations in a Geneva-based organization (the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development – ICTSD); acting as a consultant to international organizations; fieldwork in Asia (particularly in Thailand); and working as a policy advisor to national governments and regional organizations between 2004 and 2009.

Much of the research involved the use of qualitative methods including interviewing and the direct observation of stakeholders. Twelve officials and country delegates to the WTO, WIPO and other UN organizations were interviewed in 2005 and 2006 in Geneva, Switzerland. Following this, a steady stream of interviews and discussions with these and other delegates and officials have informed the research. In Geneva the author helped coordinate high-level meetings for ICTSD, bringing together WTO and UN delegates, and NGO stakeholders on a number of intellectual property (IP) issues including copyright and education, biodiversity and traditional knowledge, and access to medicines. Further insights were drawn from ongoing WTO reporting, research and consulting for ICTSD in conjunction with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) between 2005 and 2007, and as a consultant advisor on intellectual property, biodiversity and traditional knowledge to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2008 and the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat in 2007.

From 2005 to 2007 more than 60 interviews were conducted with relevant government officials, academics, industry representatives, farmers, indigenous communities and NGOs in Asia (particularly Thailand and India), as well as subsequent interviews and discussions with government officials and NGOs from Africa, the Pacific and South America. Additionally, a number of local community case studies in Thailand have been influential for understanding some of the complex and spiritually informed customary norms and rules associated with the use of plants and other biological resources.

It is important to note that some of the interviewees can only be cited anonymously here and at many of the 'roundtable' meetings attended comments from various officials had to remain confidential. Instead, where relevant, observations of the conduct of meetings are made in such a way as to protect the anonymity of participants – unfortunately without direct quotation. Indeed, this highlights a key issue: the negotiation politics of 'trade-related' intellectual property are often deliberately designed to lack transparency and to be publicly inaccessible, despite the significant social, economic and environmental impacts they may have, either directly or indirectly.

Structure of the Book

This book should be accessible to most people who are interested in the issues as it attempts to avoid an overuse of jargon, which can inhibit clear understandings of what is at stake. In this respect it is hoped that it will be of

benefit to a range of stakeholders and interested parties including university students, indigenous and local communities, NGOs, researchers, academics, industry, plant breeders and agriculturalists, as well as decision-makers at various levels of government.

Chapter 1 provides some historical discussion of the collection of plants, biological resources and the use of the associated traditional knowledge of indigenous or local communities. This chapter contextualizes modern bioprospecting as having emerged amid new technological, economic and legal frameworks from an era of colonial collections and abuses. While some observers have implied that bioprospecting can provide a 'win–win' situation for scientific research and development, conservation and for indigenous or local communities, others have been far more sceptical. Consequently, the term 'biopiracy' was developed in dissatisfaction with the current frameworks surrounding biodiversity and particularly relating to the expansion of exclusive individual rights under intellectual property agreements.

Chapter 2 then provides an overview of the international legal framework that has been established in the past few decades. This framework has internationalized the system of intellectual property rights. Many would argue that this has contributed to biopiracy, but there are a number of international agreements and forums that have provided some opportunities to acknowledge issues surrounding the exploitation of biological resources and traditional knowledge, and hopefully to resolve them. This discussion is furthered in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3 analyses a number of specific cases of patent-related biopiracy that have proved highly controversial and have received considerable attention from NGOs and the media. In addition, some lesser known and more recent cases are examined to identify why each specific case came about, the stakeholders involved and the legal and territorial issues they raised, in order to then explore how the resolution of biopiracy cases might be found. Common themes are identified among the cases and the key issues are highlighted with regards to the patent system.

Chapter 4 continues to explore biopiracy cases, but focuses on 'non-patent biopiracy'. Cases are discussed which involve spurious claims of plant-variety protection where there is little evidence of breeding or where the specific characteristics and traits of a plant variety have likely been developed beforehand by farmers and breeders in developing countries. Next, the chapter looks at trademarks that have been sought and obtained for generic plant names which may be deceptive to consumers about the origins and qualities of the plant-related product. Finally, the chapter discusses a number of misappropriation cases, whereby researchers have obtained biological resources without appropriate prior informed consent and/or without providing benefits back to the original provider countries or local communities.

Chapter 5 draws out the main implications of both patent-based and nonpatent biopiracy, with reference to the case studies. The chapter highlights: the possibilities of producers being excluded from the further sale or export of specific products; inequities whereby local communities, researchers, companies or government bodies are left out of the commercial development process of products; where biopiracy causes cultural affront; overexploitation of a biological resource; and the breakdown of research relationships and trust.

Chapter 6 returns to the international legal framework described in Chapter 2, discussing the main international and regional debates and initiatives that may be able to address biopiracy. Because biopiracy concerns are generally raised as a result of international transfers of biological resources and the use of associated traditional knowledge, it is important to deal with it at this scale. The discussion analyses the potential of various agreements, model laws and negotiations as well as their limitations.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides an analysis of some national and local laws and initiatives that attempt to mitigate the effects of biopiracy or that may impact upon the protection of biological resources and traditional knowledge. This includes discussion of specific laws on biodiversity, *sui generis* (i.e. unique) plant-variety protection laws, community rights laws, databases and registers, local initiatives to document and recognize customary laws relating to traditional knowledge and the role of non-government stakeholders.

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1 Collecting – Prospecting – Piracy

Concerns about the collection or prospecting of plants and biological materials have recently received unprecedented international attention. This has largely centred on the concentration of intellectual property control over biological resources in the hands of large biotechnological and pharmaceutical corporations. New international agreements establishing legal and institutional arrangements for the intellectual property protection of these resources are increasingly leading to their privatization. Furthermore, biotechnological advances have meant that biological resources can now be manipulated through recombinant DNA technology, or genetic engineering, creating a new and often controversial realm of bio-innovations. These changes have led to a variety of concerns about the appropriation of biological resources and associated knowledge, particularly from the most biodiverse developing countries and from farmers, indigenous peoples and local communities. In turn, these trends raise considerable ethical, economic, cultural and political questions about the ownership and stewardship of biological resources and also about the increasing commoditization of knowledge as 'innovations' from the 'public domain' or from local customary domains.

These questions are explored in detail in the following chapters. Here it is noted that these recent changes should be seen as a dramatic heightening of past appropriations and colonializations that were often controversial and political for various – but often related – reasons, which come back to core questions about the ownership of nature and knowledge.

The hunting and collecting of plants, seeds and natural curiosities from many of the world's regions and populations have been enduring activities. These collections have been made for direct use as food or medicine, but also for economic and scientific gains. Throughout recent centuries, there are many recorded activities and explorations of foreign objects from nature, particularly by the major colonial powers, but interest in collecting plants may even go back far further. As Fowler (2002) notes, Queen Hatshepsut, one of the first female pharaohs of Ancient Egypt, sent her army on a plant-collecting expedition to East Africa around 1482 BC. The queen sought out frankincense from the gum of a tree now known as Boswellia. Thirty-one of the trees were successfully

collected, transported and established in her temple gardens at Karnak where an official record was carved on the walls to mark the success of the expedition (Tyler-Whittle, 1970, p16; Juma, 1989, p38).

Others became famous for studying the local knowledge of plants. Dioscorides, a Greek surgeon who explored the botany of the Mediterranean at the behest of the Roman Emperor Nero, may have been the first 'ethnobotanist'. He wrote the *De Materia Medica* in AD 77 with detailed descriptions of the botany and medicinal uses of some 600 plants and spices, noting their therapeutic benefits, recipes and formulae. This work was so influential that it was studied by botanists for another thousand years (Davis, 1995, p41).

New sources of food were also sought out by explorers, traders and agriculturalists. Since the domestication of agriculture some 10,000 years ago, crops have been developed, traded and adapted locally, regionally and internationally, such that their specific geographic origins are often difficult to determine. The countries of the world today thus have a historically interdependent reliance on agricultural crops (Murphy, 2007, pp9–10; Kloppenberg, 1988). For example, common or bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) was domesticated from wild einkorn (*T. boeoticum*) in southeastern Turkey or the southwestern Caucasus and spread to Egypt, India, China and Europe (Aitken, 2006, p8). Beyond crop staples were vegetables, fruits, nuts, spices, herbs, plant-based beverages, plant-based medicines, stimulants and narcotics, and also fibres such as cotton, which became increasingly widely used and traded as processing techniques were developed.

Ancient overland spice routes and coastal transport were increasingly supplemented by the colonial period's expansion of shipping with the improvement of ocean-going sailing vessels. As an early example, the Venetian merchant-explorer Marco Polo provides some interesting and detailed descriptions (and also some obvious fictions) of his travels throughout Asia in the 1300s. Within his descriptions of *The Customs of the Kingdoms of India* he regularly describes the trade in plant and animal-based goods and curiosities:

We shall tell you next of the great kingdom of Malabar [south-western India] ... there is a great abundance of pepper and also of ginger, besides cinnamon in plenty and other spices, turbit and coconuts. (Latham, 2007, pp55–6)

He not only describes the trade in plants, but also various local customs and practices for the use of plants:

There is also plenty of good indigo, which is produced from a herb: they take this herb without the roots and put it in a big tub and add water and leave it till the herb is all rotted. Then they leave it in the sun, which is very hot and makes it evaporate and coagulate into a paste. Then it is chopped up into small pieces, as you have seen it. (Latham, 2007, p52)