

Pharmaceutical multinationals don't bring most of their new, under-patent drugs to Pakistan because hardly anyone can afford them—there is no market, they say, in this country of 200 million with some of the highest global burdens of the very diseases these drugs target. Sovaldi departs from this trend. Sovaldi is U.S. company Gilead's revolutionary Hepatitis-C drug that appeared on the U.S. market in 2013. Within the year, it had reached Pakistan, priced at a mere two percent of its U.S. price, which was \$84,000 for a 12-week course. Under patent in the U.S., Sovaldi earned over \$10 billion in its first year. A dominant discourse in Pakistan valorizes Gilead for 'giving up' its patent on Sovaldi in Pakistan, and allowing Pakistani companies to make copies of Sovaldi without paying Gilead licensing fees as is the norm under patent laws, thus transforming Hepatitis-C treatment for the population with the second-highest global incidence of the disease.

This paper traces the legal, regulatory, and corporate reverberations of Sovaldi's arrival into Pakistan, and its impacts on access to Hepatitis-C treatment. Interrogating the discourse that Gilead gave up its patent rights in Sovaldi in Pakistan, I explore the force of patents that do not yet exist, and the enmeshments in global webs of property of markets like Pakistan's, themselves too insignificant to warrant pursuit of patent rights by Big Pharma. I ask what allowing the analytic of property to recede opens up, and how the story of Sovaldi both demands and exceeds property frameworks.