

DAVID SINGH GREWAL

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Berkeley, CA 94704

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APPOINTMENTS

University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA
Professor, Berkeley Law School, 2019 -
Professor, Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program, 2019 -
Affiliated Faculty, Political Science Department, 2019 -
Faculty, The Program in Critical Theory, 2019 -

Yale University, New Haven, CT
Professor, Yale Law School, 2016 - 2019
Executive Committee, Humanities Program, 2017 - 2019
Affiliated Faculty, Political Science Department, 2016 - 2019
Associate Professor, Yale Law School, 2011 - 2016

Stanford Law School, Palo Alto, CA
Herman Phleger Visiting Professor, 2016 - 2017

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Junior Fellow, Harvard Society of Fellows, 2009 - 2011

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Ph. D. Political Science (Political Theory), 2010

Yale Law School, New Haven, CT
J. D., 2002

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
A. B., Harvard College (Economics), 1998

BOOKS

THE INVENTION OF THE ECONOMY (Harvard University Press, forthcoming).

NETWORK POWER: THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF GLOBALIZATION (Yale University Press, 2008; Oxford University Press, India ed., 2009).

Reviewed/discussed in NEW YORK TIMES, FINANCIAL TIMES, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, BOSTON GLOBE, TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, HONOLULU ADVERTISER, *O GLOBO* (Brazil), DAILY TIMES (Pakistan), CHOICE (four-star review), *PRIMERA REVISTA LATINOAMERICANA DE LIBROS*, ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, JOURNAL OF POWER, GERMAN LAW REVIEW, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION, and elsewhere.

LAW JOURNAL ARTICLES, ESSAYS & REVIEWS

Building a Law-and-Political-Economy Framework: Beyond the Twentieth Century Synthesis, 129 YALE LAW JOURNAL 1784 (2020) (with Jedediah Britton-Purdy, Amy Kapczynski, and Sabeel Rahman).

A Research Agenda for Trade Policy in the Trump Era, 44 YALE J. INT'L L. ONLINE (November 25, 2019).

Three Theses on the Current Crisis of International Liberalism, 25 INDIANA JOURNAL OF GLOBAL LEGAL STUDIES 595 (2018).

The Original Meaning of Constitutionalism, 127 YALE LAW JOURNAL 664 (2018) (with Jedediah Purdy).

Before Peer Production: Infrastructure Gaps and the Architecture of Openness in Synthetic Biology, 20 STANFORD LAW AND TECHNOLOGY REVIEW (143) (2017).

Law and Inequality after the Crisis, 35 YALE LAW & POLICY REVIEW 13 (2017).

Inequality Rediscovered, 18 THEORETICAL ISSUES IN LAW 61 (2017) (with Jedediah Purdy).

Two Views of International Trade in the Constitutional Order, 94 TEXAS LAW REVIEW 1495 (2016) (with Cory Adkins).

Democracy and Legitimacy in Investor-State Arbitration 126 YALE LAW JOURNAL FORUM 65 (2016) (with Cory Adkins).

The Domestic Analogy Revisited: Hobbes on International Order, 125 YALE LAW JOURNAL 620 (2016).

Make Me Democratic, But Not Yet: Sunrise Lawmaking and Democratic Constitutionalism, 90 NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 1975 (2015) (with Daniel Herz-Roiphe).

The Laws of Capitalism, 128 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 626 (2014) (book review). Italian translation by Alessandro Aresu, "Le leggi del capitalismo," *Lo Spazio della Politica*, April 2015.

Law and Neoliberalism, 77 LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS 1 (2014) (with Jedediah Purdy).

Empire's Law, 14 YALE JOURNAL OF LAW AND HUMANITIES 211 (2002) (book review).

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES & BOOK CHAPTERS

Sovereignty in its Economic Dimensions: In Search of a Usable Legal History, JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (forthcoming 2020) (with Mark Somos).

From State of Nature to State of Economy: Pufendorf on Natural Law in STATES OF NATURE (Brill, forthcoming 2020).

Opening options for material transfer 36 NATURE BIOTECHNOLOGY 923 (2018) (with Linda Kahl, Jennifer Molloy, Nicola Patron, Colette Matthewman, Jim Haseloff, Richard Johnson, and Drew Endy).

The Legal Constitution of Capitalism, in AFTER PIKETTY: THE AGENDA FOR ECONOMICS AND INEQUALITY (Harvard University Press, 2017).

The Market Mirage, in MONEY TALKS (Princeton University Press, 2017).

The Political Theology of Laissez-Faire, 17 POLITICAL THEOLOGY 417 (2016).

Conspiracy Theory in a Networked World, 28 CRITICAL REVIEW 24 (2016).

Markets, THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF POLITICAL THOUGHT 2267 (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).

Is Globalization Working? 20 ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 247 (2006).

Network Power and Global Standardization: The Controversy over the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, 36 METAPHILOSOPHY 128 (2005). Republished in: GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE, ed. Christian Barry and Thomas Pogge (Blackwell, 2005), 124-40.

Network Power and Globalization, 12 ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 89 (2003).

Economics of Rainforest Preservation across Scales, 288 SCIENCE 1828 (2000) (with C. Kremen, J. Niles, M. Dalton, G. Daily, P. Ehrlich, J. Fay, and R.P. Guillery.)

EDITED COLLECTIONS

Economic Sovereignty in International Law, JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (forthcoming 2020) (with Mark Somos).

International Trade in the Trump Era, 44 YALE J. INT'L. L. ONLINE (November 25, 2019) (with Kathleen Claussen)

Law and Neoliberalism, 77 LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS 1 (2014) (with Jedediah Purdy)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

"Oligarchy Ancient and Modern."

"Against Politics: International Trade Law and the Globalization of Laissez-Faire."

"The Crisis of American Constitutionalism" (with Jedediah Purdy).

"Convergence and its Discontents: Harmonization in International Economic Law" (with Georgios Dimitropoulos).

"The Political Economy of the Imperial Presidency: Emergency Powers and Regulation in Constitutional Democracy" (with Katherine Harris).

“Proudhon’s Penguin: The Puzzle of Value in Open Source.”

PRIZES & AWARDS

Co-Recipient of White House “Champions of Change” award for contribution to open science, 2013.

Robert Noxon Toppan Prize for best dissertation in political science (shared), Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 2010.

CUE Awards (for teaching excellence), Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 2004, 2005 and 2006.

Thomas Temple Hoopes Prize (for senior thesis), Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 1998.

Phi Beta Kappa, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 1998.

GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Hewlett Foundation, Multi-year, multi-institution funding for “Law and Political Economy” programs (with Amy Kapczynski, Jedediah Purdy, and Sabeel Rahman), 2019-2021.

Oscar M. Reubhausen Fund grant, “Law and Political Economy,” (with Amy Kapczynski), funding for conference on “Law and Political Economy,” Jan. 25-26, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, 2019.

Oscar M. Reubhausen Fund grant, “Public Utility Project,” (with Amy Kapczynski), funding for program planning, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, 2017-2018.

Oscar M. Reubhausen Fund grant, “Law and Inequality,” (with Amy Kapczynski), funding for program planning, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, 2015-2016.

Oscar M. Reubhausen Fund grant, “Contemporary Developments in Indian Constitutional Law,” (with Amy Kapczynski and Alice Miller), Yale Law School, New Haven, CT 2014-2015.

Oscar M. Reubhausen Fund grant, "Foreign Affairs in the Internet Age," (with Jack Balkin, Oona Hathaway and Amy Kapczynski), Yale Law School, New Haven CT, 2012-13.

Summer research grant, Program on Justice, Welfare, and Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 2007.

Dissertation Research Fellowship, Program on Justice, Welfare and Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 2006-07.

Summer Travel Grant, Center for Constitutional Government, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 2003.

Olin Fellowship, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, 1999-2000, 2000-01.

Olin Summer Fellowship, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, 2000.

Phi Beta Kappa, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 1998.

John Harvard Scholarship, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 1996-98.

PUBLIC COMMENTARY & MEDIA

"The Bourgeois Internationale," *Law & Political Economy Blog* (April 21, 2020).

"Globalism and the Dialectic of Globalization," *Law & Political Economy Blog* (April 17, 2019).

"Trump's Tariff Tactics Could Make No-Deal Brexit Work for Ireland," *Irish Times*, November 27, 2018 (with Richard Tuck).

"There is No Liberal Case for Brett Kavanaugh," *Los Angeles Times*, August 1, 2018 (with Amy Kapczynski and Issa Kohler-Hausmann).
Republished in *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 2018.

"What Role for Global Finance in a Course on International Trade Law?" *Law & Political Economy Blog* (February 9, 2018).

"No Democracy," *Law & Political Economy Blog* (January 8, 2018) (with Jedediah Purdy).

"Law and Neoliberalism," *Law & Political Economy Blog* (November 6, 2017) (with Jedediah Purdy).

Founding editor and blogger at *Law & Political Economy Blog*, 2017 – present.

"Investor Protection, National Sovereignty, and the Rule of Law," *American Affairs*, Spring 2018.

"The TPP's Last Stand," *Dissent*, October 19, 2016.

"Pharmaceutical Policy for the Next Twenty-Five Years," *Business Week India*, January 2016 (with Amy Kapczynski).

"Brexit Will Not Hurt the Special Relationship," *Huffington Post*, October 29, 2015.

"Why Hillary Clinton is Right on the TPP," *Huffington Post*, October 14, 2015.

"Time for Change at the IMF," *Huffington Post*, July 5, 2015.

"Why Fast Track Isn't Free Trade," *The American Conservative*, June 11, 2015.

"The Case Against ISDS," *Balkinization*, June 8, 2015 (with Marco Simons).

"TiSA Leak & Fast Track," *950 AM Radio* (Minneapolis), June 8, 2015.

"Another Leaked Trade Agreement, Another Reason to Oppose Fast Track," *Huffington Post*, June 4, 2015.

"Put Trade on the Right Track—Not the Fast Track," *Huffington Post*, May 11, 2015.

"Why President Obama is Wrong on Trade," *Huffington Post*, April 26, 2015.

"Don't Fast Track Trade," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 2015.

"Let India Make Cheap Drugs," *New York Times*, December 11, 2014 (with Amy Kapczynski).

"On Biotechnology without Borders," *Seed Magazine*, March 3, 2011 (with Drew Endy and Mark Fisher).

"The Return of the State," *Harvard International Review* 31 (2010): 38-43.

"What Keynes Warned about Globalization," *Seminar* 601 (2009): 54-9.

"On the Category of the Social," *Utrecht Manifest*, 2009 Biennial for Social Design, October 1, 2009.

"Network Power," *The Alcove*, (interview with Mark Molaro), April 1, 2009.

"Network Power," *Public Ethics Radio* (interview with Christian Barry), March 25, 2009.

"Globalization and Cultural Convergence," *Globalist*, January 12, 2009.

"The World Isn't Flat—It's Networked," *Comment is Free*, *The Guardian* online, July 29, 2008.

"How Networking Influences What We Speak," *Freakonomics Blog*, *The New York Times* (online edition), July 10, 2008.

"Speaking Fairly," *Policy Innovations*, June 16, 2008.

INVITED LECTURES & COURSES

"The Economic Worldview," *University of Manchester Summer Academy on Law, Money, and Technology*, Manchester, UK, July 16, 2020.

"Law & Political Economy and COVID-19," *Berkeley Network for a New Political Economy*, Berkeley, April 13, 2020 (with Amy Kapczynski).

"The Commercial Oeconomy," *Kadish Workshop*, Berkeley Law School, Berkeley, CA, March 6, 2020

"The Law and Political Economy of Dollar Hegemony," *Berkeley Journal of International Law* and *Berkeley Law & Political Economy Society*, Berkeley, November 18, 2019.

“Law and Political Economy,” University of Manchester Summer Academy,
Manchester, UK, July 2019.

“Pufendorf and the Birth of Political Economy,” *States of Nature* conference, Harnack-Haus, Max Planck Society, Berlin, Germany, July 7-9, 2019

“Law and Democracy in Neoliberal Times,” *iCourts lectures Rethinking Law, Democracy and Capitalism*, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, May 27, 2019.

“The Commercial *Oeconomy*,” University of Connecticut Law School Faculty Workshop, April 10, 2019.

“Platforms and Production in Synthetic Biology,” *Artificial Cosmoi and the Law II*, University of Athens, Greece, July 30, 2018.

“Oligarchy ancient and modern,” *Topoi Excellenzcluster* conference “*Capital* in Classical Antiquity,” Berlin, April 9-10, 2018.

“Before Peer Production,” *Artificial Cosmoi and the Law*, European Public Law Organization, Athens, Greece, July 27, 2017.

“Legal Regulation of Synthetic Biology,” Brief course at Academy of European Public Law (EPLO) Summer Program, Sounio, Greece, July 26, 2017.

“The Commercial *Oeconomy*,” Stanford Law School Faculty Presentation, March 6, 2017.

“Financialization,” European Public Law Organization Conference, Athens, Greece, July 27, 2017 (with Robert Hockett).

“The Invention of the Economy,” Brief course at Academy of European Public Law (EPLO) Summer Program, Sounio, Greece, July 28, 2016.

“The Political Theology of *Laissez-Faire*,” Yale-Sorbonne (Paris II) Conference on “Law and Rationality,” July 4, 2016.

“History of Political Economy,” Brief course at Yale-*Institut Michel Villey* (Paris-II) summer program, June 2016.

- "Two Views of International Trade in the Constitutional Order," Seminar on "Numbers, Power, Money," Columbia University, April 8, 2016.
- "International Trade and Constitutional Authority," Conference on Constitutional Political Economy, University of Texas School of Law, January 29, 2016.
- "Law and Inequality after the Golden Age of Capitalism," Cornell and University of Tel Aviv Conference on Law and Inequality, New York City, December 11, 2015.
- "Law and Inequality: Post-War Liberalism and the Great Compression," Georgetown Law Center Conference on Law and Inequality, Washington DC, December 4, 2015.
- "The TPP and World Trade," American Constitutional Society, Yale Law School, December 2, 2015.
- "Closing Remarks: Law and Inequality," American Constitution Society Conference on "Law and Inequality," Yale Law School, October 17, 2015.
- "The Invention of the Economy," Duke Law School, Faculty Workshop, March 2, 2015.
- "The Meaning of the Mirage," Money Talks Symposium, Yale University, September 12, 2014.
- "International Trade Law," Brief course at Sorbonne (Paris II), Paris, France, June 25-29, 2014.
- "From Love to 'Self-Love': Toward a Political Theology of *Homo Economicus*," Love in a Time of Capital Conference, Yale University, May 8, 2014.
- "The Commercial Oeconomy," Political Theory Workshop, Yale University, New Haven CT, December 4, 2013.
- "Networks and Power," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago IL, August 30, 2013.
- "Invention of the Economy," Book manuscript workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, May 3, 2013.

- "The Invention of the Economy," Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, India, January 10, 2013.
- "The Ancient Economy," Ancient Societies Workshop, University of Chicago, Chicago IL, October 9, 2012.
- "Network Power," Rational Choice Workshop (Becker-Posner series), University of Chicago, Chicago IL, October 2, 2012.
- "The Invention of the Economy," Critical Analysis of Law Workshop, University of Toronto Law School, Toronto, Canada, September 24, 2012.
- "The Commercial Economy," MacMillan Center, Yale University, New Haven CT, April 13, 2012.
- "Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities of an Interdependent World," University of Scranton, Scranton PA, September 17, 2011.
- "Globalization, Recognition, and Inequality," Yale-Jindal Conference on Globalization in India and the United States, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi, India, October 30, 2010.
- "Synthetic Biology as Open Biotechnology?" Information Society Project, Yale Law School, New Haven CT, October 9, 2010.
- "Varieties of Power, Varieties of Networks," Annenberg School, University of Southern California, Los Angeles CA, February 19, 2010.
- "The Invention of the Economy," The New School for Social Research, New York NY, February 8, 2010.
- "The Return of the State," Harvard International Review Winter Launch Event, Cambridge MA, February 4, 2010.
- "Sen's Embodied Ethics," Justice and Health Workshop, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge MA, December 9, 2009.
- "Free Culture in Synthetic Biology," Cyberscholars Working Group, Berkman Center, Harvard Law School, Cambridge MA, December 2, 2009.

- "Network Power and Globalization," James Chace Memorial Speaker Series, Bard College, Globalization and International Affairs Program, November 19, 2009.
- "Free Culture in Biotech?: An Experiment in Synthetic Biology without Intellectual Property," Biolaw 3.0 Conference, University of Kansas Law School, November 6, 2009.
- "Network Power," World Political Economy Lecture, The New School for Social Research, New York NY, February 18, 2009.
- "Network Power: The Social Dynamics of Globalization," Carnegie Council Public Affairs Book Talk, Carnegie Council, New York, December 3, 2008.
- "Networked Politics," Annual Congress of the Belgian Social Democratic Party, Brussels, Belgium, October 18, 2008.
- "Legal Strategies for Open-Source Synthetic Biology," Fourth International Meeting on Synthetic Biology, Hong Kong, October 11, 2008.
- "Network Power: The Nation-State in the Internet Age," Annual Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain Lecture on Political Thought, Bowdoin College, September 25, 2008.
- "Globalization: Network Power," Indian Institute of Technology (Bombay), Golden Jubilee Conference, New York NY, July 19, 2008.
- "The Demographic Contradictions of Capitalism," Government Department Political Theory Workshop, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, April 11, 2007.
- "Paretianism," Program on Justice, Welfare, and Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, December 6, 2006.

PANELS & OTHER PRESENTATIONS

- Commentator: "Money and Value," Chris Desan, Yale Law School, Sept. 2019.

Co-organizer, "Law and Political Economy" conference, Yale Law School, Jan. 25-26, 2019 (with Amy Kapczynski, Jedediah Purdy and Sabeel Rahman).

"The Law and Political Economy Movement," Yale Law School, Jan. 25, 2019.

Moderator: "Corporate Power and Democracy," Yale Law School, Jan. 24, 2019.

"Capitalism as the Rule of Nature: Physiocracy and its Discontents," Panel: "Political Theory of Capitalism," American Political Science Association annual conference, Boston, Mass., Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 2018.

Commentator: "Institutional Solutions" in: "The Crisis of Democracy: Conceptual and Institutional Perspectives," Yale University, January 25, 2018.

"Legal Regulation of Synthetic Biology," Stanford Law School, May 23, 2017.

"Before Peer Production," Law & Biosciences Workshop, Stanford Law School, November 15, 2016.

Discussant, book talk: "The Reproach of Hunger," Yale Food Law Society, Yale Law School, December 1, 2015.

"Before Peer Production," Innovation Law Beyond IP 2, Yale Law School, March 29, 2015.

Co-organizer, "Innovation Law Beyond IP 2," Yale Law School, March 28-29, 2015.

Discussant, "Property, Equality, and Affirmative Action," Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, India, July 20, 2014.

Discussant, "Living in the Anthropocene," Duke Law School, Durham NC, November 23, 2013.

Co-organizer, "Inventing the Invention of the Economy," Macmillan Center, Yale University, New Haven CT, April 5, 2013.

Moderator, "Effectuating Socio-Economic Rights in India,"
Constitutionalism in South Asia panel series, Yale Law School and
the South Asian Studies Council, Yale University, April 16, 2012.

Discussant, "The Politics of Legal Knowledge, the Global North and the
Global South," Orville H. Schell, Jr., Center for International Human
Rights Conference, "Between Equality and Subordination: The
Politics of Legal Knowledge in Global North-South Academic
Exchange," Yale Law School, April 14, 2012.

Discussant, book talk: "Corruption and Human Rights in India:
Comparative Perspectives on Transparency and Good
Governance," Yale Law School, April 2, 2012.

Moderator, "Lawyering Across Borders: Transnational Labor in a
Globalizing World," Reblaw Conference, Yale Law School. Feb 17,
2012.

Moderator, "States of Violence and the Violence of States,"
Constitutionalism in South Asia panel series, Yale Law School and
the South Asian Studies Council, Yale University, November 1,
2011.

"The Demographic Contradiction of Capitalism, or, What Will Bosses Do?"
Rethinking Development Conference, Southern New Hampshire
University, April 8, 2007.

"Against Paretianism," Freedom-Oriented Political Economy Conference,
UNDP Headquarters, New York NY, June 10, 2005.

"Marx after Malthus: A Reply to Jameson on Attainable Utopias,"
Freedom-Oriented Political Economy Conference, Barnard College,
Columbia University, April 24-25, 2004.

TEACHING & ADVISING

PhD (Political Science) Dissertation Committee member:
Battistoni, Bunning, Eich, Krahe, Wachspress (UC Berkeley).

JSD Dissertation Committee member:
Abiri, Baxter, Dimitropoulos, Ding, Ghodoosi, Hu, Li, Lorenzo,
MacClure, Vakil, Zhu.

Stanford Law School, 2016-2017

Law and Inequality
Markets, Morals and the Law
Law, Technology, and Liberty
Current Topics in International Economic Law

Yale University, 2011-present

Torts
International Trade Law
History of Political Economy
Markets, Morals, and the Law
Open Source Systems
Politics of Method
Free Rider Problem

Harvard University, 2003-2006 (teaching fellow):

Bioethics
Globalization and its Critics
One Way or Many?
Economics: A Critical Introduction

PROFESSIONAL AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Co-Organizer, Berkeley Law School Faculty Workshop, 2019-2020.

Board of Advisors, Kadish Center, University of California, Berkeley, 2019-

Director, Biobricks Foundation, 2009-present (<https://biobricks.org>)

Member of principal drafting team, “Biobricks Public Agreement” (<http://biobricks.org/bpa/>), 2008-11. Worked alongside Lee Crews, Drew Endy, and Mark Fischer to produce legal agreement for the Biobricks Foundation to organize the sharing of standardized biological parts.

Executive Committee, Humanities Program, Yale University, 2017-present.

Editor, *Law & Political Economy* blog, 2017-present (<https://lpeblog.org>)

Member, Advisory Board, *History of European Political and Constitutional Thought*, 2018-present (<https://brill.com/page/789>).

Reviewer: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, HARVARD LAW REVIEW, YALE LAW JOURNAL, REVIEW OF POLITICS, JOURNAL OF POLITICS, MODERN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, POLITICAL THEOLOGY and other journals, 2008-present.

Co-organizer, Yale Legal Theory Workshop, 2015-2016.

Affiliated Faculty, Information Society Project (Yale Law School); Center for Global Legal Challenges (Yale Law School), 2011/2013-present.

Chair or Member of numerous Yale Law School committees (e.g., Disciplinary Committee, Public Interest Fellowship Committee, Library Search Committee; Named Lectures Committee, etc.), 2011-present.

Director, *The Baffler* Institute, 2015-2016.

LANGUAGES

French, Latin, some Spanish and Italian (reading).

Date: February 2020