

# THE POLITICS OF WTO REFORM: DEBATING EU AND US ROLES TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT



Feb / 2008

Bridging Core Norms and Policy Options

Biographies of Core Research Team

## BIOGRAPHIES OF CORE RESEARCH TEAM

Lead institution: European Studies Centre, University of Oxford

### **Matthew Eagleton–Pierce**

Matthew Eagleton–Pierce is a DPhil candidate in International Relations at the University of Oxford. His primary research interests are centred on three areas: (1) the theoretical examination of power and legitimacy in the multilateral trading regime with a focus on constructing a concept of symbolic power to explain why certain ideas in trade policy become stabilised and legitimised; (2) an analysis of Southern–led agriculture coalitions in the WTO, particularly the African cotton case and the G33 collective; (3) the post–war history of the trading system. He has worked at the Global Economic Governance Programme at Oxford as a Research Officer, participating in the Global Trade Governance Project and administrating other projects and initiatives. He was the founding editor of an Oxford graduate–run academic journal of international affairs, the *St Antony’s International Review*, editing the first three issues which focused on global cooperation, human security, and the international politics of oil. He holds an MPhil in International Relations from the University of Oxford and was awarded a First Class BA in Geography from King’s College London.

### **Mehmet Karli**

Mehmet Karli is a DPhil candidate in International Law at the University of Oxford. His doctoral research focuses on the compatibility of EU's free trade agreements with the relevant WTO disciplines on regional trade arrangements. His research interests are: (1) multi–level rule making in international economic governance through WTO and Regional Trade Agreements; (2) Developing countries in WTO, GSP schemes and SDT; (3) WTO Dispute Settlement with particular reference to remedies; (4) Accountability of WTO Dispute Settlement System; (5) Relationship between international economic law and general international law; (6) European Common Commercial Policy; and (7) Turkey–EC Customs Union and Turkey's accession process to the EU. He holds an MPhil in Law and

an MJur in European and Comparative Law from the University of Oxford, and an LL.B. from the Galatasaray University in Istanbul, Turkey.

### **Kalypso Nicolaïdis**

Dr Kalypso Nicolaïdis is the Director of the European Studies Centre and University Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Oxford. She is a Fellow at St Antony's College. Dr Nicolaïdis teaches in European integration, international relations, international political economy and game theory. In the academic year 2004–2005, she was Vincent Wright Chair at Sciences–Po, Paris (2004–2005). Previously she was Associate Professor at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and taught at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in Paris. At Harvard she was the founder and chair of the Kokkalis Programme on Southeast Europe. At Oxford she is co-chair of the South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX) which runs, *inter alia*, the Greek–Turkish Network. Dr Nicolaïdis has published widely on international trade and global governance, including the analysis of EU trade policy, services, and mutual recognition. She has collaborated with Robert Howse on understanding the sources of legitimacy and ethics in the trading regime, publishing several articles and co-editing *The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the US and the EU* (Oxford University Press, 2001). She has also published on the EU constitutional debate, EU relations with Turkey and EuroMed, issues of identity, justice and cooperation in the international system, as well as preventive diplomacy and dispute resolution. Journals in which her work has appeared include *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of European Public Policy* and *International Organization*. In addition, she has co-edited a volume titled *Whose Europe? National Models and the Constitution of the European Union*. Dr Nicolaïdis has been an advisor to several governments, political parties and international organisations, including George Papandreou on European affairs, the French socialist party, the European Commission, UNCTAD and the OECD. She holds a PhD in Political Economy and Government from Harvard University, a Master in Public Administration from the Kennedy School of Government, a Master in International Economics and a Diplome from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris.

### Relevant Publications:

'The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power', in *Journal of European Public Policy*,

Vol. 13, No. 6, 2006, pp. 906–925 (with Sophie Meunier).

- ‘The European Union as a Trade Power’ in Christopher Hill and Michael Smith (eds) (2005) *The International Relations of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) (with Sophie Meunier).
- ‘Enhancing WTO Legitimacy: Constitutionalization or Global Subsidiarity?’ (with Robert Howse) in Marco Verweij and Tim Josling (eds), ‘Deliberately Democratizing Multilateral Organization’, special issue of *Governance* (2003).
- ‘Legitimacy through “Higher Law?” Why Constitutionalizing the WTO is a Step Too Far,’ (with Robert Howse), in Thomas Cottier, Petros C. Mavroidis and Patrick Blatter (eds), *The Role of the Judge: Lessons for the WTO*, (Bern: The World Trade Forum), Volume 4, 2002.
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- ‘Transnational Market Governance and Regional Policy Externality: Why Recognize Foreign Standards?’ (with Michelle Egan), *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol 8, No 3, 2001.
- ‘Legitimacy and Global Governance: Why a Constitution for the WTO is a Step Too Far?’ (with Robert Howse), in Roger Porter, Pierre Sauve, Arvind Subramanian and Americo Zampetti, eds, *Equity, Efficiency and Legitimacy: The Multilateral System at the Millennium*, (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001).
- ‘Global Electronic Commerce and the General Agreement on Trade in Services: The Millennium Round and Beyond,’ (with William J. Drake), in Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern, (eds.), *Services 2000: New Directions in Services Trade Liberalization*, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).
- ‘Liberalization, Regulation, and Recognition for Services Trade,’ (with Joel P. Trachtman) in Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern, (eds.), *Services Trade in the Western*

*Hemisphere: Liberalization, Integration and Reform*, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).

'Non-Discriminatory Mutual Recognition: An Oxymoron in the New WTO Lexicon?' in Petros Mavroidis and Patrick Blatter, eds, *Non Discrimination in the WTO: Past and Present*, *Journal of World Trade*, University of Michigan Press, The World Trade Forum series, 2000.

'From Policed Regulation to Managed Recognition: Mapping the Boundary in GATS,' (with Joel P. Trachtman) in Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern, eds., *Services 2000: New Directions in Services Trade Liberalization*, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).

'Who Speaks for Europe? The Delegation of Trade Authority in the European Union,' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol 37, No 3, September 1999, pp 477–501; Reprinted in Madeleine Holsti, (ed.) 2000.

'Revamping the GATT: Toward Regional Multilateralism,' Project Prometheus Perspectives, Paris, March 1990.

### **Leila Vignal**

Dr Leila Vignal is the Deakin Fellow at the European Studies Centre at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. She holds a PhD in Geography, specialising on the impacts of globalisation in the Middle East. From 2001–04, she was a member of the private office of Pascal Lamy, European Commissioner for Trade. Dr Vignal was in charge of political reflections on globalisation and Europe's role in global governance. She currently works on the impacts of the Euromed policies in the partner countries, with a special focus on the Middle East.

## **Collaborating institutions**

### **Carolyn Deere**

Dr Carolyn Deere is a Senior Researcher at the Global Economic Governance Programme at the University of Oxford where she directs the Global Trade Governance Project – a

multi-year initiative to support academic research and policy dialogue aimed at making the governance of the global trading system work for developing countries and sustainable development. She is also a Senior Research Associate at Oxford's Centre for International Studies and a Resident Scholar at the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) in Geneva, Switzerland. Dr Deere is the founder and Chair of the Board of Directors of Intellectual Property Watch, the leading news service on international intellectual property policymaking, and a member of the Advisory Board of 3D -> Trade - Human Rights - Equitable Economy. She holds a DPhil in International Relations from the University of Oxford, an MA in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a bachelors degree in political economy from the University of Sydney.

Relevant Publications:

*The Implementation Game: Developing Countries and the Politics of TRIPS (1995-2006)*, (forthcoming, 2007).

*Fisheries, International Trade and Sustainable Development* (with Elizabeth Havice) (Geneva: ICTSD, 2006).

*Greening the Americas: NAFTA's Lessons for Hemispheric Trade* (eds) (with Daniel Esty) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

**Robert Howse**

Robert Howse is the Alene and Allan F. Smith Professor of Law at the University of Michigan. Professor Howse is an internationally recognised authority on international economic law. He received his BA in philosophy and political science with high distinction, as well as an LLB, with honours, from the University of Toronto, where he was co-editor in chief of the *Faculty of Law Review*. He also holds an LLM from the Harvard Law School. He has been a visiting professor at Harvard Law School, Tel Aviv University, Tsinghua University, and Osgoode Hall Law School in Canada and taught in the Academy of European Law, European University Institute, Florence. During the fall of 2005 Howse was a visiting professor at the University of Paris 1 (Pantheon-Sorbonne). Since 2000, Professor Howse has been a member of the faculty of the World Trade Institute, Berne, Master's in International Law and Economics Programme. He is a frequent consultant or adviser to government agencies and international organisations such as the OECD,

UNCTAD, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Law Commission of Canada and the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. He is a Reporter for the American Law Institute on WTO Law. He has acted as a consultant to the investor's counsel in several NAFTA investor-state arbitrations. He is a core team member of the Renewable Energy and International Law (REIL) project, a private/public partnership that includes, among others, Yale University, the law firm of Baker & McKenzie and the investment bank Climate Change Capital. Howse serves on the editorial advisory boards of the *European Journal of International Law* and *Legal Issues in Economic Integration*. He has also held a variety of posts with the Canadian foreign ministry, including as a member of the Policy Planning Secretariat and a diplomat at the Canadian Embassy in Belgrade. Professor Howse is the author, co-author, or editor of six books, including *Trade and Transitions; Economic Union, Social Justice, and Constitutional Reform; The Regulation of International Trade; Yugoslavia the Former and Future; The World Trading System; and The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the EU and the US* (co-edited with Kalypto Nicolaïdis). He is also the co-translator of Alexander Kojève's *Outline for a Phenomenology of Right* and the principal author of the interpretative commentary in that volume.

Relevant Publications:

*Global Governance By Judiciary*. Studies in International Law (Oxford: Hart Publishing, forthcoming).

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- 'The Most Dangerous Branch? The Limits and Role of the Judicial Power in the WTO.' In *The Role of the Judge in International Trade Regulation: Experience and Lessons for the WTO*, edited by T. Cottier and P.C. Mavroidis, 11–41. World Trade Forum, 4. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2003. (Studies in International Economics series)
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- 'A (Genetically Modified) Food Fight: Canada's WTO Challenge to Europe's Ban on GM Products.' M. L. Busch, co-author. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary, no. 186. Ottawa: Renou Publishing Co., 2003.
- 'Enhancing WTO Legitimacy: Constitutionalization or Global Subsidiarity?' K. Nicolaïdis, co-author. *Governance* 16, no. 1 (2003): 73–94.
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- 'Bob Hudec: Friendship in Disagreement – A Remembrance.' *J. World Trade* 37, no. 4 (2003): 813–5.
- 'Back to Court after Shrimp/Turtle? Almost but Not Quite Yet: India's Short Lived Challenge to Labor and Environmental Exceptions in the European Union's Generalized System of Preferences.' *Am. U. Int'l L. Rev.* 18, no. 6 (2003): 1333–81.
- 'Argentina – Ceramic Tiles Argentina – Definitive Anti-dumping Measures on Imports of Ceramic Floor Tiles from Italy.' D. J Neven, co-author. In *The WTO Case Law of 2001*, edited by H. Horn and P. C. Mavroidis, 155–69. The American Law Institute Reporters' Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003.

### **Sophie Meunier**

Sophie Meunier is Research Scholar in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. She is the author of *Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations* (Princeton University Press, 2005) and its French adaptation, *L'Union fait la force: l'Europe dans les negociations commerciales internationales* (Presses de Sciences Po, 2005). She is the co-author of *The French Challenge: Adapting to Globalization* (with Philip Gordon, Brookings Institution Press, 2001) and its French adaptation *Le Nouveau defi francais: la France face a la mondialisation*, winner of the 2002 France–Ameriques book award. She is also the editor of *Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty* (with Kathleen McNamara, Oxford University Press, 2007). Meunier has published many articles on the European Union, the politics of international trade, globalization, and French politics in journals such as *International Organization*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Foreign Policy*. Her current research focuses on anti-Americanism in France, the ambiguous links between Europeanization and globalization, and the politics of international regime complexity. She is currently writing a book manuscript on the politics of French anti-Americanism and another book on the paradox of 'managed globalization'. Meunier is an elected member of the Executive Committee of the European Union Studies Association (2003–2007) and Secretary of this association. She is an elected Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations (2004–2009). She is the chair of the Council of European Studies' thematic network on globalization and is a member of the Advisory Board of the journal *French Politics*. Meunier contributes frequently to the French media. She holds a BA from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (1989) and a PhD from MIT (1998).

### Relevant Publications:

- 'The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power' (co-authored with Kalypso Nicolaïdis), *Journal of European Public Policy*, September 2006, Vol. 13, No. 6, pp. 906–925.
- 'Nested and Overlapping Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Trade Dispute' (co-authored with Karen Alter), *Journal of European Public Policy*, March 2006, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 362–382.
- 'The European Union as a Trade Power' (co-authored with Kalypso Nicolaïdis). Christopher Hill and Michael Smith eds., *The International Relations of the European Union* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 'United Against the United States? The EU's Role in Global Trade and Finance' (co-

- authored with Randall C. Henning). In Nicolas Jabko and Craig Parsons eds., *The State of the European Union Vol. 7* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 'Globalization and Europeanization: A Challenge to French Politics', *French Politics*, 2004, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 125–150.
- 'Free-Falling France or Free-Trading France?', *French Politics, Culture and Society*, Spring 2004, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 98–107.
- 'France's Double-Talk on Globalization,' *French Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 20–34.
- 'Trade Policy and Political Legitimacy in the European Union,' *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 1, No.1, March 2003, pp. 67–90.
- 'The French Exception,' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No.4, July/August 2000, pp. 104–116. Reprinted in *Globalization: Challenge and Opportunity*, a Foreign Affairs Editors' Choice Series, 2002.
- 'Revisiting Trade Competence in the European Union: Amsterdam, Nice and Beyond' (co-authored with Kalypso Nicolaïdis). In Madeleine Hosli, Adrian van Deemen and Mika Widgren eds., *Institutional Challenges in the European Union* (Routledge, 2002).
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- 'Domestic and International Asymmetries in US–EU Trade Negotiations' (co-authored with William Clark and Erick Duchesne), *International Negotiation Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2000, pp. 69–95.
- 'What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU–US Trade Negotiations,' *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1, Winter 2000, pp. 103–135.
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- 'US–EU Trade Relations.' In Desmond Dinan ed., *Encyclopedia of European Integration* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

### **Amrita Narlikar**

Dr Amrita Narlikar is University Lecturer in International Relations at the Centre of International Studies (CIS), University of Cambridge. She has been teaching at graduate and undergraduate levels since 1999 and is the Course Provider for International Political Economy at the CIS. Prior to taking up her position in Cambridge, Dr Narlikar held a permanent lectureship at the University of Exeter and was a Junior Research Fellow at St John's College, University of Oxford. She held a visiting position at Yale University in 2002, and was awarded a position of Visiting Professor at the University of Brasilia in 2007 (declined). Her research interests are concentrated on international political economy, international organisation, negotiation analysis, and emerging powers in international regimes. She has recently been awarded the Mellon/CRASSH Teaching Fellowship 2008–09 (with Professor Martin Daunton). In 2003, Dr Narlikar was awarded a Nuffield Foundation Fellowship to conduct research on a three-year project, jointly with Professor Andrew Hurrell (University of Oxford), on emerging powers. Based on this research, she is currently completing a book entitled *Pathways to Power: Brazil and India in International Regimes*. Besides the Nuffield project, she is working on another book, *The Crisis of Global Governance*, and continues to write about international economic organizations, trade negotiations, and developing countries. She edits (with Dr Jochen Prantl, University of Oxford) a recently launched book series with Brill, 'Studies in International Institutional Dynamics'. She is also co-writer and Secretariat member of the Warwick Commission on Reform of the Multilateral Trading System. She holds a DPhil (PhD) in International Relations from the University of Oxford.

### Relevant Publications:

*Breaking Deadlocks in Multilateral Settings: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed, (forthcoming, 2008).

*Pathways to Power: Brazil and India in International Regimes*, co-edited with Andrew Hurrell, (forthcoming, 2008).

'What Rationality, Whose Design, Governance How?', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 43 (1), January 2008, pp. 130–138 (invited review article).

'Power and Legitimacy: India and the World Trade Organization', *India and Global Affairs*, Inaugural Issue, January–March 2008, pp. 176–180.

'All's Fair in Love and Trade? Negotiating the Doha Development Agenda', in Donna Lee

and Rorden Wilkinson eds., *Endgame at the WTO? Reflections on the Doha Development Agenda*, London: Routledge, 2007.

'All that Glitters is not Gold: India's Rise to Power', *Third World Quarterly*, July, Vol. 28 (5), 2007, pp. 983–996.

*Bargaining with the Strong: Negotiation Processes in International Regimes*, collection of reprints and new papers, to be published in World Scientific Studies in International Economics (Series editor: Professor Robert Stern), Singapore: World Scientific, 2007.

'The Strict Distributive Strategy for a Bargaining Coalition: the Like Minded Group and the World Trade Organization', (co-authored with John Odell), in John Odell ed., *Negotiating Trade; Developing Countries in the WTO & NAFTA*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

'The New Politics of Confrontation: Developing Countries at Cancun and Beyond', (co-authored with Andrew Hurrell), *Global Society*, October 2006, pp. 415–433.

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- 'Café au Lait Diplomacy,' for Diana Tussie and Miguel F. Lengyel, *Developing Countries: Turning Participation into Influence*, in B. Hoekman, A. Mattoo and P. English, Trade, Development and the WTO: A Handbook, Washington DC: World Bank, 2002.
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- Amrita Narlikar, Inter–State Bargaining Coalitions in Services Negotiations: Interests of Developing Countries, in Robert Stern ed., *Services in the International Economy*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2001, pp. 435–460.

### Dan Sarooshi

Dan Sarooshi is Professor of Public International Law in the University of Oxford, a Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford, and a Fellow of the UK Royal Society of the Arts (FRSA). His books include *International Organizations and Their Exercise of Sovereign Powers* (OUP) and *The United Nations and the Development of Collective Security* (OUP). These books have been awarded the 2006 Myres S. McDougal Prize by the American Society for the Policy Sciences, the 2006 and 2001 American Society of International Law Book Prizes, and the 1999 Guggenheim Prize by the Swiss Guggenheim Foundation. Professor Sarooshi was in 2006 appointed by the World Trade Organisation (on the nomination of the United Kingdom Government and the European Communities) to the roster of Panellists of the WTO Dispute Settlement System. He also practices as a Barrister at Essex Court Chambers, London from where he advises and represents governments,

international organisations, and corporations on WTO law, international law, and international commercial arbitration.

Relevant Publications:

*International Organizations and Their Exercise of Sovereign Powers* (OUP).

'The Move from Institutions: the case of the WTO' 100 *American Society of International Law Annual Conference Proceedings*.

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