Contents

Notes on Contributors xv
List of Abbreviations xviii

I  Introduction and Summary of the Book
WTO Negotiators and Academics Analyse the Doha Development Round of the WTO: Overview and Summary of the Book
Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann 3

II  The Doha Development Round and the Future of the WTO: Policy Proposals
1  The Doha Development Agenda: Political Challenges to the World Trading System—A Cosmopolitan Perspective
Peter Sutherland 39

2  A Development Perspective on the WTO July 2004 General Council Decision
Faizel Ismail 53

3  Cordell Hull, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, and the WTO
Kenneth W. Dam 83

III  Building-Blocks for Concluding the Doha Round Negotiations on Agriculture
4  How to Forge a Compromise in the Agriculture Negotiations
Stefan Tangermann 99

5  The Agriculture Negotiations: The Road from Doha and How to Keep the Negotiations on a Positive Track
Stuart Harbinson 121

6  Strategic Use of WTO Dispute Settlement Proceedings for Advancing WTO Negotiations on Agriculture
Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann 127
Contents

IV The Doha Round Negotiations on Services Trade

7 Developing Country Proposals for the Liberalization of Movements of Natural Service Suppliers 147
   L. Alan Winters

8 Navigating between the Poles: Unpacking the Debate on the Implications for Development of GATS Obligations relating to Health and Education Services 167
   J. Anthony VanDuzer

9 Negotiations on Domestic Regulation and Trade in Services (GATS Article VI): A Legal Analysis of Selected Current Issues 205
   Joel P. Trachtman

V Less-Developed WTO Members in the Doha Round Negotiations

10 Operationalizing the Concept of Policy Space in the WTO: Beyond Special and Differential Treatment 223
    Bernard Hoekman

11 Can WTO Technical Assistance and Capacity-Building Serve Developing Countries? 245
    Gregory Shaffer

VI Are WTO Rules Protecting Consumer Welfare?

    Petros C. Mavroidis

13 Non-Discrimination, Welfare Balances, and WTO Rules: An Historical Perspective 291
    Patrick A. Messerlin

14 Is There a Need for Additional WTO Competition Rules Promoting Non-Discriminatory Competition Laws and Competition Institutions in WTO Members? 305
    François Souty

15 Are the Competition Rules in the WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Adequate? 317
    Frederick M. Abbott

16 Investment and the Doha Development Agenda 335
    Bijit Bora and Edward M. Graham
VII Challenges to the Political Legitimacy of the WTO System

17 The 'Human Rights Approach' Advocated by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and by the International Labour Organization: Is It Relevant for WTO Law and Policy? 357
   Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann

18 Parliamentary Oversight of WTO Rule-Making: The Political, Normative, and Practical Contexts 381
   Gregory Shaffer

   David E. Skaggs

20 How Can Parliamentary Participation in WTO Rule-Making and Democratic Control Be Made More Effective? The European Context 413
   Meinhard Hilf

21 A Parliamentary Dimension to the WTO: More than Just a Vision? 421
   Erika Mann

22 A Few Thoughts on Legitimacy, Democracy, and the WTO 429
   James Bacchus

23 The WTO and Cosmopolitics 437
   Steve Charnovitz

24 Transparency, Public Debate, and Participation by NGOs in the WTO: a WTO Perspective 447
   Julio A. Lacarte

VIII WTO Decision-Making Procedures, ‘Member-Driven’ Rule-Making, and WTO Consensus Practices: Are They Adequate?

25 Improving the Capacity of WTO Institutions to Fulfil their Mandate 455
   Richard Blackhurst and David Hartridge

26 Chairing a WTO Negotiation 469
   John S. Odell
Contents

   Claus-Dieter Ehlermann and Lothar Ehring

28 Is There a Need for Restructuring the Collaboration among the WTO and UN Agencies so as to Harness their Complementarities? 523
   Gary P. Sampson

29 Can the WTO Dispute Settlement System Deal with Competition Disputes? 535
   Claus-Dieter Ehlermann and Lothar Ehring

Index 561