

Last revised January 2024

Robert Wolfe

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Education

PhD Queen's University	1995 (Political Studies) Dissertation: Farm wars: the political economy of agriculture and the Uruguay Round; Supervisor Charles C. Pentland
MA Carleton University	1976 (Canadian Studies) Thesis: The Myth of the Poor Man's Country: Upper Canadian Attitudes to Immigration, 1830-37; Supervisor S.F. Wise
BA York University	1974 (History)

Employment

1995-	School of Policy Studies, Queen's University
2017	Professor Emeritus
2006	Professor
2001	Associate Professor
1995	Assistant Professor

- 1976-95 Foreign Service Officer with the Department of External Affairs (now Global Affairs Canada). Assignments included:
- International Economic Relations Division, Ottawa;
 - Executive Assistant to Sylvia Ostry, Ambassador for Multilateral Trade Negotiations and Prime Minister's Personal Representative, Economic Summit, Ottawa;
 - U.S. Trade and Economic Relations Division, Ottawa;
 - Delegation of Canada to the OECD, Paris;
 - National Security Section, Security Division, Ottawa;
 - Canadian High Commission, Dhaka, Bangladesh

Teaching

Co-taught new required graduate course "Policy Challenges" in the Masters in Public Administration teaching program, 2016-17

Taught or co-taught required graduate course on "Approaches to Policy Analysis" in the Masters in Public Administration teaching program 1995-2015.

Taught optional course on "Trade Policy and Institutions" in most years.

Supervised occasional MPA Masters Research Projects.

Supervised approximately 65 Research Assistants since 1995.

Lead director, Queen's Annual Institute on Trade Policy for mid-career public servants; ten iterations from 2009 through 2018. Member of the advisory group, 2019-

Co-director Queen's Institute on Trade and Development, 2014

Co-Scientific Coordinator, Executive Training Seminar "Trade Negotiations in an Era of Uncertainty", 15 – 17 April 2019, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

Collaborations

Member, Trade Expert Advisory Council, Global Affairs Canada, 2017-

Member of the Editorial Board of World Trade Review, 2016-

Senior Fellow, Centre for International and Defence Policy, Queen's University (1988-)

Coordinator of Canadian participation in the annual Canada-UK Colloquium 1996-2012; lead or co-lead organizer of colloquia in 1996, 2000, 2004, 2012

Senior Fellow, Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network (2005-2013)

Member of two ICTSD/WEF E15 expert groups (2014-15)

Research Fellow of the Institute for Research on Public Policy (2013-2021)

Senior Associate, International Institute for Sustainable Development, (2010-2017)

Member, Canadian Centre for Management Development Action Research
Roundtable on Managing Canada-U.S. Relations (2003-4)

Books

Redesigning Canadian Trade Policies for New Global Realities (Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2017), with Ari Van Assche and Stephen Tapp [editors]
<http://irpp.org/research/trade/> (winner of the 2018 [Doug Purvis Memorial Prize](#))

Process Matters: Sustainable Development and Domestic Trade Transparency (Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2007), with Mark Halle [editors]

Governing Food: Science, Safety, and Trade (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press for the School of Policy Studies, 2001), with Peter W.B. Phillips, [editors].

Farm Wars: The Political Economy of Agriculture and the International Trade Regime, (London: Macmillan, 1998). [Korean translation: Seoul: BeeBong Publishing, 1999]

Diplomatic Missions: The Ambassador in Canadian Foreign Policy (Montreal and Kingston: Published for the School of Policy Studies by McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), [editor].

Transatlantic Identity? Canada, the United Kingdom, and International Order (Kingston, Ont: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, 1997), [editor].

Articles in peer-reviewed journals

'[Is Using Trade Policy for Foreign Policy a 'SNO Job'?](#) On Linkage, Friend-Shoring, and the Challenges for Multilateralism,' World Trade Review 22:3-4 (October 2023), 474-83.

'The Geneva Effect: Where Officials Sit Influences Where They Stand on WTO Priorities,' Review of International Political Economy, 30:6, (2023) 2382-2405, with Bernard Hoekman.

'Reforming the World Trade Organization: Practitioner Perspectives from China, the EU, and the US,' China & World Economy 29:4 (2021), 1-34, with Bernard Hoekman.

'Stakeholder Preferences and Priorities for the Next WTO Director General' Global Policy 12:S3 (April 2021) 13-22 with Matteo Fiorini, Bernard Hoekman, Petros C. Mavroidis, and Douglas Nelson

'Informal Learning and WTO Renewal: Using Thematic Sessions to Create More Opportunities for Dialogue,' Global Policy 12:S3 (April 2021) 30-40.

'WTO Reform as a Triangular Problem among China, the EU and the US,' CESifo Forum 22:2 (March 2021), 12-6, with Bernard Hoekman.

'Yours Is Bigger Than Mine! Could an Index Like the Producer Subsidy Equivalent Help in Understanding the Comparative Incidence of Industrial Subsidies?,' The World Economy 44:2 (February 2021) 328-45.

'Reforming WTO Conflict Management: Why and How to Improve the Use of "Specific Trade Concerns",' Journal of International Economic Law 23:4 (December 2020), 817-39.

'WTO Dispute Settlement and the Appellate Body Crisis: Insider Perceptions and Members' Revealed Preferences,' Journal of World Trade (2020) 54:5 667-98, with Matteo Fiorini, Bernard Hoekman, Petros Mavroidis, and Maarja Saluste.

'Learning About Digital Trade: Privacy and E-Commerce in CETA and TPP,' World Trade Review 18:S1 (2019) S63-S84.

'Sunshine over Shanghai: Can the WTO Illuminate the Murky World of Chinese SOEs?,' World Trade Review 16:4 (October 2017) 713-32.

'Private Standards and the WTO: Reclusive No More,' World Trade Review 16:1 (January 2017), 1-24, with Petros C. Mavroidis.

'Can Informal Law Discipline Subsidies?,' Journal of International Economic Law 18:4 (December 2015), 711-41, with Gregory Shaffer and Vinhcent Le. [winner of the inaugural John Jackson Prize for the best article published in JIEL in 2015]

'From Sunshine to a Common Agent: The Evolving Understanding of Transparency in the WTO,' Brown Journal of World Affairs 21:2 (Spring/Summer 2015), 117-29, with Petros C. Mavroidis

'Firms in International Trade: Trade Policy Implications of the New New Trade Theory,' Global Policy 6:2 (May 2015), 130-40, with Ciuriak, Dan, Lapham, Beverly J., and Collins-Williams, Terry and Curtis, John M.,

'An Anatomy of Accountability at the WTO,' Global Policy 6:1 (2015), 13-23.

'First Diagnose, Then Treat: What Ails the Doha Round?,' World Trade Review 14:01 (January 2015), 7-28.

'Shining a Light on Fossil Fuel Subsidies at the WTO: How NGOs Can Contribute to WTO Notification and Surveillance,' World Trade Review 13:4 (October 2014), 603-32, with Casier, Liesbeth, Robin Fraser, and Mark Halle

'Protectionism and Multilateral Accountability During the Great Recession: Drawing Inferences from Dogs Not Barking,' Journal of World Trade 46:4 (August 2012), 777-814.

'Trade Policy Implications of Carbon Labels on Food,' Estey Centre Journal of International Law and Trade Policy 13:1 (2012) 59-93, with Baddeley, Shane and Peter Cheng.

“The OECD Contribution to the Evolution of 21st Century Trade Law,” The George Washington International Law Review 43: (2011), 277-93.

“Transparency as a Trade Policy Tool: The WTO’s Cloudy Windows,” World Trade Review 9:4 (November 2010), 551–81, with Terry Collins-Williams.

“Sprinting During a Marathon: Why the WTO Ministerial Failed in July 2008,” Journal of World Trade 44:1 (February 2010), 81-126.

“The WTO Single Undertaking as Negotiating Technique and Constitutive Metaphor” Journal of International Economic Law 12:4 (December 2009), 835-58. Reprinted in Broude, Tomer and Michelle Rattou Sanchez, eds, (2013) Institutional Aspects of International Trade Law (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate).

“Canada’s Third National Policy: The Epiphenomenal or the Real Constitution?,” University of Toronto Law Journal 59:4 (October 2009), 469-523, with Roderick A Macdonald.

“The Special Safeguard Fiasco in the WTO: The Perils of Inadequate Analysis and Negotiation “World Trade Review 8:4 (October 2009), 517-44.

“Decision-making and transparency in the “medieval” WTO: does the Sutherland Report have the right prescription?,” Journal of International Economic Law 8:3 (2005), 631-45.

“See You in Geneva? Legal (Mis)Representations of the Trading System,” European Journal of International Relations 11:3 (September 2005), 339-65.

“Values and Interests in Attitudes toward Trade and Globalization: The Continuing Compromise of Embedded Liberalism” Canadian Journal of Political Science 38:1 (March 2005), 45-68, with Matthew Mendelsohn,.

"Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones: Where the WTO is Going After Seattle, Doha and Cancun", Review of International Political Economy (August 2004), 574-596.

with Matthew Mendelsohn, “Embedded Liberalism in the Global Era: Would Citizens Support a New Grand Compromise?,” International Journal (Spring 2004), 261-280.

“Most safely on the fence? A roundtable on “Canadian” foreign policy after 9/11,” Canadian Foreign Policy (Fall 2004), 97-118, with Louis Bélanger, Andrew Cooper, Heather Smith, and Claire Turenne Sjolander.

“Regulatory Transparency, Developing Countries, and the WTO,” World Trade Review 2:2 (2003), 157-182.

“See You in Washington? A Pluralist Perspective on North American Institutions,” Choices 9:4 (April 2003)

“Globalization, Trade Policy, and the Permissive Consensus in Canada,” Canadian Public Policy 28:3 (September 2002), 351-71, with Matthew Mendelsohn and Andrew Parkin.

“Probing the Aftermyth of Seattle: Canadian Public Opinion on International Trade, 1980-2000,” International Journal 56:2 (Spring 2001), 234-60, with Matthew Mendelsohn.

“*Still lying abroad? On the institution of the resident ambassador,*” Diplomacy and Statecraft 9:2 (July 1998), 22-53.

“Global Trade as a Single Undertaking: The Role of Ministers in the WTO,” International Journal 51:4 (Autumn 1996), 690-709.

“Vers l’ALETA? Le libre-échange transatlantique et la politique étrangère canadienne,” Études Internationales XXVII:2 (juin 1996), 353-380.

“Should Canada Stay in the Group of Seven?” Canadian Foreign Policy 3:1 (Spring 1995), 47-62.

"Atlanticism without the Wall: Transatlantic Cooperation and the Transformation of Europe," International Journal XLVI:1 (Winter 1990-91), 135-163.

Chapters in Books

'[China and WTO Reform](#): Effectiveness, Challenges and Broader Issues,' in Raess, Damian, et al., eds, China and the WTO: A Twenty-Year Assessment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 275-98, with Bernard Hoekman and Xinquan Tu.

'Transparency Matters for LDCs Too: The Relevance of Current Debates on WTO Reform,' in WTO, ed. [LDCs and the Multilateral Trading System: Looking Forward, a Collection of Essays](#) (Geneva: World Trade Organization, 2023), 10-5.

'Reviving the Negotiation Function of the WTO: Why the Onus Falls on the Three Major Powers,' in Hoekman, Bernard, et al., eds, Rebooting Multilateral Trade Cooperation: Perspectives from China and Europe (London: CEPR Press, 2021), 29-43, with Tu, Xinquan

'How the WTO Kept Talking: Lessons from the COVID-19 Crisis,' in Baldwin, Richard and Simon Evenett, eds, Revitalising Multilateralism: Pragmatic Ideas for the New WTO Director-General (London: A CEPR Press VoxEU.org eBook, 2020), 111-7, with Patrick Low

'Exposing Governments Swimming Naked in the COVID-19 Crisis with Trade Policy Transparency (and Why WTO Reform Matters More Than Ever),' in Baldwin, Richard and Simon J. Evenett, eds, [COVID-19 and Trade Policy: Why Turning Inward Won't Work](#) (London: A CEPR Press VoxEU.org eBook, 2020), 165-77.

“Overview of the Research Findings,” in Assche, Ari Van, Stephen Tapp and Robert Wolfe, eds, Redesigning Canadian Trade Policies for New Global Realities (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2017), 1-35, with Ari Van Assche and Stephen Tapp.

“A Road Map for More Inclusive Canadian Trade Policy,” in Assche, Ari Van, Stephen Tapp and Robert Wolfe, eds, Redesigning Canadian Trade Policies for New Global Realities (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2017), 593-633, with Ari Van Assche and Stephen Tapp.

“Canadian Trade Policy in a G-Zero World: Preferential Negotiations as a Natural Experiment,” in Assche, Ari Van, Stephen Tapp and Robert Wolfe, eds, Redesigning Canadian Trade Policies for New Global Realities (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2017), 323-63

“Reshaping the Trading System after the Doha Round,” in Anderson, Greg and Christopher Kukucha, eds, International Political Economy (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2015), 170-185

“Kaleidoscopic Multilateralism: Lon Fuller, Rod Macdonald and the WTO,” in Jutras, Daniel, Rosalie Jukier and Richard Janda, eds, The Unbounded Level of the Mind: Rod Macdonald’s Legal Imagination (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 83-91

“Does Sunshine Make a Difference? How Transparency Brings the Trading System to Life,” in Moschella, Manuela and Catherine Weaver, eds, Handbook of Global Economic Governance: Players, Power and Paradigms (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 40-56.

“Citizen Federalism,” in Mendelsohn, Matthew, Joshua Hjartarson and James Pearce, eds, State of the Federation, 2010: Shifting Power, the New Ontario and What It Means for Canada (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013), 165-184, with Macdonald, Roderick.

“Canada’s Adventures in Clubland: Trade Clubs and Political Influence,” in Kukucha, Chris and Duane Bratt, eds, Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2011), 377-89.

“Trade Policy Is (Still) Foreign Policy, but It’s Not Sexy,” in Heinbecker, Paul and Fen Osler Hampson, eds, As Others See Us: Canada among Nations 2010 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 291-301.

“Use Transparency to Keep World Trade Flowing,” in Birkbeck, Carolyn Deere and Ricardo Meléndez-Ortiz, eds, Rebuilding Global Trade: Proposals for a Fairer, More Sustainable Future-- Short Essays on Trade and Global Economic Governance (Geneva and Oxford: International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, and Global Economic Governance Programme, University College, Oxford, 2009), 75-7.

“New Groups in the WTO Agricultural Trade Negotiations: Power, Learning and Institutional Design,” in Prasad, P. Satyanarayana, ed. Agricultural Trade and WTO—Negotiations and Dispute Settlement (Hyderabad, India: Amicus Books, Icfai University Press, 2008), 108-139

“From Reconstructing Europe to Constructing Globalization: The OECD in Historical Perspective,” in Mahon, Rian and Stephen McBride, eds, The OECD and Transnational Governance (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 26-42.

“Values and Interests in Attitudes toward Trade and Globalization: The Continuing Compromise of Embedded Liberalism,” in Ruggie, John Gerard, ed. Embedding Global Markets: An Enduring

Challenge (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 209-29, with Matthew Mendelsohn.

“Can the Trading System Be Governed: Institutional Implications of the WTO’s Suspended Animation,” in Alexandroff, Alan S., ed. Can the World Be Governed? Possibilities for Effective Multilateralism (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 289-352.

“Canada’s Adventures in Clubland: Trade Clubs and Political Influence,” in Daudelin, Jean and Daniel Schwanen, eds, Canada among Nations 2007: Room for Manoeuvre (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008), 181-97.

“Still Foggy after All These Years: Reform Proposals for the WTO,” in Alexandroff, Alan S., ed. Trends in World Trade Policy: Essays in Honor of Sylvia Ostry (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 133-54.

“Transparency and Public Participation in the Canadian Trade Policy Process,” in Halle, Mark and Robert Wolfe, eds, Process Matters: Sustainable Development and Domestic Trade Transparency (Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2007), 21-72.

“Trade Policy Begins at Home: Information and Consultation in the Trade Policy Process,” in Halle, Mark and Robert Wolfe, eds, Process Matters: Sustainable Development and Domestic Trade Transparency (Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2007), 1-19, with Jesse Helmer.

“Would Citizens Support a New Grand Compromise?,” in Bernstein, Steven and Louis W. Pauly, eds, Global Governance: Towards a New Grand Compromise? (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 31-70, with Matthew Mendelsohn.

“Where’s the Beef? Law, Institutions and the Canada-U.S. Border,” in Courchene, Thomas J., Donald J. Savoie and Daniel Schwanen, eds, Thinking North America, No. 6 The Art of the State, Volume 2 (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2005), 69-98.

“Informal Political Engagement in the WTO: Are Mini-Ministerials a Good Idea?,” in Ciuriak, Dan and John M. Curtis, eds, Trade Policy Research, 2004 (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (International Trade)), 27-90.

“Farms, Phones and Learning in the Trade Regime,” in Meric S. Gertler and David A. Wolfe, eds, Innovation and Social Learning: Institutional Adaptation in an Era of Change (London: Palgrave, 2002)

“Rendering unto Caesar: How legal pluralism and regime theory help in understanding “multiple centres of power”,” in Gordon Smith and Daniel Wolfish, eds, Who is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 260-309.

“Comment le pluralisme légal et la théorie des régimes aident à comprendre les structures polycentrique de pouvoir,” in Gordon Smith and Daniel Wolfish, eds, Qui a peur de l’État? Le Canada dans un monde aux structures polycentrique de pouvoir (Montréal: Les Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 2001)

"Governing Food in the 21st Century: The Globalization of Risk Analysis," in Phillips, Peter W.B. and Robert Wolfe, eds, Governing Food: Science, Safety, and Trade (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press for the School of Policy Studies, 2001), with Peter W.B. Phillips

"The WTO in the aftermath of the Battles in Seattle," in Maureen Appel Molot and Fen Osler Hampson, eds, Vanishing Borders? Canada Among Nations 2000 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000), 321-41, with John M. Curtis.

"The World Trade Organization," in Brian Hocking and Steven McGuire, eds, Trade Politics: International, Domestic and Regional Perspectives (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 208-223.

"Regulatory Diplomacy: Why rhythm beats harmony in the trade regime," in Thomas J. Courchene, ed. Room to Manoeuvre? Globalization and Policy Convergence (Kingston: John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, 1999), 191-238.

"From farm wars to working peace: the functional approach to the management of trade conflict," in Lucian M. Ashworth and David Long, eds, New Perspectives on International Functionalism (London: Macmillan, 1999), 137-55.

"Why the WTO is not (yet) the antidote for globophobia," International Journal LIV:2 (Spring 1999), 340-347. [review article]

"The Many Missions of Canada's Ambassadors," in Robert Wolfe, ed., Diplomatic Missions: The Ambassador in Canadian Foreign Policy (Montreal and Kingston: Published for the School of Policy Studies by McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 1-25.

"Providing leadership for the trade regime," in Maureen Appel Molot and Fen Osler Hampson, eds, Leadership and Dialogue: Canada Among Nations 1998 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 119-42, with John M. Curtis.

"Introduction: Transatlantic Identity?" in Robert Wolfe, ed., Transatlantic Identity? Canada, the United Kingdom, and International Order (Kingston, Ont: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, 1997).

"Embedded Liberalism as a Transformation Curve: Comment," in Thomas J. Courchene, ed., The Nation State in a Global/Information Era: Policy Challenges, (Kingston, Ont: John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, 1997), 83-95.

"The Architecture of (Dis)integration: The Former Soviet Union and the World Economy," in S.N. MacFarlane, ed. Coming Together or Falling Apart: Regionalism in the Former Soviet Union (Kingston: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1997), 209-248.

"Nothing is Agreed Until Everything is Agreed: First Thoughts on the Implications of the Uruguay Round," in Maureen Appel Molot and Harald von Riehoff, eds., A Part of the Peace: Canada Among Nations, 1994-95 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), 101-28, with John M. Curtis.

"The World in a Grain of Wheat: Farm Wars and European Security," in David G. Haglund, ed., From Euphoria to Hysteria: Western European Security After the Cold War (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993)

"Article 2 Revisited: Canada, Security and Transatlantic Economic Cooperation," in Michael K. Hawes and Joel Sokolsky, eds., North American Perspectives on European Security (New York: Mellen, 1990), 305-335.

"Overview and Implications," in Thomas J. Courchene, ed. Quebec Inc: Foreign Takeovers, Competition Policy and Universal Banking Pathways 1 (Kingston, Ontario: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, 1990), 3-16, with Thomas J. Courchene.

Online articles

Friend-shoring risks drifting into a costly snow job June 17, 2023

<https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2023/06/17/friend-shoring-snow-job/>

Belief in the multilateral trade system is eroding, and that spells trouble, February 26, 2023, with Peter Ungphakorn <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2023/02/26/multilateral-trade-eroding-trouble/>

WTO members achieve breakthrough, but the tough part is what happens next June 30, 2022, with Peter Ungphakorn <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2022/06/30/breakthrough-tough-part-happens-next/>

Have we just seen the funeral of the WTO 'single undertaking'? June 21, 2022

<https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2022/06/21/have-we-just-seen-the-funeral-of-the-wto-single-undertaking/>

How did the Ministerial Conference do? Our scorecards June 19, 2022, , with Peter Ungphakorn <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2022/06/19/how-did-the-ministerial-conference-do-our-scorecards/>

Touch and go at the WTO. Is the director-general's optimism justified? June 9, 2022, , with Peter Ungphakorn <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2022/06/09/touch-and-go-wto-ministerial/>

Good news and bad news from the scrapped WTO Ministerial Conference (December 6, 2021), with Peter Ungphakorn <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2021/12/06/good-bad-news-scrapped-wto-conference/>

The WTO is regularly in crisis, but this time could be different (November 26, 2021), , with Peter Ungphakorn <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2021/10/30/wto-crisis-this-time-different/>

'How Wide Should the WTO Window Be Set? A Long Read on Transparency and Trade Negotiations,' Trade β Blog, April 26, 2021, <https://tradebetablog.wordpress.com/2021/04/26/wto-transparency-short/>, with Peter Ungphakorn

'[WTO Reform as a Triangular Problem among China, the EU and the US](#),' CESifo Forum 22:2 (March 2021), 12-6, with Bernard Hoekman

'[WTO Negotiation and Institutional Reform Priorities: Stakeholder Perspectives](#),' VoxEU.org (09 July 2020), with Matteo Fiorini, Bernard Hoekman, Petros Mavroidis and Douglas Nelson

'[Selecting the Next WTO Director-General: What the Trade Community Thinks](#),' VoxEU.org (08 July 2020), with Matteo Fiorini, Bernard Hoekman, Petros Mavroidis and Douglas Nelson

“[WTO Dispute Settlement and the Appellate Body Crisis: Insider Perceptions and Members’ Revealed Preferences](#),” VoxEU.org (20 November 2019), with Matteo Fiorini, Bernard Hoekman, Petros Mavroidis, and Maarja Saluste

“Is the USMCA Just a Lesser NAFTA?,” Policy Options (November 30, 2018)

“What Do Canadians Think About Trade and Globalization?,” Policy Options (October 9, 2018), with Giancarlo Acquaviva and Eliane Hamel Barker.

“Bangladesh’s Garment Workers Need Canada to Do Its Part,” Policy Options (October 3, 2018), with Juthika Hasan

“Where Does the Public Sit on NAFTA?,” Policy Options (April 19, 2018), with Giancarlo Acquaviva

Will NAFTA 2.0 Be a Model for North American Economic (Dis)Integration?,” Policy Options (April 6, 2018)

“A Progressive Trade Agenda with China?,” Policy Options (August 23, 2017)

“How Canada Can Keep the Lights on at the WTO,” Policy Options (August 3, 2017)

“Who Has Leverage in the NAFTA Renegotiation?,” Policy Options, (July 25, 2017)

“Canada Needs a More Inclusive Trade Policy Agenda That Promotes International Connectivity and Builds the Foundation for a Better Global Trading System.,” Policy Options (May 31, 2017), with Stephen Tapp and Ari Van Assche

“Channeling the Flow: Rising to the Reporting Challenge for the 2030 Agenda,” Sustainable Development Policy & Practice (12 May 2016), with Mark Halle

“How to Monitor the Trade Elements of the 2030 Agenda?,” BIORES 9:9 (November 2015), 12-15, with Alice Tipping

TLD Symposium: *Comment on "Transparency and Public Participation in the WTO"* [a symposium on a special issue of the Indian journal Trade, Law & Development] posted October 2, 2012 to <http://worldtradelaw.typepad.com/ielpblog/2012/10/tld-symposium-robert-wolfe-comment-on-transparency-and-public-participation-in-the-wto.html>

“Transparency as a Tool for Subsidy Reform,” Subsidy Watch 32 (September 2009), 2-3, with Terry

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Collins-Williams.

“The Real Constitutional Question: Canada’s 21st Century National Policy,” Policy Options 30:1 (December 2008-January 2009), 68-77, with Roderick Macdonald.

“Adventures in WTO Clubland,” Bridges 11:4 (June-July 2007), 21-2.

Also published as “Um Passeio Pelos “Clubes” Da OMC,” Pontes 3:4 (Agosto 2007), 7-8.

“The WTO on the Way to Cancun: Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones,” Policy Options 24:7 (August 2003), 30-2.

‘see You in Washington? Institutions for North American Integration,” Ideas That Matter 2:4 (2003), 31-2.

"Karl Polanyi *The Great Transformation*," Policy Options 23:1 (January/February 2002), 39-40.

“Confronting the Aftermyth of Seattle: Canada Must Set Key Trade Priorities Now,” Policy Matters 1:1 (March 2000).

"Battle in Seattle?" Policy Options 20:9 (November 1999), 30-35.

Working Papers (printed and circulated by the named institutions)

'Is Using Trade Policy for Foreign Policy a “SNO Job”? : On Linkage, Friend-Shoring and the Challenges for Multilateralism,' European University Institute, Working Paper RSC 2022/74, November 2022.

'The Geneva Effect: Where Officials Sit Influences Where They Stand on WTO Priorities,' European University Institute, Working Paper, 2022, with Bernard Hoekman

'Romance of the Three Kingdoms Now Playing in Geneva: WTO Reform as a Drama between the U.S., China and the EU,' European University Institute, Policy Paper RSC PP 2021/03, March 2021, with Bernard Hoekman

'Stakeholder Preferences and Priorities for the Next WTO Director General,' European University Institute, RSCAS 2020/43, July 2020, with Fiorini, Matteo, Bernard Hoekman, Petros C. Mavroidis, and Douglas Nelson.

'Informal Learning and WTO Renewal: Using Thematic Sessions to Create More Opportunities for Dialogue,' Bertelsmann Stiftung, Policy Brief February 2020. Revised version EUI RSCAS 2020/51, August 2020

'Reforming WTO Conflict Management: Why and How to Improve the Use of “Specific Trade Concerns”,' Bertelsmann Stiftung, Working Paper February 2020. Revised version EUI RSCAS 2020/53, August 2020

'Yours Is Bigger Than Mine! How an Index Like the PSE Helps in Understanding the Comparative

Incidence of Subsidies,' Bertelsmann Stiftung, Working Paper February 2020. Revised version EUI RSCAS 2020/52, August 2020

['WTO Dispute Settlement and the Appellate Body Crisis: Insider Perceptions and Members' Revealed Preferences,'](#) Bertelsmann Stiftung, November 2019, with Matteo Fiorini, Bernard Hoekman, Petros Mavroidis, Maarja Saluste.

“North Americans Remain United on Trade, yet Divided on NAFTA: An Analysis of Attitudes Towards Trade in NAFTA Countries,” Bertelsmann Stiftung, August 2018, with Giancarlo Acquaviva.

“Is World Trade Organization Information Good Enough? How a Systematic Reflection by Members on Transparency Could Promote Institutional Learning,” Bertelsmann Stiftung, July 2018.

“Learning About Digital Trade : Privacy and E-Commerce in CETA and TPP,” European University Institute, EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2018/27, May 2018.

“Portraits 2017: International Trade & Globalization,” Mowat Centre, March 28, 2018, with Kiran Alwani, Giancarlo Acquaviva, and Andrew Parkin.

‘sunshine over Shanghai: Can the WTO Illuminate the Murky World of Chinese SOEs?,” European University Institute, Working Paper RSCAS 2017/12, 2017.

“Trade in *Transforming Our World*: Options for Follow-up and Review of the Trade-related Elements of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”, International Institute for Sustainable Development and International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, June 2016, with Alice Tipping

“Private Standards and the WTO: Reclusive No More,” European University Institute, Working Paper RSCAS 2016/17, March 2016, with Petros C. Mavroidis.

“Follow-up and Review for the 2030 Agenda: Bringing Coherence to the Work of the HLPF,” International Institute for Sustainable Development, Policy Brief, March 2016, with Mark Halle.

“How Can We Know (More) About the Trade Effects of Regulation?,” WEF/ICTSD, E15 Task Force on Regulatory Systems Coherence, August 2015.

“Trade and Sustainable Development: Options for Follow-up and Review of the Trade-Related Elements of the Post-2015 Agenda and Financing for Development,” International Institute for Sustainable Development and International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, Draft Working Paper June 2015, with Alice Tipping.

“Architecture for Review and Follow-up of the SDGs: Options for the High-Level Political Forum,” International Institute for Sustainable Development, Briefing Note April 2015, with Mark Halle

“Informal Law’s Discipline of Subsidies: Variation in Definitions, Obligations, Transparency, and Organizations “ WEF/ICTSD, E15 Task Force on Rethinking International Subsidies Disciplines April 2015, with Gregory Shaffer, and Vinhcent Le.

“Building an Effective Review Mechanism: Lessons for the HLPF” International Institute for Sustainable Development, February 2014, with Mark Halle and Adil Najam

“First Diagnose, Then Treat: What Ails the Doha Round?,” Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Fiesole, Global Governance Programme Working Paper RSCAS 2013/85, November 2013.

“Letting the Sun Shine in at the WTO: How Transparency Brings the Trading System to Life,” World Trade Organization, Staff Working Paper ERSD-2013-03, March 2013.

“Regulatory Transparency in Multilateral Agreements Controlling Exports of Tropical Timber, E-Waste and Conflict Diamonds,” OECD Trade Policy Working Paper No. 141 TAD/TC/WP(2012)18/FINAL, 4-Dec-2012, with Shane Baddeley.

“Tropical Timber, E-Waste and Diamonds: How Transparency Makes MEAs Work,” ENTWINED, Issue Brief 13, September 2012, with Shane Baddeley.

“Who Is Accountable at the World Trade Organization?,” ENTWINED, Working Paper December 2011.

“[Private Standards as NTBs: The Case of Carbon Labels](#),” World Trade Organization, World Trade Report 2012 solicited online comment, with Shane Baddeley

“Trade Policy Implications of Carbon Labels on Food,” Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network CATPRN Commissioned Paper 2011-04, October 2011, with Shane Baddeley and Peter Cheng.

“Looking Back, Looking Forward: Civil Society Contributions to WTO Accountability,” ENTWINED, Stockholm, Issue Brief 08 September 2011, with Mark Halle and with assistance from Christopher Beaton.”

“New-New Trade Policy,” Queen’s Economics Department, Working Paper No. 1263, April 2011, with Ciuriak, Dan, and Beverly Lapham, and with Terry Collins-Williams and John Curtis.

“Did the Protectionist Dog Bark? Transparency, Accountability, and the WTO During the Global Financial Crisis,” ENTWINED, Policy Report 01, March 2011.

“A New Approach to Transparency and Accountability in the WTO,” ENTWINED, Stockholm, Issue Brief 06 September 2010, with Mark Halle.

“Endogenous Learning and Consensual Understanding in Multilateral Negotiations: Arguing and Bargaining in the WTO,” Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network CATPRN Working Paper 2010-02 May 2010.

“sprinting During a Marathon: Why the WTO Ministerial Failed in July 2008,” Groupe d’Economie Mondiale, Sciences Po, Working Paper April 2009.

“The Special Safeguard Fiasco in the WTO: The Perils of Inadequate Analysis and Negotiation “

Groupe d'Economie Mondiale, Sciences Po, February 2009.

"Can the Trading System Be Governed? Institutional Implications of the WTO's Suspended Animation," Centre for International Governance Innovation Working Paper No. 30, September 2007.

"Harvesting Public Policy? Private Influence on Agricultural Trade Policy in Canada," Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy Research Network: CATPRN Working Paper 2007-4, July 2007.

"New Groups in the WTO Agricultural Trade Negotiations: Power, Learning and Institutional Design," Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy Research Network: CATPRN Commissioned Paper CP 2006-2, May 2006.

"Where Is Canada in Global Farm Talks?," Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy Research Network: Trade Policy Brief 2006-1, April 2006, with Jesse Helmer.

"Good Governance at Home and Abroad: Global Governance Relationships in Transition," final research report submitted to the Law Commission of Canada: December 2002.

"A Strategy for Thailand's Trade Diplomacy," (John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen's University: International and Development Studies Working Paper, October 1997).

"*still* lying abroad? On the Institution of the Resident Ambassador," (Centre for the Study of Diplomacy, University of Leicester: Discussion Papers in Diplomacy DP 33, September 1997).

"should Canada be a Member of the G-7 into the Next Century?," in Tammy Hall et al, eds, The Halifax 21st G-7 Summit: En Route to the 21st Century Working Papers Series (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, March 1996), 17-18.

The Making of the Peace, 1993: A Review of Canadian Economic Diplomacy at the OECD, (Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade: Economic and Trade Policy Branch Working Paper, October 1993).

Articles in newspapers

"The WTO Still Has Vital Work to Do, Despite the Crippling of Its Appeals Court," Globe and Mail (December 18, 2019), with Bernard Hoekman

"America Is Right About the WTO, but for the Wrong Reasons (Web); Greater Transparency Can Save the WTO from Itself (Print)," Financial Times, December 21, 2017, p.13.

"Bemused Canadians Offer Trade Advice to Brexit Britain," Financial Times (August 22, 2017), 9.

“Oil by rail: If we want better rules, we need better data” Globe and Mail January 16, 2014, with Musifiq Islam

“Multiple trade negotiations offer tantalizing possibilities” Globe and Mail December 27, 2013

“WTO’s Bali ministerial meeting holds fate of Doha Round in its hands” Globe and Mail, November 27, 2013

“Trade deals should not be held hostage by dairy supply management fears” Globe and Mail, November 7 2013

“Has the G8 Truly Grasped Accountability?,” Embassy (February 9, 2011), with Philippe Mineau

“We Need a New National Policy,” Toronto Sun, December 23, 2008, with Roderick A. Macdonald

“success of Trade Talks Is Crucial for Canada,” The Toronto Star, March 30, 2008, p.A15. (also published in the Globe and Mail online as Meilke et al, "Doha is not Dead", March 30, 2008.), with Michael Gifford, Alex McCalla, and Karl Meilke. □

"The system works - leave it alone," National Post (12 January 2005), FP19

“Face it: We’re separate from Uncle Sam” Globe and Mail web only (June 17, 2004)

"Read the Fine Print on GMO Labels." Globe and Mail (September 3, 2003), with Peter Phillips.

“Restoring Frayed Links with U.S.,” The Toronto Star, (April 25, 2003) A31.

“Can’t live with it, can’t live without it,” Globe and Mail (January 31, 2001), A15, with Matthew Mendelsohn.

Reference Books

Entries on “Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development,” “G-7,” “Uruguay Round,” “Quad,” “double movement,” and “embedded liberalism” in The Routledge Encyclopaedia of International Political Economy (London, Taylor & Francis, 2001)

Book Reviews

Michelmann, Hans J. et. al., Eds, (2001) Globalization and Agricultural Trade Policy (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, in Etudes internationales XXXIV:1 (March 2003)

John Gerard Ruggie, Winning the Peace: America and World Order in the New Era (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), in International Journal 52:2 (Spring 1997), 370-72.

A. Claire Cutler and Mark W. Zacher, eds., Canadian Foreign Policy and International Economic Regimes (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992) in Canadian Journal of Political Science 26:1 (March 1993), 185-86.

Robert A. Isaak, International Political Economy: Managing World Economic Change (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), in Canadian Journal of Political Science 25:1 (March 1992), 213-4.

Training Manuals

“Mad Cows in Canada and the World,” (Participant’s and Facilitator’s Manuals for a training simulation developed for the Canadian Centre for Management Development, Ottawa, 2000)

Papers read at scholarly meetings

“Who Is Accountable at the World Trade Organization?,” (paper delivered to the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 19, 2011)

“Did the protectionist dog bark? Transparency, accountability, and the WTO during the global financial crisis” paper delivered to
Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network meeting, Toronto, May 15, 2010;
“G8 Accountability: Muskoka and Beyond” G8 Civil Society Consultation, Winnipeg, May 25, 2010;
Canadian Political Science Association, Montreal, June 1, 2010;
WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 16, 2010.

“Citizen Federalism, or Canada’s third National Policy,” (paper delivered to The State of the Federation conference, IIGR/Mowat Centre, Toronto, November 20, 2010), with Roderick Macdonald.

“Endogenous learning and consensual understanding in multilateral negotiations: arguing *and* bargaining in the WTO” (paper delivered to the International Studies Association, New Orleans, February 17, 2010)

“Arguing and bargaining in the WTO: Does the Single Undertaking make a difference?” (paper delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association, June 2008; and the International Studies Association, March 2008)

“Harvesting Public Policy? Private Influence on Agricultural Trade Policy in Canada,” (paper delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association, May 30, 2007; and the International Studies Association, Chicago, March 2007)

“New groups in the WTO agricultural trade negotiations; Power, learning and institutional design” Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, March 22, 2006.

“The politics of attraction and distance,” Remarks prepared for the ISA-Canada senior scholar panel honouring Maureen Appel Molot at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, March 22, 2006

“Canadian Agriculture and the Doha Agenda: The Changing Negotiation Process.” Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy Research Network Annual Workshop. Toronto, February 11, 2006

“Do officials learn from the public? Transparency and public participation in the Canadian trade policy process,” (paper delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association, June 2005.)

“Informal ministerial meetings and the WTO: multilateralism with large and small numbers, revisited” (paper presented to the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 2004)

“Economic diplomacy and the new security agenda” (paper presented to the Queen’s-RMC conference on Canada and the New Security Agenda, June 5-6, 2003)

“Transparency, Developing Countries and the Fate of the WTO” (paper delivered to the International Studies Association, February 2003; and to the Canadian Political Science Association, June 2003.)

“Values, Interests and Globalization: The Continuing Compromise of Embedded Liberalism,” (paper delivered to the workshop “Global Governance: Towards a New Grand Compromise?”, Munk Centre, University of Toronto, May 29, 2002), with Matthew Mendelsohn

“Democracy, the Rule of Law and the WTO,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Law and Economics Association, University of Toronto, September 2000; revised versions read at the International Studies association, February 2001 and the Canadian Political Science Association, May 2001)

“Probing the Aftermyth of Seattle: Canadian Public Opinion on International Trade, 1980-2000,” (paper delivered to the 2000 National Policy Research Conference, Ottawa, December 1, 2000), with Matthew Mendelsohn

“The Millennium Round as a ‘single Undertaking’: The Political Economy of the WTO Agenda,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, March 15, 2000)

“Rhythm beats harmony: legal pluralism, regime theory and the trading system,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Sherbrooke, June 6, 1999)

“Reconstructing domestic regulation in the trade regime,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C, February 19, 1999)

“*still* Lying Abroad? The Once and Future Role of the Canadian Ambassador,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Memorial

University, June 1997, and to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 1997)

“Hope and Fear in the Atlantic: the “new transatlantic marketplace” and the fate of the WTO,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Brock University, June 1996)

“The architecture of integration: does OECD IMF WTO come before EU or NATO?” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, April 1996)

“Neither food nor farming: “issue-areas,” the Uruguay Round, and IR theory,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, February 1995; revision of paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Calgary, June 1994).

"The Making of the Peace, 1994: Canadian Economic Diplomacy and the OECD", (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Carleton University, Ottawa, June 6-9, 1993)

“Opening up the Green Box: Why Agriculture Dominated the Uruguay Round,” (Paper delivered to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Acapulco, Mexico, March 23-27, 1993)

"Power and International Coalitions: States, Gains and Agriculture in the Uruguay Round", (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. August 29-September 1, 1991) with Richard Higgott.

"Japan and the United States: The Political Economy of System Change,” (paper delivered to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Vancouver, March 1991), with Michael K. Hawes.

Papers presented at conferences by invitation

‘Transparency matters for LDCs too: The relevance of current debates on WTO reform’ presentation to the WTO Workshop on LDCs and the multilateral trading system, 22 June 2023

‘Strengthening negotiating function: Internal transparency, single undertaking and plurilaterals’ Presentation to the WTO seminar on LDC priorities in global trade, Geneva, December 8, 2022

‘Firm-Level Transparency in the WTO: Why multilateralism begins at home’ Presentation to the International Symposium on Accelerating Changes Unseen in a Century and the Development of International Law, 2022 CASS International Law Forum Beijing, November 25, 2022, via zoom

‘The SPS committee as an example of how to strengthen WTO regular bodies’ Presentation to the Friends of Multilateralism Group Brainstorming Session on “Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures”, October 21, 2022

‘Challenges of WTO trade monitoring’ Presentation to the online seminar on Reshaping the WTO, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, September 16, 2020

‘WTO Reform: Working Practices’ Presented as part of a webinar on WTO Reform, European University Institute and Bertelsmann Stiftung, July 8, 2020

“Are the WTO Trade Monitoring Reports Good Enough?” (paper delivered to the WTO Symposium on the TPRM@30, Geneva, November 27, 2019)

“Bringing a fisheries subsidies agreement to life: Learning from WTO best practice on transparency” IISD Dialogue on Fisheries Subsidies: Structure and institutional issues Geneva, November 26, 2019

“Trade, Data and the Digital Revolution: Governance of privacy and e-commerce,” workshop on Canada & the Future of International Trade Governance, University of Ottawa, April 13, 2018

“Cracking hard nuts: Could the progressive trade agenda succeed with NAFTA and China?” Fall Meeting of the Conference Board of Canada, Global Commerce Centre, Ottawa, November 23, 2017

“The best offence? How WTO members can encourage institutional learning” WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 27, 2017

“Canada’s agenda for trade negotiations,” Canadian Association of Business Economists, Summer Outlook Conference, Kingston, August 29, 2017

“Future of Ontario’s economy and Canada-US trade relations,” Queen’s-OPS Policy Dialogue, Toronto, May 12, 2017

‘should the development of private standards be more transparent?’ WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 27, 2016

“Why improve fisheries subsidies transparency?” at the ICTSD E15 Roundtables on WTO MC11:

Oceans and fisheries, 26 September 2016, Graduate Institute, Geneva

“How Can We Know (More) About the Trade Effects of Regulation?,” (paper delivered to the Second E15 Task Force Workshop on Regulatory Systems Coherence, Geneva, 30 April – 1 May 2015)

“soft Law, Interactional Law and Subsidies”, presentation to the first meeting of the ICTSD E15 task force on Rethinking International Subsidies Disciplines, 11-12 November 2014 , Geneva, with Gregory Shaffer

“How much Privacy should WTO Allow Product Standards?” presentation to the conference on Private Standards and (Transatlantic) Trade Integration, European University Institute, Florence, 10 - 11 November 2014, with Petros C. Mavroidis

“Canadian trade policy in a G-0 world” presentation to the workshop on Adapting Canadian Trade and Commerce Policies to New Global Realities, IRPP, Ottawa, June 16-17, 2014.

“How CETA fits in Canadian trade strategy” Presentation to the Workshop on the Canada – European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, May 12, 2014, Centre for European Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa.

“Connection between review mechanisms and agenda-setting for the HLPF on Sustainable Development” presentation to the Expert Group Meeting on the role of the high-level political forum on sustainable development in the post-2015 development framework, United Nations, New York, April 30, 2014.

“How much do we know about subsidies?” Presentation to the Executive Training seminar on “The Barebones of the Subsidies and Countervailing Measures Agreement”, European University Institute, Florence, April 7-9, 2014

“Kaleidoscopic multilateralism” presentation to the symposium “The Unbounded Level of the Mind: Rod Macdonald’s Legal Imagination” Faculty of Law, McGill University, 7-8 February 2014

“How transparency brings standards to life” presentation to the course on Standard-Setting in International Trade, Academy of Global Governance Executive Training Seminar Series, European University Institute, Fiesole, Italy, February 19, 2013

‘shining a Light on Energy Subsidies at the WTO: How NGOs Can Contribute to WTO Notification and Surveillance,’ (paper presented to the IISD workshop "Bringing Energy Subsidies to the WTO", Geneva September 30, 2013; and to the ENTWINED policy seminar, Stockholm, November 4, 2013.), with Casier, Liesbeth, Robin Fraser, and Mark Halle.

“First Diagnose, Then Treat: What Ails the Doha Round?,” (paper delivered to the conference on The Multilateral Trading System in the 21st Century, GWU, Washington, April 18 and 19, 2013; and to the symposium on “Making Sense of Canada’s Trade Policy Agenda” organized in Ottawa by the School of Public Policy, University of Calgary, June 3, 2013.)

“Improving Transparency as a Tool for the Implementation of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture” (paper delivered to the CATPRN annual workshop, Toronto, September 29, 2012), with Ashley Thorvaldson

“Transparency and surveillance as conflict management” (paper delivered to the WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 26, 2012)

“Why is it important to enhance the transparency of non-tariff measures?” (paper delivered to the WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 26, 2012)

“Can plurilaterals be multilateralized?” (paper delivered to the WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 25, 2012)

with Shane Baddeley, “Regulatory Transparency in MEAs: Controlling Exports of Tropical Timber, E-Waste and Conflict Diamonds,” (paper delivered to the Workshop on Regulatory Transparency in Trade in Raw Materials, OECD, Paris, May 10-11, 2012)

Invited moderator and speaker UNCTAD XIII Pre-Conference Event Policy Dialogue: Redefining the Role of the Government in Tomorrow’s International Trade, Geneva 26 – 27 March 2012

“The WTO’s Treatment of Transparency and Accountability Obligations: Implications for environmental issues” presentation to the ENTWINED workshop, Stockholm, October 21, 2011

“Advancing the built-in agenda for trade and the environment in the absence of negotiations” presented to the WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 20, 2011

“Did the Protectionist Dog Bark? Transparency, Accountability, and the WTO During the Global Financial Crisis,” presentation to the conference on “The Causes, Consequences and Democratic Legitimacy of International Institutions”, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, June 9, 2011

“Trade Policy Implications of Carbon Labels on Food,” presented to the annual workshop of the Canadian Agricultural Trade and Competitiveness Research Network, May 28, 2011

“Does WTO public reporting provide the information accountability requires?” prepared for the Civil Society and WTO Accountability workshop, WTO Geneva May 9, 2011

“The OECD contribution to the evolution of 21st century trade law” paper presented to the symposium entitled *Toward Coherence in International Economic Law: Perspectives at the 50th Anniversary of the OECD*, George Washington University Law School, Washington, March 22, 2011.

“How countries of the Americas lined up on the agriculture issues under discussion in the WTO,” presentation to the Colloquium on Agricultural Trade in the Americas (The Inter-American Studies Center and the Agricultural Economics Research Center, Laval University, May 16, 2009)

“The WTO’s Cloudy Windows: Transparency and Notification as Policy Tools,” (paper delivered to the WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 25, 2008)

with Roderick A. Macdonald “Beyond Multiculturalism: National Policies and the Challenge of Multiple Identities,” (paper delivered to the Canada-UK Colloquium on ‘social Cohesion: New Challenges to the Established Order’ 15-18 November 2007)

“Goldilocks and the WTO: When Is the Single Undertaking Not Too Large, or Too Small, but Just Right?,” (paper delivered to the WTO Public Forum 2007, Geneva, 4-5 October 2007)

“From Reconstructing Europe to Constructing Globalization: The OECD in Historical Perspective,” (paper delivered to the OECD and Global Governance workshop, Carleton University, January 19-20, 2007)

“Private Influence on International Agricultural Trade Governance” Paper prepared for the workshop on Agro-Food TNCs and Global Food Governance: The Challenge to Sustainability, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, December 7-9, 2006

“The WTO in suspense: is institutional reform needed?” paper presented at the Princeton workshop (August 23-25, 2006) of the Centre for International Governance Innovation project on Global Institutional Reform.

Versions also presented to CIGI’06 at the Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, September 16, 2006; to the WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 26, 2006; and to the Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada Agriculture Policy Research Networks Workshop, Aylmer, December 11, 2006.

“Decision-making and Negotiations: comparisons with WTO” conference on “NAFTA and the Modern Tools of Global Trade Governance” The Canada Institute and the Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington (DC) March 13, 2006

“Adequacy, effectiveness and legitimacy of the institutions of the trading system,” (presentation to the colloquium on Global Institutional Reform: Assessing the Leaders” Response, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, September 16, 2005)

"Transparency and public participation in the Canadian trade policy process" (presentation to the WTO Public Symposium: “WTO After Ten Years: Global Problems and Multilateral Solutions”, Geneva, April 20, 2005.)

“Challenges and opportunities for a Canadian policy school”; and “Transparency and Participation in the National Trade Policy Process” (International Conference on Research, Public Policy and Asian Public Policy Schools, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Bandung, Indonesia, 14 - 15 March 2005)

“Can officials learn from the public? Trade policy consultations in Canada,” workshop on “Getting Trade Policy Off the Hook” (Geneva: IISD, December 2004)

“Reform Proposals for the WTO,” (International Development Research Centre conference on “The World Trade System: Challenges and Opportunities from the Development Perspective”, Ottawa, December 11, 2003)

“Where’s the beef? A Pluralistic Approach to North American Integration,” (IRPP conference on “Thinking North America: Prospects And Pathways,” Montebello, October 15-17, 2003.)

“see you in Washington? Institutions for North American Integration” Remarks prepared for the Borderlines Conference, Montreal, November 1, 2002

“The Constitutionalisation of the World Trade Regime?” Paper delivered to the workshop “Hard Law, Soft Law, and Private Legalities: The Legalization of International Relations” Centre for International Studies, Zurich University, December 6-7, 2002

“Values, Interests and Globalization: The Continuing Compromise of Embedded Liberalism,” (paper delivered to the workshop on “Public Opinion and Canada’s International Relations” University of Ottawa and DFAIT, Ottawa, June 27, 2002, with Matthew Mendelsohn.

“Bilan du troisième Sommet des Amériques,” (remarks to a roundtable at the Canadian Political Science Association, Laval University, May 29, 2001)

“The Pathologies of Pluralism and the Quebec City Summit” (remarks at a Joint Session of the Canadian Association of Law Teachers and the Canadian Communications Association, Laval University, May 28, 2001)

“Is the bell tolling for the WTO?” (remarks prepared for presentation at the Canadian Institute of International Affairs 2000 National Foreign Policy Conference “This way to the Global Village”, Toronto, March 18, 2000)

“Strengthening Linkages between Research and Policy Development” (remarks on a panel sponsored by the Policy Research Initiative, Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, Sherbrooke, June 8, 1999)

“Rendering unto Caesar: How legal pluralism and regime theory help in understanding “multiple centres of power”” (paper delivered to the SSHRC/PRI *Project on Trends* Workshop on Multiple Centres of Power, University of Victoria, May 13, 1999)

“Global Harmonization: Impacts and Implications,” (Commentary, Policy Research Conference, Ottawa, October 1, 1998)

“Regulatory Diplomacy: Why rhythm beats harmony in the trade regime,” (paper delivered to the Bell Papers conference, John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen’s University, November 1997)

“The paradox as a transformation curve: A comment on “The Global Economy and the International Political Order: Some Diverse and Paradoxical Relationships”,” (Bell Papers

conference, John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen's University, November 1996)

"A Canadian Perspective on the Economic Relationship," (paper delivered to the conference on "The New Euro-Atlantic Partnership", Carleton University, May 1996)

"Turning Towards TAFTA? Transatlantic free trade and Canadian foreign policy," (Presented to the Colloquium "La politique extérieure du Canada: 1995, un tournant de la politique étrangère et de défense," Université du Québec à Montréal, 24 novembre 1995.)

"Should Canada Stay in the Group of Seven?" (Paper delivered to the conference "Canada and the 1995 Halifax Summit: Developing Canada's Positions," Centre for Trade Policy and Law, Carleton University, Ottawa, April 3, 1995.

"Farm wars and conflict management: is a functional interpretation of the Uruguay Round possible?," (paper delivered to the Workshop on Functionalism and Conflict Management: Re-examining David Mitrany's Contribution to the Study of World Order, Carleton University, Ottawa, March 30-31, 1995)

"Leadership in the Trade Regime: Japan, the New Issues and the Uruguay Round", (paper delivered to the conference on Japan, the United States and Canada: The Political Economy of System Change, Queen's University, 10-12 October 1990), with Michael K. Hawes.

"Europe Whole and Free: 1992 and Beyond," (Panel, annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Victoria, Victoria, 27-29 May 1990)

Invited lectures and briefs

"Canadian trade policy in a G-zero world", Presentation to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, April 21, 2016; and to "Beyond our Borders", OMAFRA, April 14, 2016; and to "Beyond our Borders", Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs, Guelph, April 14, 2016.

"Trade policy is (still) foreign policy" presentation in the Open Policy Speaker Series, DFATD Ottawa, April 2, 2014.

"New new trade policy" presented to: the Trade Policy and Negotiations Branch, DFAIT, Ottawa April 21, 2011; Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Ottawa May 31, 2011; the Department of Finance, Ottawa, May 31, 2011; IISD/ICTSD/UNEP seminar Geneva May 12, 2011; Canadian Mission to the WTO, Geneva May 13, 2011.

"Citizen Federalism," presentation to the "Focus on Federalism" seminar, Privy Council Office, Ottawa, February 9, 2011, with Rod Macdonald.

"Meanwhile, in Geneva ... Will the WTO Doha round ever end? (and should Canadians care about multilateral trade negotiations?) Library of Parliament, Ottawa, September 2007

"An External Perspective on the Cancún Ministerial of the WTO," (presentation to the meeting of Economic and Finance Counsellors, DFAIT, Ottawa, March 3, 2003)

"Probing the Aftermyth of Seattle: Trends in Canadian Public Opinion on Trade (1980-2000)," (paper presented at a joint meeting of the *Global Challenges and Opportunities Network* and the Trade Communications Group, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, October 30, 2000), with Matthew Mendelsohn

Lecture on "International Trade", National Security Studies Course, Canadian Forces College, 1999 and 2000.

"Agriculture in the "Millennium Round" of WTO negotiations," (A statement to the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Ottawa, May 6, 1999)

"Canada's role in the WTO and in the "Millennium Round" of negotiations," (A statement to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, March 2, 1999)

Seminars

"Learning about digital trade: Privacy and e-commerce in CETA and TPP", presented at the Columbia Law School Trade Seminar Series on November 6, 2017.

"Sunshine over Shanghai: Can the WTO illuminate the murky world of Chinese SOEs?" to the seminar on 'state Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in China: Trade and Competition Issues', Columbia Law School, New York, November 21, 2016.

"Canadian trade policy in a G-zero world: Preferential negotiations as a natural experiment" University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, September 20

"Does sunshine make a difference? The WTO's Treatment of Transparency and Accountability Obligations" European University Institute, Florence, December 13, 2011

"Reshaping the trading system after Doha" London School of Economics, London, November 30, 2011

"The WTO's Treatment of Transparency and Accountability Obligations: Implications for environmental issues" presentation to the ENTWINED workshop, Stockholm, October 21, 2011.

"The WTO Single Undertaking as Negotiating Technique and Constitutive Metaphor" seminar presentation, LSE, November 2009

"Arguing and bargaining in the fog of multilateral negotiations: endogenous learning in the WTO" Maxwell School, Syracuse University, October 2009.

"The growing influence of developing countries in the WTO: the significance of new negotiating groups in the Doha [agriculture] negotiations," Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, May 5, 2006.

“The WTO after Hong Kong: is institutional reform necessary to save the Doha Round?”
London School of Economics, London, February 20, 2006

“The WTO after Hong Kong: is reform necessary to save the Doha Round?” “Food for Thought” lecture, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, February 10, 2006

“The WTO after Cancun” (London School of Economics, November 2003)

“see you in Washington? A pluralist perspective on North American institutions” (remarks to the CCMD Action-Research Roundtable on Managing Canada-US Relations, June 27, 2003)

“see you in Washington? A pluralist perspective on North American institutions” (remarks to the Trade Policy Brown Bag in the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, May 20, 2003)

“Where is the WTO going after Doha?” Political Economy Research Group, University of Western Ontario, October 10, 2002.

“see you in Geneva? Democracy, the Rule of Law and the WTO” (Centre for Global Political Economy, University of Sussex, November 1991; the Trade Policy Brown Bag in the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, October 17, 2000)

“Trade and Domestic Regulation: What Have we Learned from the Telecoms and other Agreements?” (Remarks prepared for the Roundtable of the *Global Challenges and Opportunities Network* World Trade Issues Working Group, Ottawa, June 23, 2000)

“Canada and the WTO” (Library of Parliament Seminar series, November 5, 1999)

“Regulatory Diplomacy and the WTO: Accommodating Domestic Regulation and the Trading System” (Paper presented to the ADM Network on Regulation and Compliance at the request of the Canadian Centre for Management Development, September 1998)

“Should Canada be a Member of the G-7 into the Next Century?” (Dalhousie University, Halifax, June 1995.)

Seminars at Queen’s

“Renegotiating NAFTA: A New Model for North American Economic (Dis)Integration,”
School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University, The 2018 J. Douglas Gibson Lecture, March 15, 2018.

Welcome and opening remarks “7 Billion People: Implications for Canadian Public Policy”,
the inaugural student-run Queen’s Conference on Public Policy, April 14, 2012

“Has China reshaped the global trading system? What the PM can do next week in Beijing”,
School of Policy Studies, February 2, 2012

“Arguing and bargaining in the fog of multilateral negotiations: endogenous learning in the WTO” November 2009.

“Meanwhile, in Geneva ... Will the Doha Round of WTO trade negotiations make any difference for developing countries?” Development Week public lecture February 2008

“Meanwhile, in Geneva ... Will the WTO Doha round ever end? (and should Canadians care about multilateral trade negotiations?)” SPS Brown Bag October 2007

“Prospects for trading away poverty: The WTO and development after the Hong Kong ministerial,” Studies in National and International Development (SNID), Queen’s University, January 19, 2006

“The WTO on the road from Hong Kong,” Ban Righ Centre, Queen’s University, February 9, 2006

“Where’s the beef? Canada-U.S. relations after the election” (presentation to MPA alumni, Ottawa, November 23, 2004)

“The WTO after Cancun” (School of Policy Studies, September 2003)

“see you in Geneva? Democracy, the Rule of Law and the WTO” (Faculty of Law, March 2001)

"Probing the Aftermyth of Seattle: Trends in Canadian Public Opinion on Trade (1980-2000)," (Policy Studies Weekly Seminar, November 2000), with Matthew Mendelsohn

“Trade Battle After Seattle? The New Agenda for the Trading System,” (Policy Studies Weekly Seminar, January 2000)

"Maude and MAI" (Economics Department “Brown Bag Seminar on Interesting Articles and Research” June 9, 1998), with Klaus Stegemann

“A Perfect Excuse to Chat? Canada and the APEC Summit,” (Policy Studies Brown Bag seminar, November 1997)

“The Road from Singapore: The WTO after its first Ministerial, “ (Policy Studies Brown Bag seminar, February 13, 1997)

External research support received

2019-20 Contracts with European University Institute supported by Bertelsmann Stiftung project on WTO reform

2017-18 Contract with Bertelsmann Stiftung for a paper as part of the project on the Future of Trade Governance

2015 Contracts with ICTSD for the E15 project

- 2014-17 Contract with IRPP for book project on Canadian trade policy
- 2014-16 Contracts through IISD to support the Group of Seven UN missions (led by Switzerland) on a review mechanism for the UN High Level Political Forum on sustainable development
- 2010-13 Member of the ENTWINED research consortium, a project funded by the MISTRA Foundation of Sweden
- 2012 Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network commissioned paper (dairy)
- 2012 Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network commissioned paper (WTO agriculture transparency)
- 2012 OECD commissioned paper on regulatory transparency
- 2010 Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy and Competitiveness Research Network commissioned paper
- 2006-10 SSHRC Standard Research Grant
- 2008 Contracts with the Groupe d'Économie Mondiale, Sciences Po, Paris
- 2006 Centre for International Governance innovation commissioned paper
- 2006 contract with International Institute for Sustainable Development
- 2005 Canadian Agricultural Trade Policy Research Network commissioned paper
- 2004 contract with International Institute for Sustainable Development
- 2004 IRPP Canada-U.S. project (contract)
- 2003 IRPP Canada-U.S. project (contract)
- 2001 research grant from SSHRC on behalf of the Law Commission of Canada with Matthew Mendelsohn and Alisdair Roberts
- 2000 with Matthew Mendelsohn, contract from the Opinion Research and Media Analysis group of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
- 1998 grant in competition administered by SSHRC to participate in the Policy Research Initiative "Project on Trends"
- 1998 contract with the Canadian Centre for Management Development on behalf of the ADM Network on Regulation and Compliance.

- 1997 Contract with the Thai Development Research Institute through the John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, with financial support provided by the Canadian International Development Agency
- 1997 publication support for the project on the role of Heads of Diplomatic Missions, provided by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Service to the discipline

- Reviewed grant proposals for
 - SSHRC
 - FCAR
 - AUCC/CAPI
- Reviewed manuscripts for the following journals:
 - Canadian Foreign Policy
 - Canadian Journal of Political Science
 - Canadian Journal of Neurological Sciences
 - Canadian Public Policy
 - C.D. Howe Institute
 - Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy
 - Etudes Internationales
 - European Journal of International Relations
 - Food Policy
 - Global Governance
 - Global Policy
 - Global Society
 - Governance
 - International Journal
 - International Organization
 - International Politics
 - International Relations
 - International Review of Administrative Sciences
 - International Studies Quarterly
 - International Theory
 - Journal of International Relations and Development
 - Law and Policy
 - Law and Society Review
 - McGill Law Journal
 - New Political Economy
 - Public Administration
 - Review of International Political Economy
 - Review of International Studies
 - Science in Context
 - The World Economy
 - World Trade Review

- Reviewed Book manuscript for
University of Toronto Press

External Reviewer for a proposal for an interdisciplinary Master's programme in Public Policy Management (MPPM) at Simon Fraser University, December 2001.

Founding Vice-President of ISA-Canada, the Canadian section of the International Studies Association, 2000-3

Administrative Duties at Queen's

- 2017-19 Member, Speakers Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2016-17 Chair, Speakers Committee, and Policy@150, School of Policy Studies
- 2016-17 Renewal, Tenure and Promotion Committee, Admissions Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2014-15 Chair, Speakers Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2012-13 Lead drafter for the Cyclical Program Review of the MPA program
- 2012-13 Chair, Renewal, Tenure and Promotion Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2009-10 Chair, Renewal, Tenure and Promotion Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2002-8 MPA Program Director, School of Policy Studies
- 2005-8 Appointments Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2004-5 Chair, Senate Advisory Committee on the Southern African Research Centre (SARC)
- 2004-5 Appointments Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2002-4 Director Search committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2004-5 Coordinated preparation of the reports for the Internal Academic Review of the School of Policy Studies and the OCGS review of the MPA program
- 2003-4 Appointments Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 2002-3 Appointments Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 1999-00 Coordinator, Review of the Professional MPA program
- 1999-00 Faculty Information Technology coordinator, School of Policy Studies
- 1998 Revision to Policy Seminar guidelines
- 1997-05 Visitor's Committee, School of Policy Studies (chair 1998-99; 2000-01)
- 1999-00 Appointments Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 1998-99 Appointments Committee, School of Policy Studies
- 1996-00 Library Representative, School of Policy Studies
- 1996-97 Research Coordinator (acting director), Centre for International Relations

Service to the Community

2011-19 Member of the Rural Advisory Committee, City of Kingston

1997 Chair, Rural Affairs Transition Committee, Transition Board, “New” City of Kingston

1994-97 Chair, Glenburnie Residents Association