

14th Annual

# Queen's Institute on Trade Policy



Queen's  
UNIVERSITY

## Towards a Trade Strategy for the Indo-Pacific Region



October 24 - 26, 2022

 Queen's UNIVERSITY POLICY STUDIES

## **Queen's Institute on Trade Policy 2022**

October 24 – 26, 2022

### **Towards a Trade Strategy for the Indo-Pacific Region**

The world economy's centre of gravity is shifting inexorably towards the Indo-Pacific Region. Home to three of the world's most populous countries—China, India, and Indonesia—the rise of the region's middle class stands out as the proudest achievement of the past three decades of globalization and has created a highly lucrative consumer market. Moreover, the region plays a central role in many global supply chains. In recent years, China has joined South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Japan among the most innovative economies in the world.

However, the region is attracting attention not only due its economic potential; it has also become a site where the major economic powers compete over ideological allegiance, political influence, and technological pre-eminence. From the United States' attempts to deny Chinese companies access to the most advanced semi-conductors, to US and European efforts to bring India firmly into the Western camp, to China's aspirations to use the Belt-and-Road initiative not just to deepen trade ties in the region but also to lock in Chinese technical standards, strategic and economic considerations are inextricably intermingled.

This competition takes place against the backdrop of upheaval in trade policy more generally, as some of Canada's trading partners are increasingly questioning the bedrock assumptions and principles that have underpinned Western trade policy for the past decades, from the benefits of open trade to the importance of multilateral trade rules. The United States' increasing scepticism of the benefits of trade liberalization means that it is disinterested in rejoining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement on Trans-Pacific Partnership or in engaging in new market access negotiations as part of its proposed Indo-Pacific Economic Framework. And while the European Union remains committed to the multilateral system, it has been pursuing a more autonomous path on issues from carbon border adjustments to supply chain resilience. Canada's trading partners increasingly see trade policy as a means to pursue a broad range of policy objectives, from strengthening worker rights and increasing resilience to safeguarding national security and addressing the climate crisis, and are employing a variety of tools, including unilateral instruments and new forms of strategic and regulatory cooperation, to pursue them.

The purpose of the 2022 Queen's Institute on Trade Policy is to enhance the participants' understanding of these developments and of their implications for the design of a Canadian trade strategy for the Indo-Pacific region. The first part of the Institute will focus on the economic fundamentals of Canada's trade relationship with the region and will explore the challenges that Canadian firms will need to overcome in engaging more deeply with trading partners in the region. The second part will discuss the elements of a negotiating agenda and will highlight key themes that Canadian officials will need to address in negotiations with its partners in the region. The third part will discuss the multiple dimensions of the work of a trade negotiator.

# Agenda

## Monday, October 24

### 2:45 Introduction to the Institute

The presentation will provide an overview of the Institute and introduce the broader context in which Canada's economic engagement with the Indo-Pacific region unfolds. That context is marked by a backlash against economic globalization, particularly in the United States, and a reorientation of trade policy away from trade liberalization and towards the pursuit of various other policy objectives, such as resilience, sustainability, and national security.

**Nicolas Lamp**, Director, Queen's Institute on Trade Policy; Associate Professor, Faculty of Law, Queen's University

### *Part I: Setting the Scene*

### 3:30 The Economic Potential of Trade Integration with the Indo-Pacific Region

The presentation will examine what we can learn from economic models about the potential gains from trade integration with the Indo-Pacific Region. It will also survey practical ways through which trade agreements can help Canadian firms realize those gains. The presentation will give particular attention to the concepts of trade costs, as well recent attempts to reduce those costs through trade facilitation.

**Robert Koopman**, Distinguished Practitioner in Residence, School of International Service, American University; former Director, Economic and Research Division, World Trade Organization

### 4:15 Break

### 4:30 The Multiple Dimensions of Economic Engagement with the Indo-Pacific Region

Trade negotiations rarely run on a single track, but at a time when economic and strategic discussions are increasingly intermingled, the avenues of discussion multiply, from the World Trade Organization and various regional, plurilateral and bilateral trade initiatives to broader economic forums, such as the IMF, World Bank, and regional development banks to the G20, APEC, and ASEAN. The presentation will discuss the significance of and interaction between these various levels of engagement.

**Jonathan Fried**, Senior Advisor, Bennett Jones; former G20 Sherpa and Coordinator for International Economic Relations, Global Affairs Canada

### 5:15 Engaging with China in the Indo-Pacific Region

**Yeling Tan**, Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Oregon

### 6:00 End of the day and departure for dinner venue

### 7:00 Dinner and Evening Keynote: India's Role in the Future Trade Architecture of the Indo-Pacific Region

**Ujal Bhatia**, former Member, WTO Appellate Body; former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to the WTO

## Tuesday, October 25

### 9:00 **Understanding Supply Chains in the Indo-Pacific Region**

Supply chains in the Indo-Pacific region have been the focus of intense scrutiny in recent years, as governments attempt to remould them to achieve strategic and political objectives, while businesses must navigate a new set of risks, from pandemic restrictions to deepening geopolitical fault lines. The presentation will survey the various pressures on supply chains in the region and examine whether and how they are changing.

**Ari Van Assche**, Professor, HEC Montreal

### *Part II: Elements of a Negotiating Agenda*

### 9:45 **Data and Digital Services**

Data flows, e-commerce, and trade in digital services are central to discussions about the future of trade relations in the Indo-Pacific region. They not only present significant economic opportunities, but also represent one of the central strategic battlegrounds among the major economic powers. The presentation will survey the various agreements and negotiations bearing on the issue in the region, including the CPTPP, the US-Japan Digital Trade Agreement, the Digital Economic Partnership Agreement, and the US-led Indo-Pacific Economic Framework.

**Mira Burri**, Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Lucerne

### 10:30 **Break and small group seminar on the first pillar**

### 11:45 **“What’s in it for them?” Making Labour and Environment Chapters Attractive for Trading Partners in the Region**

Even as efforts to strengthen labour rights and environmental standards are becoming central to the trade agenda of Western governments, they are still seen with suspicion by many in the Global South. The presentation will survey the policies and practice on labour rights and the environment in trade agreements as they have evolved over the years and will discuss whether shift to sanctioning firms, rather than states, for violations of labour rights and environmental standards holds the potential of a greater alignment of interest among developed and developing country governments in the Indo-Pacific region.

**Kathleen Claussen**, Associate Professor, University of Miami School of Law

(continued...)

**12:30**      **Lunch**

**1:00**      **Lunch keynote:**  
**Addressing Economic Distortions in the Indo-Pacific Region:**  
**The Role of Industrial Subsidies and State-Owned Enterprises**

China's allegedly trade-distorting practices have been a central point of contention in the US-China trade war, prompting proposals to reform subsidy rules and tighten restrictions on state-owned enterprises to discipline China's model of state capitalism more effectively. Industrial subsidies and state-owned enterprises also play an important role in many other economies in the Indo-Pacific region. The presentation will present the OECD's work to identify the role of subsidies and state-owned enterprises in supply chains in the region and will survey the discussions taking place in various fora to reduce distortions in the world economy.

**Julia Nielson**, Deputy Director, Trade and Agriculture Directorate, OECD

**2:15**      **Agriculture and Food Security**

Agriculture has long been among the most contentious trade issues in the Indo-Pacific region. Negotiations in the World Trade Organization over further reductions to agricultural domestic support by the major subsidisers have been stalled since 2008, and deep disagreements about public stockholding for food security purposes has kept agriculture out of the package concluded at the WTO's 12<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Conference. The global food crisis triggered by high energy prices and aggravated by Russia's war against Ukraine has made the future of global agriculture an existential challenge for the international community. The presentation will survey efforts to address the food crisis and discuss the long-term outlook for the regulation of agricultural trade in the Indo-Pacific region.

**Ken Ash**, former Director, Trade and Agriculture Directorate, OECD

**3:00**      **Break and small group seminar on the second pillar**

**4:15**      **Navigating the New Phase of Geopolitical Competition in the**  
**Indo-Pacific Region: Australia's Experience**

Australia has been the canary in the coal mine for the new phase of geopolitical competition between the China and the West that has been playing out chiefly in the Indo-Pacific region. Australia was the first country to ban Huawei from its 5G network, suffered a collapse in Chinese student inflows that posed an existential threat to its higher education sector, and became subject to broad trade retaliation from China after the Australian prime minister suggested an international probe into the origins of COVID-19. Australia has also been at the forefront of forging military and economic ties in response to these developments, joining with the US and UK to forge the AUKUS defence pact and with India and Japan to form the Quad alliance. The presentation will discuss how Australia has learned to reassess the benefits and drawbacks of economic interdependence in the relationships with its trading partners in the Indo-Pacific region.

**Anthea Roberts**, Professor, School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet),  
College of Asia & the Pacific, Australian National University

**5:00**      **End of the day**

## Wednesday, October 26

**9:00**            **Morning keynote: US Trade Policy in the Indo-Pacific Region**

**Jennifer Hillman**, Professor of Practice, Georgetown Law Center

### *Part III: The Work of a Trade Negotiator*

**10:00**            **Negotiating Environmental Issues in the WTO:  
Lessons from the Fisheries Subsidies Negotiations**

The successful outcome in the negotiations on fisheries subsidies at the World Trade Organization at the WTO's 12<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Conference holds important lessons for the WTO's ability to address global commons problems that are of central importance to the Indo-Pacific Region. The presentation will discuss the role of countries from the region in the more than two-decades of negotiations in the multilateral trade regime and beyond.

**Alice Tipping**, Lead, Sustainable Trade and Fisheries Subsidies, International Institute for Sustainable Development

**10:45**            **Break**

**11:15**            **Developing a Negotiating Strategy**

The presentation will focus on how to formulate a trade strategy, including defensive vs offensive interests, and linkages with other issues, notably the analytic challenges of reconciling a 21st century trade policy agenda with traditional considerations for negotiators. The presentation will give particular attention to negotiations with developing countries and regional groupings that include both developed and developing countries, such as ASEAN. The presentation will discuss the challenges of negotiating with countries that do not necessarily share Canada's negotiating objectives and will address the question which purpose trade agreements (or other cooperative frameworks) can serve in these circumstances.

**Don Stephenson**, former Assistant Deputy Minister, Trade Policy & Negotiations

**12:00**            **Lunch**

**1:30**            **Trade Policy as a Tool of Foreign Policy**

The objective of trade policy has rarely just been to increase the economic pie; other foreign policy objectives are typically in play as well. However, these other objectives, which range from political influence and ideological alignment to technological competition and cooperation on defence matters, have lately increased in importance, especially in the Indo-Pacific region. The presentation will present the history of trade policy as foreign policy and reflect on what has and has not changed in recent years.

**Robert Wolfe**, Professor Emeritus, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University

**2:15**            **Break and small group seminar on the third pillar**

### 3:30 **Treaties as Data: Leveraging Technology to Support Trade Negotiators**

The presentation will showcase how technology can assist negotiators to efficiently handle complex legal information in the context of trade and investment negotiations. By treating treaties as data, analysts can track legal developments over time, compare new clauses to past agreements, and quickly identify points of convergence and divergence in the treaty practice of different states to anticipate disagreements or spot consensus areas. These insights, in turn, allow to scale legal analysis and help better prepare negotiations by streamlining, visualizing, and institutionalizing the management of legal information.

**Wolfgang Alschner**, Hyman Soloway Chair in Business and Trade Law, Associate Professor, Common Law Section with cross-appointment to the Faculty of Engineering, School of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, University of Ottawa; head, uOttawa Legal Technology Lab

### 4:15 **Presentation by a Senior Official**

The concluding session will provide an opportunity for an exchange of views with a senior official on the subject of the Institute.

**Jay Allen**, Director General, Trade Negotiations, Global Affairs Canada

### 5:00 **Institute ends**

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## Speakers

(in alphabetical order)



**Jay Allen** is Director General for Trade Negotiations at Global Affairs Canada and Chief Negotiator for Canada's trade negotiations with India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Jay has worked in trade policy since 2008 and has participated in many of Canada's trade negotiations, including those with the US and EU, and he served as Canada's Deputy Chief Negotiator for the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP).

Prior to joining Global Affairs Canada, Jay's work focused on corporate and insolvency law at Industry Canada from 1998 to 2006, and then as Insolvency Counsel with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. A lawyer by training, Jay holds a Doctor of Law (JD) and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science.



**Wolfgang Alschner** holds the Hyman Soloway Chair in Business and Trade Law at the University of Ottawa's Common Law Section with cross-appointment to the School of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science. He is an empirical legal scholar specialized in international economic law and the computational analysis of law. His new book, *Investment Arbitration and State-Driven Reform: New Treaties, Old Outcomes*, recently published with Oxford University Press (2022), explores how a new generation of international investment treaties has been rolled back in investment arbitration practice. Among his other roles and affiliations, Professor Alschner acts

as a co-editor of the *World Trade Review*, a member of the editorial board of the Journal of International Economic Law (JIEL) and a member of the Academic Council of the Institute for Transnational Arbitration (ITA). He also co-founded the Electronic Database of Investment Treaties (EDIT). Professor Alschner holds a PhD in International Law from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, a Master of Law from Stanford Law School, a Master in International Affairs from the Graduate Institute as well as an LLB from the University of London and a BA in International Relations from the University of Dresden, Germany.





**Ken Ash** is a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for International Trade, University of Adelaide, and Director of Ash Global Insights, offering advice to businesses and to governments on international trade and agricultural policies, with a focus on subsidy reform, supply chains, and global food systems.

Ken was Director of Trade and Agriculture at the OECD between 2008 and 2020, having served as Deputy Director since 1999. Ken led OECD efforts to provide evidence-based advice to governments, including in G7 and G20 groupings, with the aim of improving the domestic and international performance of trade, food, agriculture, and fisheries policies. During this period OECD expanded its annual agriculture policy monitoring and evaluation to 54 countries and 75% of global value-added, created internationally comparable policy data on trade facilitation, services trade, industrial subsidies, cross-border data flows, and export restrictions, and integrated trade and sectoral analysis into comprehensive structural policy advice to support economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable outcomes.

Prior to joining the OECD Ken had extensive experience in the Government of Canada. As Director General, Economic and Policy Analysis (1995-99) he provided strategic advice on agriculture and trade policies and on government-wide institutional reform. He holds both B. Comm and MBA degrees.



**Ujal Singh Bhatia** was appointed to the Appellate Body of the WTO in November 2011, where he served till March 2020. During this time, he was appointed Chairman of the Appellate Body for two years (2017 and 2018). Prior to his term with the Appellate Body, Mr. Bhatia served as India's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the WTO between 2004 and 2010.

Mr. Bhatia joined the Indian Administrative Service in 1974 and served in various capacities within the state of Odisha as well as in the central government in New Delhi. He spent two decades in Odisha in various administrative positions, but remembers his 6 years as District Magistrate of 3 districts in succession, most fondly. He also served as CMD of the Odisha Mining Corporation and MD of the Industrial Development Corporation. His last assignment in Odisha was as Secretary, Industry (2003-04).

In Delhi, Mr. Bhatia served in the Commerce Ministry for 5 years (1995-2000) and briefly in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry (2004), before moving to Geneva as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to the WTO. In the Commerce Ministry, he dealt with several trade negotiations at the bilateral and regional levels. He was the Chief Negotiator for India for the India-Sri Lanka FTA (ISLFTA), as well as the South Asian FTA (SAFTA).

As Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the WTO, Mr. Bhatia represented India in various negotiations under the Doha Round. He also represented India before the Appellate Body in a number of disputes.

Mr. Bhatia is presently an Honorary Professor at the National Law University, Delhi, and Advisor to the Council on Economic Policies, Zurich. He is also a member of the Sustainability Advisory Board of Eisai Co. Ltd, Japan.



**Mira Burri** is Professor of International Economic and Internet Law at the Faculty of Law of the University of Lucerne, Switzerland. She teaches international intellectual property, media, internet and trade law. Mira's current research interests are in the areas of digital trade, copyright, data protection and data governance. Mira is the principal investigator of the project 'Trade Law 4.0: Trade Law for the Data-Driven Economy', financed by the European Research Council (2021-2026). She consults the European Parliament, UNESCO, WEF and others on issues of digital innovation.

Mira has co-edited the publications *Trade Governance in the Digital Age* (Cambridge University Press 2012) and *Big Data and Global Trade Law* (Cambridge University Press 2021). She is the author of *Public Service Broadcasting 3.0* (Routledge 2015). Mira's publications are available at: <http://ssrn.com/author=483457>





**Kathleen Claussen** is Professor of Law at the University of Miami. She is the author of more than 40 articles and essays concerning trade, investment, and international dispute settlement, among other related research areas. She has also served as counsel or arbitrator in over two dozen international disputes. Among other leadership roles, she has served on the Executive Council and Executive Committee of the American Society of International Law and is co-Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of International Economic Law*. Prior to joining the academy, Professor Claussen was Associate General Counsel at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Earlier in her career, she was Legal Counsel at the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague covering disputes between countries and investment law arbitrations. She is a graduate of the Yale Law School, Queen's University Belfast where she was a Mitchell Scholar, and Indiana University where she was a Wells Scholar.



**Elaine Feldman** is a Senior Fellow in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa. Before retiring from public service in 2013, she was President of the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency. Prior to that, Elaine held a number of positions at Foreign Affairs and International Trade, in Ottawa and abroad, including Assistant Deputy Minister for North America (Ottawa, 2008-2010) and Deputy Permanent Representative of Canada to the World Trade Organization (Geneva, 1995-2000).

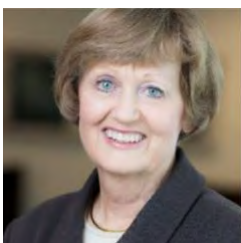
During her career in the federal public service, Elaine led a number of trade negotiations, including the negotiations over softwood lumber with the United States and the free trade negotiations with Mercosur and the Free Trade Area of the Americas. Elaine served as Vice-Chair of the Canadian International Trade Tribunal from 2005-2007.

She has been Chair or a panelist on six WTO dispute settlement panels and is a member of the rosters for CUSMA disputes and for the CETA chapter on Environmental disputes.



**Jonathan Fried's** distinguished diplomatic career for Canada has spanned law, economics and trade, including as G20 Sherpa; Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the WTO; Ambassador to Japan; Executive Director for Canada, Ireland and the Caribbean at the IMF; Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister; Senior Assistant Deputy Minister for the Department of Finance and Canada's G7 and G20 Finance Deputy. He was formerly Canada's Chief Negotiator on China's WTO accession; chief counsel for NAFTA; and Counsellor for Congressional and Legal Affairs at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC.

Mr. Fried is now an independent consultant. He is a Senior Associate (non-resident) to the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC and is one of two Lead Advisors to the World Economic Forum's International Trade and Investment Platform. He also serves on the Board of Directors of the Health Standards Organization (formerly Accreditation Canada), and the Advisory Boards of the Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment, the World Trade Symposium, and the Central and East European Law Institute. Mr. Fried received his B.A. and LL.B. from the University of Toronto, and LL.M. from Columbia University.



**Jennifer A. Hillman** is currently a professor of practice at the Georgetown Law Center, teaching the lead courses in international business and international trade, while serving as a fellow of Georgetown's Institute of International Economic Law (IIEL). She is also co-director of the Center for Inclusive Trade and Development and served as a panelist for the second dispute under the USMCA (updated NAFTA)—a dispute between the United States and Canada over the application of US safeguard measures to imports of solar panels. She recently published *Legal Aspects of Brexit: Implications of the United Kingdom's Decision to Withdraw from the European Union* (IIEL 2017), drawn from a seminar she co-taught in the fall of 2016. She has also written extensively about international trade law and the WTO, including a 2017 IIEL Policy Brief on the WTO consistency of the Ryan-Brady "A Better Way" tax

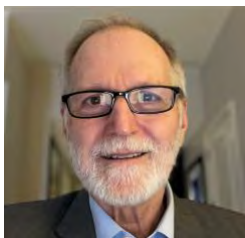
proposal, co-authoring the leading casebook on trade, *International Trade Law, 3rd ed.*, Wolters Kluwer (2016), papers on recent WTO cases on sanitary and phytosanitary measures (World Trade Review) and “*Changing Climate for Carbon Taxes*” (GMFUS.org).

Hillman has had a distinguished career in public service, both nationally and internationally. She recently completed her term as one of seven members from around the world serving on the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) Appellate Body. Prior to that, she served for nine years as a commissioner at the United States International Trade Commission (USITC), rendering decisions in more than six hundred investigations regarding injury to U.S. industries caused by imports that were dumped or subsidized, along with making numerous decisions in cases involving alleged patent or trademark infringement. Before her appointment to the USITC, Hillman served as general counsel at the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR), where she had previously been an ambassador and chief textiles negotiator. She also served as legislative director and counsel to U.S. Senator Terry Sanford of North Carolina.

Hillman formerly served as a partner in the law firm of Cassidy Levy Kent, a senior transatlantic fellow for the German Marshall Fund of the United States, as president of the Trade Policy Forum and on the selection panel for the Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the board of visitors at the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. She is a graduate of the Harvard Law School and Duke University.



**Valerie Hughes** is Senior Counsel with Bennett Jones International Trade and Investment Group where she advises on international trade and investment law. Valerie spent 22 years with the Government of Canada, holding senior positions with Global Affairs Canada, Finance Canada, and Justice Canada. She also served as Director of the Legal Affairs Division at the WTO and Director of the WTO Appellate Body Secretariat. Valerie has served as a WTO panelist and as counsel before international courts and tribunals including the International Court of Justice, WTO panels and the Appellate Body, and the first NAFTA investor-State arbitration tribunal. She is a member of the dispute settlement rosters of the CUSMA and the CPTPP and is a member of the pool of arbitrators for the WTO interim appellate mechanism (MPIA). She is also on the EU list of candidates suitable for appointment as Chairperson in international trade disputes under EU trade agreements. Valerie has taught international trade law at Queen’s University, the University of Melbourne, the University of Barcelona International Economic Law and Policy Master of Laws Program, and at the World Trade Institute at the University of Berne. She has written widely on international law and dispute settlement.



**Robert Koopman** is Hurst Senior Professorial Lecturer in the School of International Service at American University, Washington, DC. He was formerly the Chief Economist of the World Trade Organization and a Professor at the Graduate Institute in Geneva. As Chief Economist at the WTO Bob provided the Secretariat and Member Countries with analysis and information that promotes a deeper understanding of trade and trade policy’s role in economic growth and development. Bob also served as the WTO representative to the G20 Trade and Investment Working Group and the Framework Working Group. From 1999 to 2014 Bob served as Chief Operating Office and Chief Economist at the United States International Trade Commission. From 1985 to 1999 Bob held various leadership and research posts at the United States Department of Agriculture and working on global agricultural trade issues and overseeing USDA’s social science research and education portfolio with Land Grant Universities. He is a research associate of CEPR, London and an editor of the Springer Series on Advances in Applied General Equilibrium Modeling.



**Nicolas Lamp** is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Law at Queen's University in Canada, where he is also cross-appointed to the School of Policy Studies and serves as the Director of the Queen's Annual Institute on Trade Policy, a professional training course for Canadian trade officials. Prior to joining Queen's, Dr Lamp worked as a Dispute Settlement Lawyer at the Appellate Body Secretariat of the World Trade Organization. His current research focuses on competing narratives about the winners and losers from economic globalization and their implications for trade policy. His co-authored book (with Anthea Roberts) *"Six Faces of Globalization: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why It Matters"* was published by Harvard University Press in September 2021. Dr Lamp holds a PhD in Law and an LLM from the London School of Economics and Political Science and degrees in International Relations from the Universities of Dresden and Bremen in Germany.



**Andrew (Sandy) Moroz** worked in the International Trade Policy Branch of Global Affairs Canada (GAC) on a wide range of goods trade issues from 1987 to 2013. His positions included Director of the Import Control Division, Director of the Trade Remedies Division, and Director of the Goods Market Access Division. He also served as Councillor in Canada's Mission to the World Trade Organization in Geneva from 1997 to 2002. His negotiating positions included lead rules of origin negotiator in the NAFTA and Canada-Israel FTA negotiations, and co-lead market access negotiator in the Canada-Chile FTA, Canada-India FTA, CETA and TPP negotiations. Prior to joining GAC, Sandy did research on trade policy issues at the Institute for Research on Public Policy. Since retiring in 2013, he has published a number of articles on rules of origin, and conducted various training sessions on trade negotiations. He has a Honours BA in Economics from the University of Waterloo, and a Masters in Economics from Carleton University.



As Deputy Director of the Trade and Agriculture Directorate (TAD), **Julia Nielson** helps oversee work to develop and communicate evidence-based advice to governments with the aim of helping them improve the domestic and international performance of their policies on trade, food, agriculture and fisheries. Ms. Nielson has over 25 years' experience in multilateral trade and development, strategy and management. She was previously Head of the Emerging Policy Issues Division in TAD, prior to which she worked for the World Bank Group (WBG), including in the office of the then-President, Bob Zoellick. Ms. Nielson began her international career in the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, following which she joined the OECD Trade Directorate, working on trade in services. Ms Nielson holds a Bachelor of Arts Hons (1st class) and a Masters in Foreign Affairs and Trade from the Australian National University.



**John O'Neill** (B.Comm 1978, St. Mary's University; MBA 1987, Dalhousie University) has had an extensive private sector and public service career including management positions in the construction industry in Nova Scotia and public service positions with Revenue Canada - Customs and Excise, the Canadian International Trade Tribunal, the Department of Finance and Global Affairs Canada. While with Finance Canada, John O'Neill was Canada's lead negotiator for trade remedy issues including lead negotiator for Canada in the WTO Negotiating Group on Rules. Upon joining the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, John O'Neill was Director of Softwood Lumber Controls, then Director of the Investment Trade Policy Division, responsible for the negotiation of Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements and investment chapters in Free Trade Agreements, as well as for the policy management of Canada's interests in investor to State dispute settlement claims. In 2012, he became Director General for North American Trade Policy, responsible for trade remedy issues, softwood lumber, investment trade policy and North American trade policy issues. In 2014 when he was posted to Canada's Permanent Mission in Geneva as Canada's Deputy Permanent Representative to the World Trade Organization, a position John held until his retirement from the Public Service in 2019.





**Anthea Roberts** is a Professor at the School of Regulation and Global Governance in the Australian National University (ANU). She is an interdisciplinary researcher and legal scholar who focuses on new ways of thinking about complex and evolving global fields. Her research areas include international law, trade and investment, the effect of geopolitical change on global governance, and understanding and navigating complex systems.

Anthea is the Director of the ANU Centre for International Governance and Justice and chairs the ANU Geoeconomics Working Group. She is a Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School and formerly taught at the London School of Economics, Columbia Law School and Harvard Law School.

In 2019, the League of Scholars named Anthea the world's leading international law scholar and Australia's leading law scholar. Her latest co-authored book *Six Faces of Globalization* (2021) with Harvard University Press was listed as one of the Best Books of the Year by the Financial Times and Fortune Magazine. Anthea's first book *Is International Law International?* (2017) won numerous prizes and was Oxford University Press's top-selling law monograph worldwide in 2017-2018.



**Don Stephenson** began his Public Service career in 1979, working in cultural policy for ten years at the Department of Communications. He moved into economic policy, at Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Industry Canada and Western Economic Diversification, before returning to cultural policy, as Director General, Cultural Industries, Heritage Canada, where he led the negotiations with the US on the WTO split-run magazine dispute. He was appointed Director General, Trade Policy at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and then served for two years as Assistant Secretary to Cabinet, Economic and Regional Development

Policy, Privy Council Office. In 2004, he was appointed Ambassador to the World Trade Organization, serving as Chair of the goods negotiations in the Doha Round until 2008. Don returned to become Assistant Deputy Minister, Trade Policy and Negotiations, until his retirement in late 2011 and continued to serve as Chief Negotiator for the Canada-India Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement until 2018. Don lectures frequently on trade policy, trade negotiations and public policy development, and serves as trade and investment advisor to the Expert Deployment Mechanism for Trade and Development, a trade-related technical assistance program delivered under contract for Global Affairs Canada. He is married to Jocelyne Béland, has two children and [two] grandchildren.



**Yeling Tan** is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Oregon. She is also a non-resident senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and a non-resident scholar at UC San Diego's 21st Century China Center. She holds a PhD in Public Policy and an MPA in International Development from Harvard University, and a BA in International Relations and Economics from Stanford University. Dr. Tan's work has been published in *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Review of International Organizations, Governance, the China Journal and Global Policy*. Her latest book is *Disaggregating China, Inc: State Strategies in the Liberal Economic Order*,

which has won the Peter Katzenstein book award and the Leggold book prize. She has also written for *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy* and *The Washington Post's* Monkey Cage blog.



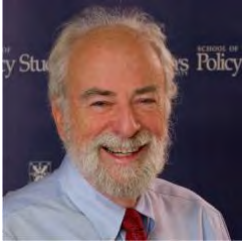
**Alice Tipping** is Lead, Sustainable Trade and Fisheries Subsidies at the International Institute for Sustainable Development. She has designed and led highly respected programmes of research and policy dialogues on trade and environment issues, particularly on fisheries subsidies. She has a deep understanding of the intersection of foreign policy, law and environmental protection that's informed by roles in government and in managing policy-relevant research.

Previous roles to IISD include Programme Manager, Environment and Natural Resources for the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD), Policy Advisor to New Zealand's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, Second Secretary and Legal Adviser to New Zealand's Permanent Mission to the World Trade Organization (WTO), and Policy Advisor and Legal Advisor at New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Alice Tipping has a Master of Philosophy in International Relations from Cambridge University (United Kingdom) and Bachelor of Laws and Bachelor of Commerce and Administration (Economics) from Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand).



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