

## CONTENTS

<i>List of Plates</i>	page viii
<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	x
<i>Foreword</i>	xiii
WTO DIRECTOR-GENERAL ROBERTO AZEVÊDO	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Disclaimer</i>	xx
1 Making Trade Multilateralism Work for All: The Role of WTO Accessions	1
ALEXEI KIREYEV AND CHIEDU OSAKWE	
<b>PART I WTO Accessions and the New Trade Multilateralism 27</b>	
2 The WTO and the Changing State of the Global Economy	29
ALEXEI KIREYEV	
3 The Art and Science of Negotiation: De-politicizing and Technicizing Negotiations	55
MICHELINE CALMY-REY AND SVENJA RAUCH	
4 The Accession of Kazakhstan: Dealing with Complexity	70
ALEXEI KIREYEV, CHIEDU OSAKWE AND ANNA VARYANIK	
5 Helping Businesses Navigate WTO Accession	81
ARANCHA GONZÁLEZ	

- 6 WTO Rules, Accession Protocols and Mega-Regionals: Complementarity and Governance in the Rules-Based Global Economy 98  
MAŠA LEKIĆ AND CHIEDU OSAKWE
- 7 Promoting Good Governance: From Encouraging a Principle to Taking Concrete Action – Examples from WTO Accession Protocols and the WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement 150  
JUNEYOUNG LEE, NORA NEUFELD AND ANNA VARYANIK
- 8 Transforming Accessions Data into Knowledge 175  
HUBERT ESCAITH, CHIEDU OSAKWE, VICKY CHEMUTAI AND YING YAN
- PART II Negotiators' Perspectives on the WTO Accession Process 205**
- 9 Accession of Liberia: An Agenda for Transformation 207  
ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF AND AXEL M. ADDY
- 10 Afghanistan's Accession: Challenged by Conflict 224  
HUMAYOON RASAW
- 11 The WTO Accession of Seychelles: Lessons from a Small Island Economy 235  
PIERRE LAPORTE, CHARLES MORIN AND CILLIA MANGROO
- 12 WTO Accession Negotiations from a Negotiator's Perspective 250  
ATSUYUKI OIKE
- PART III Accessions Acquis: Thematic Perspectives and Implementation Challenges 267**
- 13 How Post-TRIPS Negotiations Reframe the 'Trade-Related Aspects' of Intellectual Property after TRIPS: The Lessons of WTO Accessions 269  
ANTONY TAUBMAN
- 14 Competition Policy in WTO Accessions: Filling in the Blanks in the International Trading System 299  
ROBERT D. ANDERSON, ANNA CAROLINE MÜLLER AND NIVEDITA SEN

- 15 Geographical Indications in the Accessions Landscape 320  
TATIANA YANGUAS ACOSTA
- 16 WTO Accession Commitments on Agriculture: Lessons for  
WTO Rule-Making 339  
DIWAKAR DIXIT
- 17 The WTO-Plus Obligations: Dual Class or a Strengthened  
System? 357  
NANNAN GAO AND FANGYING ZHENG
- 18 Accession Protocols and the Private Sector 369  
JOSEFITA PARDO DE LEÓN AND MARIAM SOUMARÉ
- 19 Post-Accession Support Platform 387  
MAIKA OSHIKAWA
- 20 Conclusion: Trade Multilateralism – Enhancing Flexibility,  
Preserving the Momentum 405  
ALEXEI KIREYEV AND CHIEDU OSAKWE
- Contributor Biographies* 409  
*Index* 424

*Plates appear between pages 232 and 233*

## FOREWORD

At the launch of the first volume of our collection on accessions in September 2015, I said that our work in this area was a major success story for the organization. That remains the case today. Since then we have welcomed another three new members to the WTO, taking the membership to 164. As of early 2017 there were twenty-one ongoing WTO accessions, including eight least-developed countries. In total, fifty-seven applicants have expressed their interest in joining the WTO through the Article XII process since its establishment in 1995.

Empirical evidence suggests that the WTO accession process, which normally entails a range of domestic reforms, has had an overall positive impact on the economic performance of the participants. Looking at the remaining accessions, which involve a large number of economies that are dominated by a relatively narrow range of export products, the agenda for structural reforms will be vital for economic diversification, increased competitiveness, private sector development and improvements in the business environment and governance. In this way, the accessions process can make a significant contribution to the overall goal of faster growth, development and job creation.

The 2015 book *WTO Accessions and Trade Multilateralism: Case Studies and Lessons from the WTO at Twenty* (WTO/Cambridge University Press) was focused on the contributions of accessions to the multilateral trading system and the impact of accession on recently acceded WTO members. This follow-up volume *Trade Multilateralism in the Twenty-First Century: Building the Upper Floors of the Trading System Through WTO Accessions* draws on recent accession experiences to distil the impact of accessions on the constantly evolving architecture of the multilateral trading system.

This book pulls together a wide range of topics related to the impact of accessions and it draws on a broad range of contributors – from politicians and chief negotiators to academics and trade practitioners. All of them have been directly involved in the accession process and are

uniquely placed to provide new insights on how accessions can help to reshape trade multilateralism for the twenty-first century.

The contributions contained in these pages are directed towards a broad audience of international trade and economic policy-makers, practitioners and scholars in related fields, as well as business people. I am sure that it will be of particular interest to WTO members, observers and governments assessing their prospects of joining the WTO, as well as everybody who is interested in the future of trade and the multilateral trading system.

I congratulate everyone who has been involved in producing this book – particularly the contributors and the editors. It is an excellent contribution to the debate on an important aspect of the work of the WTO.

Roberto Azevêdo  
WTO Director-General