



RETHINKING WORLD TRADE 2023

Organized by the Center on Inclusive Trade and Development
Georgetown Law

Thursday, April 13, 2023
8:30 am – 5:30 pm
500 1st St NW, Washington, DC 20001

CITD is proud to present its first annual signature conference, Rethinking World Trade 2023 on the margins of the World Bank/IMF meetings. The Center is bringing together thought leaders from around the world in the international trade, development, research, and lead discussions among invited participants from the corporate, labor, development, think tank, policy-making, NGO, and international institutions community on the critical inclusive trade issues of the day.

Jennifer Hillman
Co-Director CITD



Katrin Kuhlmann
Co-Director CITD



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RETHINKING WORLD TRADE 2023

CITD Co-Directors



Jennifer Hillman

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).



Katrin Kuhlmann

Katrin Kuhlmann is currently a Visiting Professor of Law at Georgetown Law Center, where she is also the Co-Director of the Center on Inclusive Trade and Development. She teaches courses in law, development, and international trade, and she is the faculty director of the WTO and International Trade Law Certificate program. Professor Kuhlmann has over twenty-five years of experience in international law, development, and trade. Her work and research focus on trade and development, regional trade agreements, trade and gender, inclusive agricultural trade, comparative economic law, and the interdisciplinary connections between law and development.

In 2010, Professor Kuhlmann founded the New Markets Lab (NML), of which she remains president, a non-profit law and development innovation lab focused on inclusive legal and regulatory design, field-based law and development programs, and capacity building among lawyers and non-lawyers in economic law and regulation. She is also a Senior Associate with the Global Food Security Program of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and she serves as a member of the Trade Advisory Committee on Africa of the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR).



RETHINKING WORLD TRADE 2023

Keynote Speakers



Anabel González **Deputy Director-General** **World Trade Organization**

Anabel González is a renowned global expert on trade, investment and economic development with a proven managerial track record in international organizations and the public sector. In government, Ms Gonzalez served as Minister of Foreign Trade of Costa Rica; as Director-General for International Trade Negotiations; as Director-General of the Costa Rican Investment Promotion Agency (CINDE); and as Special Ambassador and Chief negotiator of the US-Central America-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement. Ms Gonzalez also served at the World Bank as a Senior Director, the WTO as Director of the Agriculture and Commodities Division and as Senior Consultant with the Inter-American Development Bank. More recently, Ms Gonzalez has worked as a NonResident Senior Fellow with the Peterson Institute for International Economics. Ms Gonzalez obtained her master's degree from Georgetown University Law Center with the highest academic distinction and has published extensively on economic issues and trade.



Richard Baldwin

Professor, International Economics **Co-Director, Centre of Trade and** **Economic Integration**

Richard Baldwin is Professor of International Economics at the Graduate Institute, Geneva since 1991, and Editor-in-Chief of Vox since he founded it in June 2007. He was President/Director of CEPR (2014-2018), and a visiting professor at Oxford (2012-2015), and MIT (2003). In terms of government service, he was a Senior Staff Economist for the President's Council of Economic Advisors in the Bush Administration (1990-1991) on leave from Columbia University Business School where he was Associate Professor. He did his PhD in Economics at MIT with Paul Krugman with whom he has co-authored several articles. He advises governments and international organization around the world, and is the author of numerous books and articles on international trade, globalization, regionalism, and European integration. His 2016 book, *The Great Convergence: Information Technology and the New Globalization*, was listed by Lawrence Summers as one of the five most important books on globalization ever. His latest book, *The Globotics Upheaval: Globalization, Robotics, and the Future of Work*, was published in February 2019.



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Keynote Speakers



Sarah Bianchi

Deputy United States Trade Representative

Ambassador Sarah Bianchi currently serves as Deputy United States Trade Representative, overseeing Asia, Africa, Investment, Services, Textiles, and Industrial Competitiveness. Ms. Bianchi has spent nearly a decade in government roles in economic and domestic policy including in the Office of the Vice President, the White House Domestic Policy Council, the Office of Management and Budget and the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee.

In 2011, Ms. Bianchi was appointed by then Vice President Biden as his head of economic and domestic policy where she coordinated all policy initiatives ranging from workforce competitiveness to manufacturing to budget negotiations. She also served as Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy. Ms. Bianchi has also served as a senior advisor to the Biden Institute at the University of Delaware where she worked on a variety of economic policies and served as Chair of the Institute's Policy Advisory Board.

Ms. Bianchi has served in a number of private sector roles as well. Most recently, she worked at Evercore ISI as a senior managing director in the macroeconomic research group where she led United States public policy research. She graduated magna cum laude from Harvard University in 1995 and served on the Senior Advisory Committee at the Institute of Politics at Harvard University from 2004 to 2021.



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Edward Alden

**Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow
Council on Foreign Relations**

Edward Alden is Bernard L. Schwartz senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), specializing in U.S. economic competitiveness, trade, and immigration policy. He is the author of the book *Failure to Adjust: How Americans Got Left Behind in the Global Economy*, which focuses on the federal government's failure to respond effectively to competitive challenges on issues such as trade, currency, worker retraining, education, and infrastructure.

Alden recently served as the project director of a CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force, co-chaired by former Michigan Governor John Engler and former U.S. Secretary of Commerce Penny Pritzker, which produced the report *The Work Ahead: Machines, Skills, and U.S. Leadership in the Twenty-First Century*. In 2011, he was the project codirector of the Independent Task Force that produced *U.S. Trade and Investment Policy*. In 2009, he was the project director of the Independent Task Force that produced *U.S. Immigration Policy*.



Amrita Bahri

**Assistant Professor of Law; Deputy
Director, Centre for International
Economic Law, ITAM**

Amrita Bahri, who is currently an Assistant Professor of Law at ITAM University, is an international trade law scholar with the experience of practice, teaching and research. She is the Deputy Director for the Centre of International Economic Law at ITAM. She has a PhD in International Trade Law from University of Birmingham and an LLM in International Business Law from London School of Economics.

Amrita has published on the issues of international trade law, dispute settlement and capacity building in developing countries. Her recent articles feature in the prestigious journals such as the *Journal of World Trade* and *Trade, Law & Development*. Her other works, in the form of a book and book chapters, are published by prestigious publishers such as Cambridge University Press and Edward Elgar.



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Nadia Bourély

**Minister Counsellor for Economic and Trade Policy
Embassy of Canada**

Nadia Bourély leads the Embassy's economic and trade policy team. Prior to joining the Embassy in February 2020, Ms. Bourély held various positions at Global Affairs Canada, including Director for Trade Policy and Negotiations, Senior Legal Counsel in the Trade Law Bureau and Deputy Director for Strategic Policy Planning. She was also Senior Analyst for the Americas at the Foreign Affairs Secretariat of the Privy Council Office. Ms. Bourély served abroad as Senior Trade Commissioner and Counsellor at the Embassy of Canada to the Republic of Indonesia and as First Secretary at Canada's Mission to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Prior to joining Global Affairs Canada, Ms. Bourély worked in private legal practice in Montréal, Québec, and at the Secretariat for Legal Affairs of the Organization of American States in Washington D.C.



Mira Burri

**Senior Lecturer and Managing Director
for Internationalization at the Faculty
of Law of the University of Lucerne**

Mira Burri is responsible for advancing the internationalization strategy of the Faculty, expanding and improving our international academic programme, our network of partner institutions and the mobility opportunities for Lucerne-based and incoming students. She will be also adding a new set of courses to the Faculty's curriculum and teaching International Law of Contemporary Media, Digital Copyright, Internet Law and International Intellectual Property Law.

Prior to joining the University of Lucerne, Mira Burri was a senior fellow at the World Trade Institute at the University of Bern, where she led a project on digital technologies and trade governance as part of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR): Trade Regulation.



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Chantal Line Carpentier

**Chief, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
New York office of the Secretary-General**

Dr. Chantal Line Carpentier currently serves as Chief, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) New York office of the Secretary-General. Prior to 2014, as Major Groups Coordinator for the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) Division for Sustainable Development, she facilitated the engagement of and consultation with worldwide non-State actors (NGOs, women's groups, business and industry, etc.) in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) negotiations and the UN Rio+20 Conference. As Sustainable Development Officer for DESA (2007-2010), she served as focal point for food security and sustainable agriculture and sustainable consumption and production (SCP) where she successfully supported the negotiations of the 10 Year Framework of Program on SCP, now SDG12.

Starting May 1st, she will serve as Chief Trade, Environment, Climate Change, Sustainable Development UNCTAD Trade and Commodities Division.



Anupam Chander

**Scott K. Ginsburg Professor of Law and Technology
Georgetown Law**

Professor Chander is an expert on the global regulation of new technologies. A graduate of Harvard College and Yale Law School, he clerked for Chief Judge Jon O. Newman of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and Judge William A. Norris of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. He practiced law in New York and Hong Kong with Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton. He has been a visiting law professor at Yale, the University of Chicago, Stanford, Cornell, and Tsinghua. He previously served as the Director of the California International Law Center and Martin Luther King, Jr. Professor of Law at UC Davis.

A member of the American Law Institute, he has also served on the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law, where he co-founded the International Law and Technology Interest Group. The author of *The Electronic Silk Road* (Yale University Press), he serves as a judge of the Stanford Junior International Faculty Forum. A recipient of Google Research Awards and an Andrew Mellon grant on the topic of surveillance, he has served on ICTSD/World Economic Forum expert groups on the digital economy.



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Kimberly Clausing

**Eric M. Zolt Chair in Tax Law and Policy
UCLA**

Kimberly Clausing holds the Eric M. Zolt Chair in Tax Law and Policy. During the first part of the Biden Administration, Clausing was the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Analysis in the US Department of the Treasury, serving as the lead economist in the Office of Tax Policy. Prior to coming to UCLA, Clausing was the Thormund A. Miller and Walter Mintz Professor of Economics at Reed College.

Her research studies the taxation of multinational firms, examining how government decisions and corporate behavior interplay in the global economy. She has published numerous articles in this area, and she is the author of *Open: The Progressive Case for Free Trade, Immigration, and Global Capital* (Harvard University Press, 2019).



Yann Duval

**Chief, Trade Facilitation Unit, Trade and Investment Division
United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)**

Since joining ESCAP in 2002, Mr. Duval has designed and delivered capacity building programmes and advisory services on trade policy and facilitation throughout the ESCAP region, including the trade facilitation segment of the Regional WTO Trade Policy Course at the National University of Singapore. He currently leads the activities of the United Nations Network of Experts for Paperless Trade in Asia and the Pacific (UNNExT), a community of experts dedicated to making trade more transparent and efficient through electronic exchange of information. Dr. Duval has been instrumental in the creation and development of the Asia-Pacific Research and Training Network on Trade (ARTNeT), a network of leading research and academic institutions in developing countries of the region aiming at building capacity in trade and investment policy and facilitation research for evidence-based policy making.



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Henry Gao

CIGI Senior Fellow and Law Professor at Singapore Management University

With law degrees from three continents, Henry Gao started his career as the first Chinese lawyer at the World Trade Organization (WTO) Secretariat. Before moving to Singapore in late 2007, he taught law at the University of Hong Kong, where he was also deputy director of the East Asian International Economic Law and Policy (IELPO) program. He has taught at the IELPO program in Barcelona, Spain, and the Academy of International Trade Law in Macau, and was the academic coordinator for the first Asia-Pacific Regional Trade Policy Course officially sponsored by the WTO.

Henry has been an adviser on trade issues for many national governments as well as the WTO, United Nations, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, European Union and World Economic Forum.



Ed Gresser

Vice President and Director for Trade and Global Markets at PPI

Ed Gresser is Vice President and Director for Trade and Global Markets at PPI. He most recently served as the Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Trade Policy and Economics at the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR). In this position, he led USTR's economic research unit from 2015-2021, and chaired the 21-agency Trade Policy Staff Committee.

Ed began his career on Capitol Hill before serving USTR as Policy Advisor to USTR Charlene Barshefsky from 1998 to 2001. He then led PPI's Trade and Global Markets Project from 2001 to 2011. After PPI, he co-founded and directed the independent think tank Progressive Economy until rejoining USTR in 2015. In 2013, the Washington International Trade Association presented him with its Lighthouse Award, awarded annually to an individual or group for significant contributions to trade policy.



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Mona Haddad

**Global Director
Trade, Investment & Competitiveness
World Bank**

Ms. Haddad, a Lebanese national, joined the Bank in 1992 as a Young Professional and has since held various positions across the institution. In her most recent assignment as Director of the Country Economics and Engagement department at the International Finance Corporation, she led the development of the Country Private Sector Diagnostics. Before this, she was also the Practice Manager of the Trade and Competitiveness Global Practice in East Asia and Sector Manager of the International Trade Department.



Nadia Hasham

**Trade Policy Expert at the African Trade
Policy Centre of the United Nations
Economic Commission for Africa**

Nadia Hasham manages the gender and trade portfolio, particularly around gender mainstreaming, knowledge generation, and capacity building relating to the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) Agreement. She also works on digital and sustainable trade facilitation and contributes to national AfCFTA implementation strategies. Prior to this, Nadia was Senior Data Analyst at the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs contributing to strategic initiatives to provide evidence to decision-makers.

Nadia was previously based in Sierra Leone as a Country Economist for International Growth Centre (IGC) at the London School of Economics, working with the government on evidence-based economic policy.



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Deborah James

**Director of International Programs
Center for Economic and Policy Research**

Deborah James is the Director of International Programs at the Center for Economic and Policy Research and coordinates the global Our World Is Not for Sale (OWINFS) network. Ms. James has over twenty years of expertise working on issues of trade and democratic global governance. At CEPR, her work focuses on the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and US policy towards Latin America.

Prior to CEPR, she was the Director of the WTO Program of Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, where she worked to inform civil society and governments worldwide about the potential impacts of the WTO's proposed Doha Round expansion.

She was also the Global Economy Director of Global Exchange, where she did similar work around the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas.



Barbara Kotschwar

**Senior Director
Global Government Relations Division
VISA**

Dr. Barbara Kotschwar is currently a Senior Director in the Global Government Relations Division of VISA. Immediately prior to assuming this post, she worked for three years as a Senior Private Sector Specialist at the World Bank. Ms. Kotschwar is also adjunct professor of Latin American studies and economics at Georgetown University, where she teaches courses on political economy and trade and integration in the Americas.

Ms. Kotschwar served as a research fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics from 2007 to October 2015. Her research focused on trade, investment, and regional integration. Her projects included comparative analyses of Latin American experiences with free trade agreements, Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) in Latin America, an assessment of Mexico's economy, and studies on commercial relations between the United States and Middle East and North Africa (MENA) partners.



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Florizelle Liser

**President and CEO
Corporate Council on Africa**

Florizelle (Florie) Liser is the third President and CEO of CCA. Ms. Liser brings expertise and an extensive network on trade and Africa to her new role, along with a strong track record of working with the private sector to translate policy into action. She is the first woman to lead the Council since its founding in 1993.

Ms. Liser joined CCA from the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), where she was the Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Africa since 2003. At USTR, she led trade and investment policy towards 49 sub-Saharan African nations and oversaw implementation of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).

Previously, Ms. Liser served as Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Industry, Market Access, and Telecommunications from 2000-2003. She also served as Senior Trade Policy Advisor in the Office of International Transportation and Trade at the Department of Transportation from 1987-2000; worked as a Director in USTR's Office of GATT Affairs, and served as an Associate Fellow at the Overseas Development Council (ODC) from 1975-1980.



Jacqueline Mwangi

**Doctoral Candidate
Harvard Law School**

Jacqueline Mwangi is a doctoral candidate at Harvard Law School. Her interests lie at the intersection of law, technology and innovation theories, and political economy. Her doctoral work centers on the historical and current trends of technological change in Sub-Saharan African societies, and its evolving relationship with rules and institutions, the state, and society.

Ms. Mwangi holds a Master of Laws Degree from Harvard Law School, a Post Graduate Diploma in Legal Practice from Kenya School of Law, and a Bachelor of Laws Degree from Kenyatta University, Kenya. She has previously worked at the Center for Intellectual Property and Information Technology Law (CIPIT) at Strathmore Law School, Kenya, Kaplan & Stratton Advocates, and the Kenya Copyright Board.



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Catherine A. Novelli

**President, Listening for America
Adjunct Professor at Georgetown Law**

Ambassador Catherine A. Novelli is a Senior Advisor at Shearwater Global, a strategic consulting firm. She also serves as President of Listening for America, a non-partisan, non-profit organization dedicated to forging a new vision of U.S. international trade engagement. She is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, where she served as a Centennial Fellow (2018-2019). She previously served as Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy, and the Environment (2014-2017) where she promoted economic reform and open markets for U.S. products and services.

As Under Secretary, Ambassador Novelli spearheaded the first-of-its-kind Our Ocean movement, which, during her tenure, resulted in \$10 billion for Ocean conservation and has become a continuing global effort. She also launched the Global Connect Initiative, an innovative partnership with governments, multilateral development banks and the private sector to connect 1.5 billion people to the Internet.



Sandra Polaski

**Non-Resident Senior Research Fellow
Global Economic Governance Initiative
Boston University Global Development Policy
Center**

Sandra Polaski is a Non-Resident Senior Research Fellow, Global Economic Governance Initiative at the Boston University Global Development Policy Center. She is an expert on trade, labor and social policy issues at national and global levels. Previously, she served as the Deputy Director-General for Policy of the International Labour Organization (ILO) from 2012-2016 and as ILO Sherpa to the G20.

Earlier, she was the US Deputy Undersecretary of Labor in charge of the International Labor Affairs Bureau and before that she directed the Trade, Equity and Development Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



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Alvaro Santos

Professor of Law and Faculty Director of the Center for the Advancement of the Rule of Law in the Americas (CAROLA) Georgetown Law

Alvaro Santos teaches and writes in the areas of international trade, economic development, transnational labor law and drug policy. In 2018, he served as Deputy Chief Negotiator of the USMCA Agreement for the newly elected government of Mexico.

Professor Santos is co-editor of the books *World Trade and Investment Law Reimagined: A Progressive Agenda for an Inclusive Globalization* (2019), *Law and the New Developmental State: The Brazilian Experience in Latin America* (2013) and *The New Law and Economic Development: A Critical Appraisal* (2006). He is also the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters. He serves on the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Comparative Law*, the *Journal of International Economic Law*, the *Law and Development Review*, and the *Latin American Journal of International Trade Law*.



Alan Wm. Wolff

**Distinguishing Visiting Fellow
Peterson Institute for International
Economics**

Ambassador Alan Wm. Wolff serves as a Distinguishing Visiting Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, beginning after his term ended as Deputy Director-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on March 31, 2021. He served as Co-Acting Director-General of the organization during the six-month transition to the current WTO's leadership. He has written extensively on the international trading system and lectured on that subject at universities and other venues around the world. He has a long and distinguished career in international trade as a leading legal practitioner, and as a trade negotiator. Before joining the WTO, he was Chairman of the National Foreign Trade Council, the oldest American organization dedicated to open markets. He is a founder of the Trade for Peace Initiative. His forthcoming book from Cambridge University Press, *Revitalizing the World Trading System*, is designed as a guidebook to the WTO as it is and how it can be improved.