



GLOBALIZATION AND AUTONOMY
MONDIALISATION ET AUTONOMIE

Agricultural Trade and the WTO

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Histories, Legacies, Continuities, Discontinuities, Narratives

1. What are the historical roots of globalization and autonomy? What are the continuities and differences between past and present?
2. If we find a recent rupture and a decisive globalization moment, what is specific about the current moment? What are the deep foundations for this moment?



4. How and in what ways are globalization and globality engaged and contested across historical moments? How does autonomy at particular historical moments facilitate or hinder the engagement and contestation of globalization and globality?
5. How does our research connect globalization and autonomy with the ideas of imperialism and empire? How do these connections and these ideas vary across time and at different globalization moments?



Overview of Presentation

1. Studying Global Legal Trade Regimes
2. Free Trade versus Protectionism: 1800-1945
4. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
 - Developing countries & commodity agreements
5. The WTO and Agriculture
6. Conclusion: Institutional Change, Globalization and Autonomy



Studying global legal regimes

Multicentric versus state-centric legal orders

Strong versus weak legal pluralism

Free trade

protectionism



The Argument

- ◆ The creation of the WTO and the signing of the Agreement on Agriculture move the global legal regime in trade away from a state-centric model toward a multi-centric one. They also introduce a stronger form of legal pluralism to the system.
- ◆ These changes in the global legal regime, in turn, introduce a modest reversal of long-standing protectionism in agricultural trade toward freer trade in agricultural commodities and foods.
- ◆ The new global legal regime creates options for states and other economic actors to accelerate the economic, political and cultural globalization of agriculture and food.



Free Trade vs Protectionism 1800-1945

- ◆ From a multi-centric to a state-centric legal order
- ◆ Growth of state regulation of trade
- ◆ New policy instruments to provide protection for agriculture.
- ◆ The Great Depression



GATT

- ◆ An orphaned agreement without a strong legal basis.
- ◆ The exceptions made for agriculture
- ◆ The consequences for developing countries



GATT cont.

- ◆ Response of developing countries and the interest in commodity agreements
- ◆ The founding of UNCTAD
- ◆ UNCTAD's weakness when it comes to developing country concerns



The WTO and Agriculture

1. Liberalizing Agriculture

- addressing the "Farm Wars"
- an epistemic community anchored in the discipline of agricultural economics had begun to develop a new policy evaluation framework based on neo-classical economics.
- the challenge to the dependent paradigm



WTO and Agriculture cont.

2. The creation of the WTO: accelerating globalization
 - ◆ Globally extensive negotiations and membership
 - ◆ A single undertaking
 - ◆ A legally binding Disputes Settlement mechanism



WTO and Agriculture cont.

3. Agreements on Agriculture and on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures

- historical significance
- immediate impacts have been small. SPS is potentially larger due to the changes required for considering food safety and addressing global food standards
- Farmers find that their livelihood will be shaped more by shifting developments in world markets than in the past. All members of the WTO are subject to it and none of their farming population is exempt from it.



Conclusions

Is the Agreement a decisive political and institutional change or not?

- a. The argument against
- b. The argument for