Abbott, F.M. 95, 111
access to medicines campaign 7–8, 10, 60–61, 61–2, 94–6, 103–25, 184
August 30 Decision 122–3
campaign tactics 108–18, 164–6
Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health 61, 121–2, 166
key actors 105–9
lead-up to Doha Ministerial Conference 118–21
mobilizing support 109–10
NGOs as legitimacy enhancers 176–9
political opportunities 156–7, 159
shaming tactics 114–18
working through alternative international policy arenas 110–14, 164–5
accountability 26
indirect 24
accreditation process 20, 22–3
ACT UP network 106, 114, 115
ActionAid 54, 61, 144
Affordable Treatment and Action Campaign 106
African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group 15, 16
African Group 15, 17, 61, 119, 120, 128
agenda-setting 57–9
NGO roles at the WTO see roles of NGOs at the WTO
agriculture 90, 148, 150
AIDS see HIV/AIDS
Akyuz, Y. 143, 167
Alben, E. 68
Alger, C.F. 42–3
Alliance for Special Products and Special Safeguard Mechanism 148
Alternative Alliance 106
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) 55, 75–7, 78, 88, 159, 160
Amorim, C. 168
Amsterdam Conference 109–10
Amsterdam Statement 110
Anheier, H.M. 48
anthrax 118, 177
apartheid regime 37, 39
Argentina 37
Arun III dam project 35
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 91, 151
Asian financial crisis 134
Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) 79
Attaran, A. 114–15, 178
August 30 Decision 122–3
Aziz, R. 82–3
Bandy, J. 41–2, 43
Bangui Agreement 102
‘baptists and bootleggers’ theory of regulation 173
bargaining coalitions 15, 16–18
Barshesfky, C. 77, 83, 174
Bayer 118
Bellmann, C. 50–51
Betsill, M. 47
Bhagwati, J. 72
bilateral investment treaties (BITs) 130, 131–2
bilateral trade agreements 91–2
‘Bite Back’ campaign 28
Bondevik, K.M. 84–5
Black Congressional Caucus 115, 116
boomerang model 38, 39–40
Brazil 61, 98, 106, 116–17, 176–7
Bridges 145
Bristol-Myers Squibb 115
Brittan, L. 83, 104
Brown, D.L. 34–5, 46, 57
bungie cord effect 39–40
Bush, G.W. 116, 117
business associations 22–3, 51
business NGOs (BINGOs) 50

Cairns Group 15, 18, 151

campaign actors
  access to medicines campaign 105–9
  investment agreement campaign 139–41
  labour standards campaign 74–7

Campaign for Labor Rights 92
  campaign strategies/tactics 58, 154–5, 163–72
  access to medicines campaign 108–18, 164–6
  assessing 171–2
  investment agreement campaign 141–52, 166–9
  labour standards 78–90, 169–71

Canada 118, 134

Cancún Ministerial Conference (2003) 15, 28, 90, 127, 128, 139
  investment agreement campaign 61, 147–52, 168–9

Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) 3, 54

Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL) 54, 142, 144

Centre for Education and Communication (CEC) 79–80

Chang, H.-J. 144, 158

Charnovitz, S. 11, 19, 23, 24, 25, 68

China 73

Cipla 114

Ciprofloxacin 118

civil society 48–9
  global 37, 48–9

Clean Clothes Campaign 92

Clinton, W.J. 75–7, 84, 87, 88–9, 116, 159–60, 175

Cobb, R.W. 57

Cohen, R. 42

Cold War 31

comparative advantage 72–4

competition policy 135, 150, 151–2

complex interdependence 7, 33, 183

compliance monitoring 34

compulsory licensing 101–2, 109, 118, 177

conceptualizing NGO activity 47–63
  assessing the roles of NGOs at the WTO 56–7

in international politics 48–50

NGO agenda-setting 58–9

NGO campaigns 55–6

overview of case studies 59–62

at the WTO 50–55

conferences, NGO 109–10, 141–4, 164, 166–7, 171

conformer NGOs 51

consensus 14, 180–81, 185

constructivist perspective 6, 9–10, 30, 31–2, 44, 45, 58, 182

NGOs as norm entrepreneurs 37–41

consumer activism 38

Consumer Project on Technology (CPTech) 105, 109, 111

Convention 182 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour 70

cooperation agreements 117

‘core’ labour standards 60, 66–7, 71

see also labour standards campaign

Corell, E. 47

COSATU 106, 117

Costa Rica Document 89–90

Cotonou Agreement 137

Coulby, H. 186

counter-summits 33, 148–9

Cox, S. 49

critical theorists 26–7, 32

cultural industries 134

Cut the Cost Campaign 105

d4T 115

Das, B.L. 167

data sources 8–9

Ddamilura, D. 29

decision-making 57, 155
  procedures 3–4, 8, 14–15, 22, 93, 180–81, 185

NGOs as democratizing agents 22–7

Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998) 64, 70, 85, 91

deficiencies in existing international agreements 160–62, 163

Delhi Declaration 79

DeMars, W. 26, 35–6, 46

democratic deficits 11, 22–4
Index

democratizing agents 22–7
demonstrations 1, 88, 90, 114, 117
Derbez, L.E. 150
Derbez text 150
de-restriction of WTO documents 21
Dery, D. 57
dressing, M. 73–4
developed countries 7–8
  influential member states and labour standards 62, 75, 80–81, 170–71, 171–2, 173–4, 185
  self-serving activities 157–8, 162
see also under individual countries
developing countries 7–8, 15, 17, 25, 62, 137, 184–5
access to medicines campaign 94–6, 103–25, 165–6
constraints on WTO participation 24–5
investment agreement campaign 127, 146–7, 147–8, 149–50, 152–3, 167–9
labour standards campaign 65, 71, 72–3, 77, 79, 80, 81, 88, 170
NGOs and resource enhancement 179–80, 184–5
TRIPS agreement 99–100, 102
  transition periods 100–101, 121, 123
see also under groupings of developing countries
‘Differential Pricing and Financing of Essential Drugs’ 118
Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) 13–14, 24, 97, 100
Doha Declaration 21
  investment agreement 128, 137–8, 147–8, 161–2
Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health 61, 121–2, 166
Doha Development Agenda 61, 127, 139, 151–2
Doha Round 3, 13, 14, 61, 127, 151–2, 161
dolphins 24
domestic political structures 59, 181
donor-organized NGOs (DONGO) 50
double taxation treaties 130
Dunoff, J.L. 30
Earth First! 51
Eastern Europe 31
economic growth 72–4, 130
economic justice 31
Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) 19
Elder, C.D. 57
enabling rights 73–4
environment 5, 31, 37–8, 39, 40
  DSB and 24
  NGOs, World Bank and 34–5
environmental NGOs (ENGOs) 50
Esty, D.C. 11, 25
European Union 15, 26, 49, 103
  access to medicines campaign 103, 104, 112–14
  issue group on access to medicines 112–13, 114
IP rights 99
  labour standards 69, 87–8, 89, 91–2
New Commercial Policy Instrument 99
‘Programme for Action’ on HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis 113, 114
and US Helms-Burton Act 133–4
and WTO investment agreement 135, 146, 150, 151
exceptions 101
fair trade campaigns 28
FairWear Campaign 92
Fischler, F. 168
Five Interested Parties (FIPS) 15, 16, 151
Focus on the Global South 106
Ford, N. 95, 123
foreign direct investment (FDI) 129
  see also foreign investment; investment agreement campaign
foreign investment 2, 127–53
  international cooperation on rules for 131–5
  multilateral rules for regulation 129–31
Index

Humphreys, D. 56
Huntington, S. 31

India 61, 72, 79, 98, 106, 176–7
indirect accountability 24
influential WTO member states 62, 75, 80–81, 170–71, 171–2, 173–4, 185
informal sector 72
information provision 144–6, 167, 171
Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP) 51
intellectual property (IP) rights 2, 7–8, 23, 94–5
international cooperation 96–8
see also access to medicines campaign; Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement
interests 5–6
coalescing norms and 72–4
norms coinciding with 155, 172–9
International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) 132
International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) 3, 51, 54, 145
International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) 7, 51
International Civil Society Forum 147
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) 9, 53–4
‘Enough exploitation is enough’ 86–7
international cooperation 44
protection of intellectual property 96–8
on rules for foreign investment 131–5
international economic policy 6, 40
international institutions 59, 171
access to medicines campaign 110–14, 164–5
governance perspective 32–6, 46
investment agreement campaign 145–6, 167
International Labour Organization (ILO) 59, 68, 69, 70, 82, 84–5, 91, 93, 162
core labour standards 60, 66–7, 71
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2, 14, 34, 36, 103
international NGOs 3, 50, 52–4
growth in number of 29–30
International Organization 30–31
international politics, conceptualizing NGOs in 48–50
International Trade Organization (ITO) 67, 131
International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) 53
International Union of Foodworkers 144
internet 23
investment
foreign see foreign investment
IP rights and 97–8
investment agreement campaign 7–8, 10, 60, 61, 62, 127–8, 138–53, 184
campaign tactics 141–52, 166–9
Cancún Ministerial Conference 61, 147–52, 168–9
key actors 139–41
mobilizing support 141–7, 166–9
NGOs as legitimacy enhancers 175–6
political opportunities 157–8, 160, 161–2
‘Investment, sustainable development and the WTO: allies or antagonists?’ conference 143–4
issue focus 51

Japan 68
Jenson, N.M. 129
Joachim, J. 56
‘Joint NGO Statement on issues and proposals for the WTO ministerial conference’ 80, 81
‘Joint Statement by European civil society groups against an agreement on investment in the WTO’ 141–2
joint WTO/ILO standing forum 88, 89
Jordan, L. 56
‘July package’ 127, 151–2

Keane, J. 49
Keck, M.E. 5, 38, 55, 124
Kellow, A. 26
Kenya 29
Keohane, R. 2, 7, 13–14, 30–31, 33, 183
Khagram, S. 38–9, 43, 49–50, 55
Klotz, A. 37, 39
Kolben, K. 72
Kurtz, J. 128

Labour Behind the Label 92
labour standards 64–93
conceptualizing the trade–labour linkage 70–74
as human rights 71–2
linking trade to 66–70
labour standards campaign 2, 7–8, 10, 60, 62, 64–5, 74–93, 184
campaign goals 77–8
campaign tactics 78–90, 169–71
coalescing norms and interests 72–4
Geneva Ministerial Conference 83–5
key actors 74–7
NGOs as legitimacy enhancers 173–5
political opportunities 159–60, 162
Seattle Ministerial Conference 85–90
Singapore Ministerial Conference 78, 80–83
strategic arena shopping 91–2
US presidential election 115–16, 159–60
Lamy, P. 14, 21, 113
landmines 37, 39
Larson, A. 174
least-developed countries (LDCs) 15, 17
TRIPS Agreement 100
transition period 100, 121, 123
see also developing countries
legitimacy enhancement 33–4, 155, 172–9, 179–80, 184, 186
Like-Minded Group 18
Lipschutz, R. 45
Lisowski, M. 56

Mahla, D. 71
Mandela, N. 84, 85
Maran, M. 89
Marrakesh Agreement 14, 19
Marrakesh Conference 69
May, C. 23
Mbeki, T. 104, 112, 178
McMichael, P. 26–7
Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) 9, 54, 61, 94, 105, 117, 177
media conference 144
medicines 7–8, 98
access to medicines campaign see
access to medicines campaign
meetings 164
see also conferences; workshops
Metalclad Corporation 133
Mexico 37, 133
ministerial conferences 13, 20
number of NGOs in attendance 28
see also under individual conferences
mobilizing support 58–9, 109–10, 141–7, 154–5, 163–72, 179, 184
see also campaign strategies/tactics
Moore, M. 121
moral pressure 5
Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) 133–5, 160
Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) 132
multinational corporations (MNCs) 23, 38, 39
foreign investment 129
labour standards 92
pharmaceutical 23, 98, 104, 114–15, 117, 157, 178
self-serving activities 157–8, 162
Nader, R. 105, 115
Nanz, P. 24, 25
Narlikar, A. 128
nation-states 24, 32, 58, 62
boomerang model of NGO effects 38, 39–40
bungee cord effect 39–40
global civil society and 49
national delegations, NGO places on
28–9, 77, 149, 167–8, 186–7
national NGOs 50, 54–5
‘Nature and implications of a WTO investment agreement’ public seminar 142–3
Ndrangu, G. 186
neglected issues, publicizing 154, 156–63
Nelson, P. 40, 180
neoliberal institutions 26–7
‘new’ activism 41
‘new Quad’ see Five Interested Parties (FIPS)
newsletters 145
NGO campaigns 55–6, 59–62

see also access to medicines campaign; investment agreement campaign; labour standards campaign

NGO centre 20

Nielson, P. 113

‘No deal is better than a bad deal’ campaign 28, 139

‘No investment negotiations at the WTO: declaration of non-governmental groups and civil society movements’ 143

non-governmental organizations 1–2, 9–10, 182

campaigns see NGO campaigns

conceptualizing NGO activity see conceptualizing NGO activity as democratizing agents 22–7
growth in number of NGOs operating internationally 29–30

in international policy processes 32–6

in international trade politics 27–30 perspectives 30–46, 182–3

as norm entrepreneurs 37–41

roles at the WTO see roles of NGOs at the WTO

and transnational activism 4–6, 41–5

WTO and 2–4

see also WTO-NGO relations

non-profit advocacy NGOs 6–7, 50–55

norms 5–6, 44–5

coalessing interests and 72–4

coinciding interests and 155, 172–9

normative rationales for policy change 179–80

NGOs as norm entrepreneurs 37–41

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 132–3, 159, 161

Norway 75, 78

Nye, J. 2, 7, 13–14, 30–31, 33, 183

objectives, classification by 51

O’Brien, R.J. 29, 36, 46, 51, 57

Office of Monitoring and Enforcement (OME) 103

one member/one vote 14

opportunity structures see political opportunities

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 73

MAI 133–5, 160

organizational type 50–51

Ostry, S. 23

Oxfam Community Aid Abroad Australia 8

Oxfam International 6, 8–9, 28, 51, 52–3, 61, 75, 94, 105, 120

Oxfam Geneva Advocacy Office 53

parallel importing 102, 122–3

Paris Convention 96, 97

partners, NGO 35–6

Patents and Access to Medicines Campaign 105

Payne, R.A. 11, 20

permanent amendment of the TRIPS Agreement 123–4

pharmaceutical MNCs 23, 98, 104, 157, 178

shaming tactics 114–15, 117

Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) 98, 104, 114

policy change, type of 8, 180–81, 185, 186

policy crises 156–7, 163

political objectives, statements of 56

political opportunities 39, 42–3, 44, 58–9, 124, 179, 183–4

assessing NGO political opportunism 162–3

harnessing 154, 156–63

political partners 35

portfolio investment (PI) 129

power structures 26–7, 42

Prakash, A. 95

prawns 24

press releases 164

previous NGO campaigns 160, 163

Price, R. 37, 39

pro-labour member states 75, 170–71, 173–4

protectionism 73, 80, 175

Prusoff, W. 115

Public Citizen 134

publicizing neglected issues 154, 156–63

‘Quad’ 15
Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) 54, 105, 119
quasi-NGOs (QUANGOs) 50
‘Quint’ see Five Interested Parties (FIPS)
race to the bottom 130
radical NGOs 51, 53
Rai, S. 42
Rao, N. 79
reformist NGOs 50–55
regional cooperation arrangements 130
regional trade agreements 91–2
Reinicke, W.H. 34
religious NGOs (RINGOs) 50
representativeness of NGOs 26
research papers 144–5, 166
resource-enhancing activities 179–80, 184–5
‘Re-thinking TRIPS in the WTO – NGOs demand review and reform of TRIPS at Doha Ministerial Conference’ 120
Revised Drug Strategy 110
Risse, T. 38, 43
Robertson, D. 26
roles of NGOs at the WTO 10, 56–9, 154–81, 183–5, 186
legitimacy enhancement 33–4, 155, 172–9, 179–80, 184, 186
mobilizing support 58–9, 109–10, 141–7, 154–5, 163–72, 179, 184
political opportunism see political opportunities
Rosenau, J. 31, 181
Ruggiero, R. 20
Samhat, N.H. 11, 20
Scholte, J.A. 22, 25, 47, 48–9, 51
sea turtles 24
Seattle Ministerial Conference (1999) 1, 20, 22, 29, 85–90, 136
self-serving activities 157–8, 162
Sell, S. 23, 95
semi-structured interviews 8–9
Shadlen, K. 95, 102, 123, 125
shaming tactics 114–18, 158–9
Shisana, O. 111
Sikkink, K. 5, 11, 37, 38, 55, 124
Singapore issues 61, 90, 127, 135, 139, 149–50, 151–2
see also foreign investment; investment agreement campaign
single undertaking 14, 180–81, 185
Smith, J. 4, 41–2, 43
social clause see labour standards campaign
social constructivism see constructivism
social justice 31
social movement perspective 9–10, 31–2, 45–6, 55, 58–9, 182
societal partners 35
Solidar 75, 84
South Africa 37, 39, 75, 82, 106, 112, 178
pressure to repeal Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act 104, 115–16, 117
removal from Special 301 watch list 116
South–North Development Monitor 145
Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI) 139, 146
workshop of April 2003 146, 167
Special 301 watch lists 103, 116
spiral model 38
Steffek, J. 24, 25
Stigliani, N.A. 88
strategic arena shopping 91–2
street protests 1, 88, 90, 114, 117
Sweeney, J. 77, 88
Tarrow, S. 33, 43, 46
Task Force on Trade, Investment and Labour Standards (TILS) 83–4
technical assistance 25, 161
terrorism 41, 118, 177
Thai NGO Coalition on AIDS (TNCA) 106
Thailand 103
Third World Network (TWN) 6, 51, 53, 144, 145, 175
labour standards 80, 81–2, 86, 87, 93
’t Hoen, E.F.M. 95, 110
United Nations Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR) 111, 165
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 59, 111, 129, 145
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 146
United Nations General Assembly (UNGASS) Special Session on HIV/AIDS 111–12, 165
United States of America (US) 39, 176
access to medicines campaign 177
pressure on South Africa 104, 115, 116
role of WHO in TRIPS 110–11
shaming tactics 114–18
Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (Helms-Burton Act) 133–4
importance of domestic political arena 181
intellectual property rights 99, 125
ITO 67, 131
labour standards 68, 69–70, 75–7, 78, 87, 91–2
presidential elections (2000) 115–16, 158–60, 163
self-serving activities 157
Special 301 provision 99, 103, 116
TRIPS Agreement 98–9, 102–3
WTO investment agreement 135, 137, 146
Uruguay Round 14, 23, 68–9, 77–8, 132
TRIPS Agreement 98–100
Van de Ven, J. 25–6
Van der Heide, B. 109
Van Tuijl, P. 56
Vick, K. 112
voting at the WTO 14
Walker, R.B.J. 49
Waltz, K. 31
Wapner, P. 5, 37–8, 39
Weiss, T.G. 50
Wilkinson, R. 3–4, 22, 23, 26–7, 71
Willetts, P. 31, 35, 50
Workers’ Rights Caucus 79, 81, 169
Working Group on Trade and Investment (WGTI) 128, 136, 138, 150
workshops 86, 109, 111, 141–4, 171
World Bank 2, 14, 33–4, 36, 91, 103, 132, 145–6
access to medicines campaign 112, 165, 177–8
NGOs and environmental issues 34–5
World Confederation of Labour (WCL) 53
World Development Movement (WDM) 54, 139
World Health Organization (WHO) 110–11, 118, 164–5
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) 97
World Social Forum (WSF) 33, 142
World Trade Organization (WTO) 1, 7, 12–19, 30, 35
bargaining coalitions 15, 16–18
budget 2
decision-making procedures see decision-making
de-restriction of WTO documents 21
Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) 13–14, 24, 97, 100
foreign investment rules and 135–8
see also investment agreement campaign
General Council 13–14, 19–20
green room meetings 15–19, 149–50
labour standards see labour standards; labour standards campaign
ministerial conferences see ministerial conferences
Ministerial Council 13
and NGOs 2–4
NGOs at 50–55
roles of NGOs see roles of NGOs at the WTO
secretariat 2, 20
Trade Negotiations Committee 147
TRIPS see Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement
WTO exceptionalism 19
WTO–NGO relations 9, 11–12, 19–27, 45
mechanisms for WTO engagement with NGOs 19–22
NGOs as democratizing agents 22–7
WTO Public Forums 9, 20–21, 144
‘WTO – Shrink or Sink!’ campaign 28
WTO website 21, 23
World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) 3, 51
Yale University 115
Yandle, B. 173
Yeo Cheow Tong 82
Zimbabwe 119