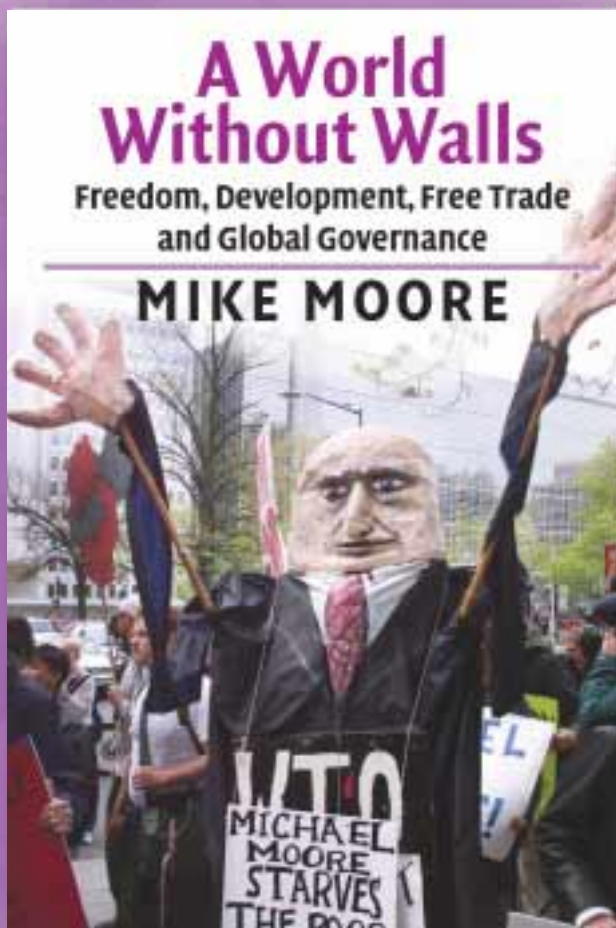


‘New Zealand has two great voices: Kiri Te Kanawa and Mike Moore.’

Professor Jagdish Bhagwati, Columbia University and author of *Free Trade Today*



www.cambridge.org/moore

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS



A World Without Walls

Freedom, Development, Free Trade and Global Governance

MIKE MOORE

Former Director-General of the
World Trade Organization

Mike Moore's reflection on his time as Director-General of the World Trade Organization is an important addition to the great globalization debate. Moore explains how a boy, who left school at fourteen to work in a slaughterhouse, came to head an organization charged with bringing rules and order to the world's trading system. He explains the thinking behind his reforms which helped the WTO move on from the debacle of Seattle to the successful Doha meeting and offers a robust and passionate defence of the principles of free trade.

- **Unique insider account by one of the world's most influential leaders**
- **A wide-ranging synthesis on the key issues of globalization, with provocative proposals on how the multilateral system should respond to the new pressures from civil society**
- **Essential reading for everyone interested in the globalization debate**

Advance praise

‘Mike Moore makes a strong case for the benefits of free trade and open markets. But he warns that global governance needs to be rethought to cope with the challenges of globalization. A wide ranging and thought-provoking book.’

George Soros, author of *George Soros on Globalization*

‘Mike, a man essentially educated by the brute force of real-life challenges, has produced in this book an honest account of his very fine tenure as WTO Director-General. Those curious about either the evolution of the multilateral trading system, or interesting leaders, will find this book very enjoyable.’

Ernesto Zedillo, Former President of Mexico

‘Mike Moore is that rare politician: a doer who is also a thinker. He pulled off Doha, putting the bumbling failure of Seattle behind us. In this fascinating book, he demonstrates that he can also speak to intellectuals, placing trade liberalization, indeed globalization, into an ambitious but realistic framework that can serve as an effective antidote to the anti-globalizers. And he does it elegantly and articulately. New Zealand has two great voices: Kiri Te Kanawa and Mike Moore.’

Professor Jagdish Bhagwati, Columbia University and author of *Free Trade Today*



Figure 10. New Zealand cartoonist Jim Hubbard saw me as a panda reaching for an elusive bamboo shoot in the form of the WTO and the key role France was to play in the leadership campaign: after a tough battle, I won the prize – only to find the real struggle was just beginning.

down to Dr Supachai Panitchpakdi of Thailand and myself. Supachai was an old colleague, but sometimes it's over-enthusiastic supporters in campaigns who take the battle to extremes. I could only laugh when a television personality in Thailand called on viewers to write my name



Figure 16. With Chinese Trade Minister Shi Guangsheng and Qatari host minister Youssef Kamanj: a failure at Doha would have been disastrous, but losing China after fifteen long years of negotiations could have seriously impacted its reform process, as it went through a historic leadership and structural change.

into the global economy, as well as formally acknowledging its status as an emerging global economic giant.

US TR Charlene Barshefsky and China's Foreign Trade Minister Shi Guangsheng had been wrestling with the delicate details for many years of the key US–China bilateral agreement that was one of the necessary precursors to accession. In all, thirty-seven countries negotiated bilateral agreements in order to ensure that China's accession to the multilateral system could take place. There was no doubt, throughout all of these negotiations, of the importance China placed, both politically and economically, on gaining accession. China's leaders, during many meetings, frequently stressed WTO entry was 'the biggest single economic step they had taken in fifty years'. Former European Union Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan recently observed: 'In one of my meetings with [Premier] Zhu Rongji, he explained that everything we were asking the Chinese to do were things he wanted them to do anyway. If the Chinese didn't reach agreement with Europe and the US, they would still do them, but in their own time and in their own way.'³

Contents

1. Introduction: The making of an internationalist
 - Part I. The Bigger Picture**
 2. What does globalization mean?
 3. Food for thought
 4. The philosophy, politics and economics of trade and freedom
 5. Life is getting better
 - Part II. From Seattle to Doha**
 6. Setback in Seattle
 7. Why the WTO matters
 8. Forging a consensus
 9. Denouement at Doha
 10. Creating a 'World' Trade Organization
 11. How the 'new' issues could strengthen the agenda
 12. Why concluding the new round is crucial
 - Part III. Citizens, Corporates and a New Deal for Global Governance**
 13. Engaging civil society
 14. Corporate social responsibility
 15. Time to rethink global governance
 16. Future challenges
- 2003 228 x 152 mm 300pp
 15 half-tones 6 tables 5 graphs
 0 521 82701 9 Hardback £20.00
- March 2003

website: www.cambridge.org/moore



Mike Moore, the Director-General of the World Trade Organization from 1999–2002, is a former New Zealand Prime Minister. In a long and distinguished career in politics, he also served in a number of senior political positions, including as Minister of Overseas Trade and Marketing, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of External Relations and Trade. After early experience as a printer, meat worker, construction worker, social worker and trade union researcher, Mike Moore became the youngest member of Parliament ever elected in New Zealand in 1972.

Please order from your local bookseller



ISBN 0-521-94965-3



9 780521 949651 >

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.cambridge.org