

From Back Rooms to the Street:

Explaining the Gradual Publicization of Trade Policy-Making in Europe

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From Back Rooms to the Street: Introduction

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People power is ending TTIP and other unpopular EU free-trade deals



Central Question and Outline

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Why has trade policy become more politicized and publicized in Europe?

1. Traditional insulation of trade policy-making from public mobilization
2. Gradual publicization of trade policy-making in the EU
3. Explaining increased public involvement in EU trade policy-making

1. Traditional Insulation of Trade Policy-Making

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Insulation from politics leads to liberalization

- Logrolling leads to protectionism
- Logic of collective action leads to protectionism: Benefits from protection are concentrated but costs are dispersed
- Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act experience → “Fast Track” process in the U.S.
- Similar system in the Treaty of Rome with EU’s own “fast-track”

Trade policy-making is highly technical

- Complexity: economic (comparative advantage), legal
- Issue linkage & supranationality of trade policy

Negotiating power requires secrecy

- Bargaining leverage (with exception of “tied hands”)
- Prevention of posturing

2. Gradual Publicization of Trade Policy-Making

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1998: The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI)



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2014-2016: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)



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2008-2012: The Anti-Counterfeiting Agreement (ACTA)

2014-2016: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)

2008-2017: The Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)



3. Explaining Increased Public Involvement in Trade Policy

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General explanations

- Changing nature of trade and investment negotiations
- The rise of the internet and social media
- Growing discontent with globalization
- Foreign interference

EU-specific explanations

- Institutional change in the Lisbon Treaty
- Anti-Americanism

3.1 Changing Nature of Trade and Investment Negotiations

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- Easy issues were settled first, remaining issues are difficult
- New Partners (end of U.S.-EU bipolarity) bring new issues
- New "behind the border" issues at the end of the Uruguay Round
 - From tariff reductions to regulatory harmonization
 - Environmental standards, hormone beef, chlorinated chickens
 - Investment protection
 - Harder to assess the impact
 - Touch on Sovereignty

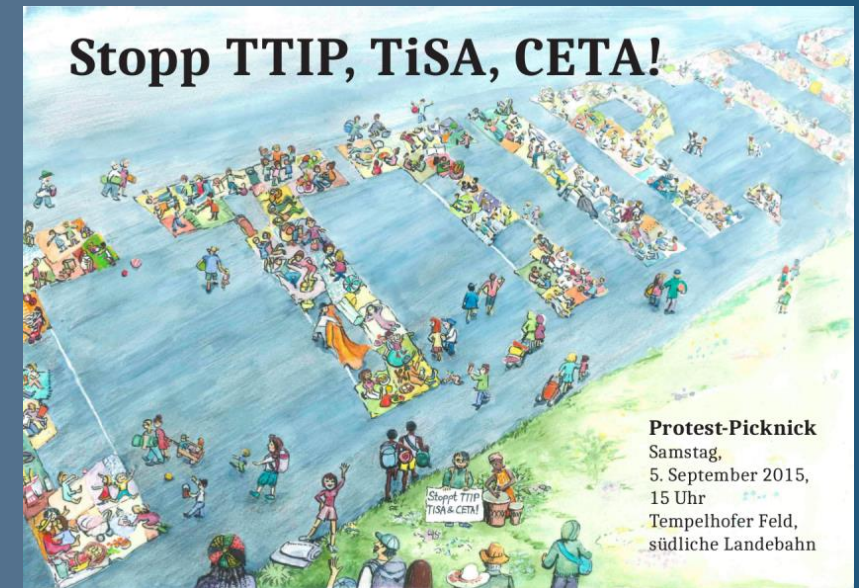


Friends of the Earth Europe ad

3.2 The Rise of the Internet and Social Media

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- Forcing transparency of trade policy-making
 - Information leaks (ACTA draft)
 - Capacity for instant sharing, viral documents
- Shaping public opinion
 - Online campaigns, mass email distribution
 - Personal feed manipulation: Twitter, Facebook
 - No review/censure (until lately)
- Enabling greater mobilization
 - Interconnectedness of different platforms through ###
 - Fewer resources needed for mass mobilization



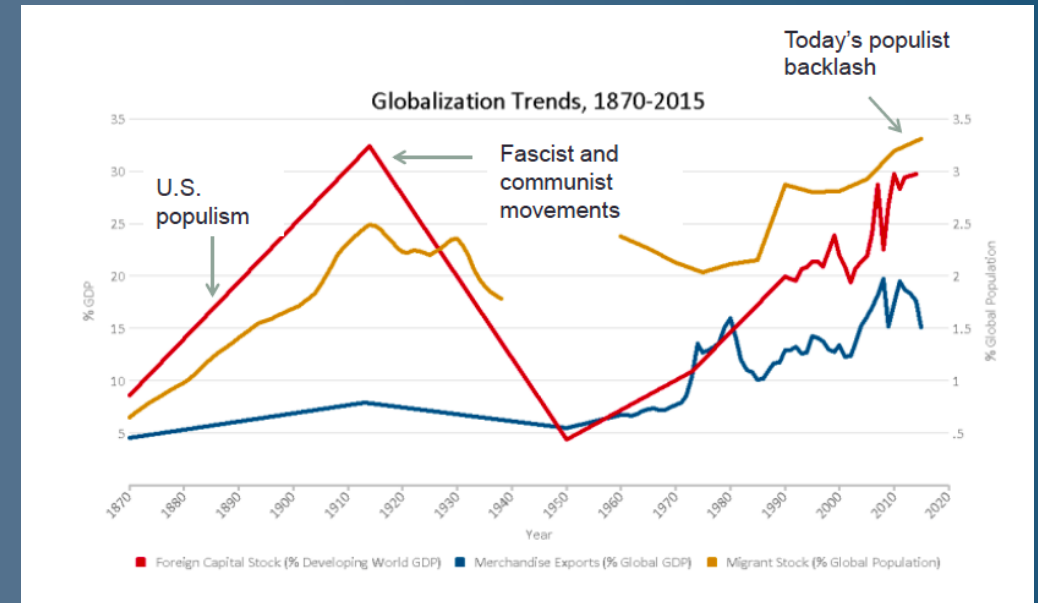
Advertisement posted @StopTTIP_Berlin



3.3 Growing Discontent with Globalization

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- Expanding sources of discontent
 - From “far-left” to “far-right” and mainstream parties
- Change in distribution of costs and benefits
 - Concentrated costs and dispersed benefits
 - Lack of proper redistribution mechanisms
- Restructuring of politics around a new “open/closed” cleavage
 - Promotion of national interest & rise of populism
- Linking of Europeanization and Globalization narratives
 - Similarities in nationalization rhetoric across geographies
 - Broader current of shying away from international cooperation

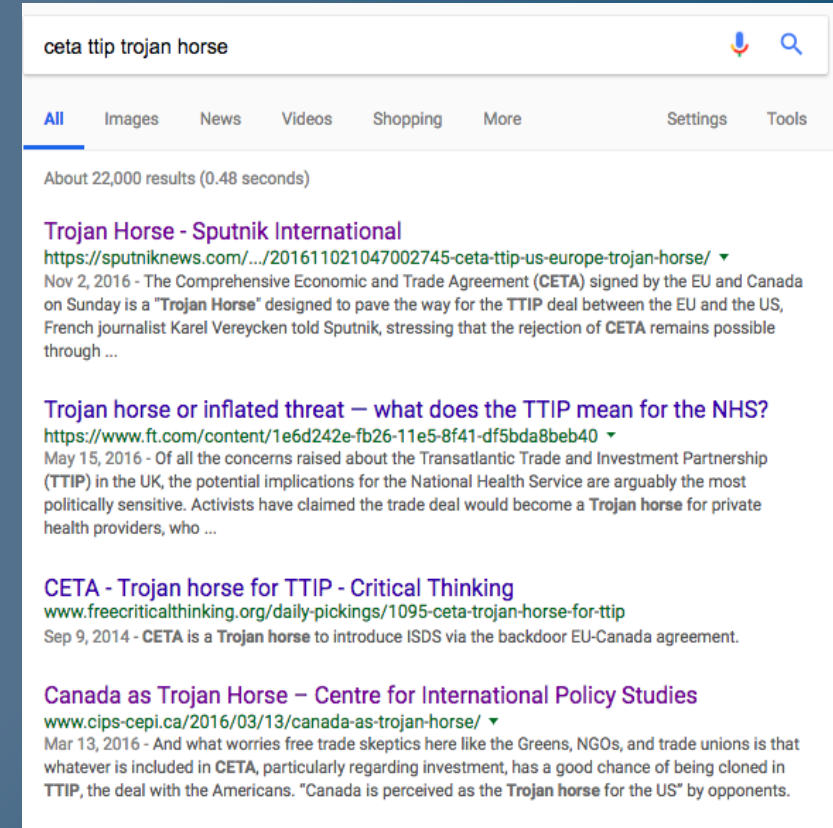


Source: Dani Rodrik

3.4 Foreign Interference

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- Used to be considered paranoia, now we know it is real
- Russian funding of anti-globalization and anti-EU parties
 - i.e. funding of National Front in France
- Shaping the narrative through legitimate media outlets in Europe
 - Russia Today
 - Sputnik
 - Influence on Google searches
- Meddling through trolling
 - Pushing on existing buttons



The screenshot shows a Google search for the query "ceta ttip trojan horse". The search bar at the top contains the query. Below the search bar, there are tabs for "All", "Images", "News", "Videos", "Shopping", and "More". The "All" tab is selected. Below the tabs, it says "About 22,000 results (0.48 seconds)". The search results are listed below, each with a title, a URL, and a brief description. The first result is "Trojan Horse - Sputnik International" with a URL from sputniknews.com. The second result is "Trojan horse or inflated threat — what does the TTIP mean for the NHS?" with a URL from ft.com. The third result is "CETA - Trojan horse for TTIP - Critical Thinking" with a URL from freecriticalthinking.org. The fourth result is "Canada as Trojan Horse – Centre for International Policy Studies" with a URL from cips-cepi.ca.

ceta ttip trojan horse

All Images News Videos Shopping More Settings Tools

About 22,000 results (0.48 seconds)

Trojan Horse - Sputnik International
<https://sputniknews.com/.../201611021047002745-ceta-ttip-us-europe-trojan-horse/> ▼
Nov 2, 2016 - The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) signed by the EU and Canada on Sunday is a "Trojan Horse" designed to pave the way for the TTIP deal between the EU and the US, French journalist Karel Vereycken told Sputnik, stressing that the rejection of CETA remains possible through ...

Trojan horse or inflated threat — what does the TTIP mean for the NHS?
<https://www.ft.com/content/1e6d242e-fb26-11e5-8f41-df5bda8beb40> ▼
May 15, 2016 - Of all the concerns raised about the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) in the UK, the potential implications for the National Health Service are arguably the most politically sensitive. Activists have claimed the trade deal would become a Trojan horse for private health providers, who ...

CETA - Trojan horse for TTIP - Critical Thinking
www.freecriticalthinking.org/daily-pickings/1095-ceta-trojan-horse-for-ttip
Sep 9, 2014 - CETA is a Trojan horse to introduce ISDS via the backdoor EU-Canada agreement.

Canada as Trojan Horse – Centre for International Policy Studies
www.cips-cepi.ca/2016/03/13/canada-as-trojan-horse/ ▼
Mar 13, 2016 - And what worries free trade skeptics here like the Greens, NGOs, and trade unions is that whatever is included in CETA, particularly regarding investment, has a good chance of being cloned in TTIP, the deal with the Americans. "Canada is perceived as the Trojan horse for the US" by opponents.

Google Search Results

3.5 Institutional Change in the Lisbon Treaty

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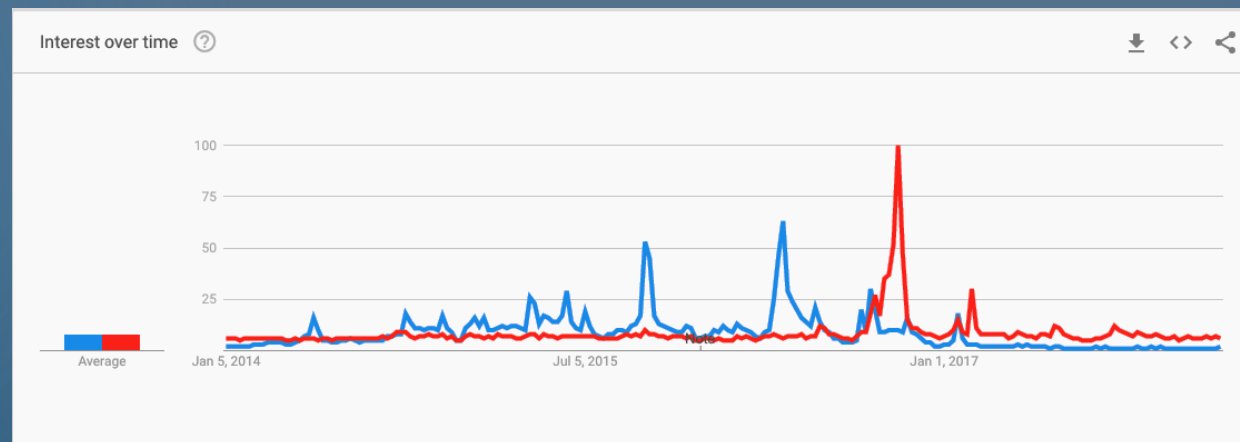
- Empowerment of the European Parliament
 - New power to MEPs
 - New power to INTA
 - New dynamics between European and national politics
- New superseding principles
 - i.e. values, peace, environment, democracy
- Transfer of competences over Foreign Direct Investment
 - ISDS becomes a European issue



3.6 Anti-Americanism

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- Negotiations with various trade partners do not elicit much mobilization unless the U.S. is one of the parties (i.e. MAI, ACTA, TTIP)
- Why did recent public mobilization on trade agreements occur in Germany?
- Mobilization on CETA occurred after mobilization on TTIP



Google Trends Data

- Trade policy-making in Western democracies has become increasingly publicized and politicized, especially in the EU
- Trade policy-making became the target of the masses' discontent
 - MAI → ACTA → TTIP (CETA)
- Progressively defied traditional methods of post-war trade policy-making resulted in a liberalization slow-down
- Long term implications of this publicization, in a world where most trade liberalization is happening through regional and bilateral agreements, have yet to unfold

Thank you!

Rozalie and Sophie