

March 15, 2008

## ARVIND PANAGARIYA

### I. Personal Information

1. Title: Jagdish Bhagwati Professor of Indian Political Economy & Professor of Economics
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7. Date of Birth: 30th September 1952
8. Marital Status: Married, 2 children

### II. Education

1. Ph.D. in Economics Princeton University, 1978 (Fields: International Economics and Development Economics)
2. M.A. in Economics, Rajasthan University, India, 1973; and B.A., Rajasthan University, India, 1971

### III. Public Policy Activities (focused principally on India)

1. Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank (April-November, 2001): I was appointed to a three-year term but resigned early for family reasons.
2. Member, Independent Taskforce on South Asia and India (jointly sponsored by CFR and Asia Society). Report: *New Priorities in South Asia: U.S. Policy Towards India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan*, 2003, Council for Foreign Relations, New York.

3. Overseas Member, Board of Governors, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), March 15, 2005-July 15, 2008).
4. Non-resident Senior fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington DC: (September 15, 2007 to-date)
5. V.K.R.V. Rao Endowment Professor, 2002-2003, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India.
6. Editor, India Policy Forum, A new policy journal launched in 2004 jointly by the Brookings Institution and the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) and patterned after the Brookings Papers on Economic Activity. Other editors of the journal are Barry Bosworth of the Brookings Institution and Suman Bery of NCAER.
7. Policy Advice in India: I have been consulted directly by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, India on India's future trade reform, strategy towards the WTO negotiations and response to the proposals for free trade areas from several of India's trade partners. I have also participated in the key trade policy loan mission of the World Bank in 1993.
8. Television Appearances: On BBC World News, ABC (World View), CNN (International), CNN (Asia), CNBC (Asia) (several times), Reuters TV (Asia), Report on Business (ROB) TV and *Jim Lehrer Newshour* [alongside Charlene Barshefsky, Mickey Kantor, Tom Hayden and Fred Bergsten on the post-Seattle analysis (December 6, 1999)]. In India: Doordarshan (National), NDTV; Aaj Tak; and CNBC (full half-hour interview).
9. Interviews: My full-length interviews have appeared in *La Nacion* (leading daily in Argentina), *Financial Express* (India), *LiveMint*, *Tech Central Station* (TCS) and a recent textbook on international economics (Reinert, Ken, *Windows on the World Economy*, 2004, Thomson).
10. Monthly Newspaper Column: Since June, 1999, I have been writing a monthly column in the *Economic Times*, the Indian equivalent of the *Wall Street Journal* with a circulation of approximately half million. A variety of policy issues including exit policy, reform of bureaucracy, electronic commerce, negotiating issues in the next WTO round, and consensus building during policy reform have been covered. The column has been most influential and is widely read.
11. Guest Columns in Magazines and Newspapers: I have written invited guest columns in India's two leading weekly news magazines, *India Today* (February 19, 2001) and *Outlook* (December 17, 2001). My op-ed articles have also appeared in the *Financial Times* and *Wall Street Journal*.

12. Policy Writings: I have been writing policy papers in a number of different areas for several years. The papers are listed in Section VII.D to VII.H below. My writings on trade policy reforms have been particularly influential in changing the thinking among Indian policy makers.
13. Lectures and Briefings: On my frequent visits to India, I have given public lectures in the major cities including New Delhi, Bangalore, Madras and Jaipur. Often these lectures have led to newspaper stories in the national and local press. I have given keynote addresses at numerous conferences around the world and given briefing to Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson and Deputy Treasury Secretary Ken Dam. I was also invited to give a briefing on India to Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neil but was unable to go due to travel abroad.
14. Consulting: On a variety of development policy issues with the World Bank, World Trade Organization, Asian Development Bank and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

#### **IV. Employment History:**

1. Professor of Economics & Jagdish Bhagwati Professor of Indian Political Economy, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University in New York City (January 2004-to-date). Also, Non-resident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (September 15, 2007 to-date)
2. Professor of Economics (August 1989-January 2004), Associate Professor of Economics (August 1983-August 1989) and Assistant Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD: (August 1978-August 1983). Also: Co-director, Center for International Economics (August 1993-January 2004).
3. Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines (April – December 2001; appointed to a three-year term but resigned early due to family reasons).
4. V.K.R.V. Rao Endowment Professor, 2002-2003, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India.
5. Principal Economist (March 1989-August 1993) and Senior Economist (June 1989-March 1993), World Bank. (On leave from the University of Maryland)
6. Lecturer in Economics (July 1973-August 1974), Department of Economics, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, India
7. Visiting Scholar at the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and UNCTAD and director of a major research project for the Asian Development Bank.

## **V. Editorial Responsibilities**

1. Editor, *India Policy Forum*. Published jointly by the Brookings Institution and the National Council on Applied Economic Research (NCAER), India (with Barry Bosworth of Brookings Institution and Suman Bery of NCAER as the other editors).
2. Editor, *Journal of Policy Reform*, Harwood Academic Press (1996-2001) (currently with Routledge, Abingdon, U.K.)
3. Associate Editor, *Economics and Politics*, Basil Blackwell (1999-present).
4. Board of Editors, *Journal of International Trade and Economic Development* (2002-to-date),
5. Board of Editors, *Journal of Policy Reform*, Routledge, Abingdon, U.K. (2001-to-date)

## **VI. Research Grants and/or Contracts:**

1. The World Bank Research Committee, July 1991- April 1993, "Commodity Exports and Real Income in Africa," \$131,500 (with Maurice Schiff).
2. The World Bank Research Committee, January 1992 - June 1992, "New Dimensions in Regional Integration," \$54,000 (with Jaime de Melo).
3. The National Council for Soviet and East European Research, June 15, 1988 - June 14, 1989. \$50,000.
4. Faculty Research Award of the General Research Board, University of Maryland (1981).
5. Faculty Research Award of the General Research Board, University of Maryland (1979).

## **VII. Publications**

### **VII.A Collected Essays**

1. *Regionalism in Trade Policy: Essays on Preferential Trading*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., November 1999.

### **VII.B Other Books**

2. *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, ed. (with Jaime de Melo), Cambridge University Press, 1993.

3. *The New Regionalism in Trade Policy*, (with Jaime de Melo), World Bank, 1992, short booklet.
4. *The Economics of Preferential Trade Agreements*, ed. (with J. Bhagwati), Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, November 1996.
5. *The Global Trading System and Developing Asia* (with M.G. Quibria and Narhari Rao), ed., Hong Kong: Oxford University Press for the Asian Development Bank, December 1997.
6. *Lectures on International Trade* (with J. Bhagwati and T.N. Srinivasan), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, September 1998.
7. *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements* (edited with J. Bhagwati and Pravin Krishna), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
8. *Environmental and Public Economics. Essays in Honor of Wallace E. Oates* (edited with Paul Portney and Robert Schwab), Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Co., 1999.
9. *The Political Economy of Foreign Trade, Aid and Investment Policies* (edited with Devashish Mitra), Elsevier, Amsterdam, 2004.
10. *Trade, Globalization and Poverty* (editor with Elias Dinopoulos, Pravin Krishna and Kar-yiu Wong), Oxon, U.K: Routledge, December 2007.
11. *India: The Emerging Giant*, New York: Oxford University Press, January 2008.

### **VII.C Technical Papers**

1. "Variable Returns to Scale in Production and Patterns of Specialization," *American Economic Review*, March 1981, 221-230.
2. "Gains from Trade under Variable Returns to Scale, Commodity Taxation, Tariffs and Factor Market Distortions" (with J. Eaton), *Journal of International Economics*, November 1979, 481-501.
3. "Import Targets and the Equivalence of Optimal Tariff and Quota Structures," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, November 1980, 711-715.
4. "Quantitative Restrictions in International Trade under Monopoly," *Journal of International Economics*, February 1981, 15-31.

5. "Variable Returns to Scale in General Equilibrium Theory Once Again," *Journal of International Economics*, November 1980, 499-526.
6. "Tariff Policy under Monopoly in General Equilibrium," *International Economic Review*, February 1982, 143-156.
7. "Growth and Welfare in a Small, Open Economy" (with J. Eaton), *Economica*, November 1982, 409-419.
8. "Import Objective, Distortions, and Optimal Tax Structure: A Generalization," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1983, 515-524.
9. "Variable Returns to Scale and the Heckscher-Ohlin and Factor Price Equalization Theorems," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, 1983, Vol. 119, 259-280.
10. "Trade and Factor Prices in a Model of Capital Utilization" (with R. Betancourt and C. Clague), *Southern Economic Journal*, 1984, Vol 50, 734-742.
11. "Smuggling, Trade and Price Disparity: A Crime Theoretic Approach" (with L. Martin), *Journal of International Economics*, November 1984, 201-217. (Lead Article)
12. "Capital Utilization and Factor Specificity" (with R. Betancourt and C. Clague), *Review of Economic Studies*, 1985, Vol. 52 311-329.
13. "The Harris-Todaro Model and Economies of Scale" (with Patricia Succar), *Southern Economic Journal*, April 1986, 984-998.
14. "Increasing Returns, Dynamic Stability, and International Trade," *Journal of International Economics*, 20, 1986, 43-63.
15. "Increasing Returns and the Specific-Factors Model," *Southern Economic Journal*, July 1986, 1-17. (Lead Article)
16. "Capital Utilization in the Heckscher-Ohlin Model" (with R. Betancourt and C. Clague), *International Trade Journal*, September 1987, 1-22. (Lead Article)
17. "A Theoretical Explanation of Some Stylized Facts of Economic Growth," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1988, 509-526.
18. "Excise-Tax Evasion: A Welfare cum Crime Theoretic Analysis" (with A.V.L. Narayana), *Public Finance*, 1988 Vol. 43, pp. 248-260.
19. "The Parallel Market in Centrally Planned Economies", *Economics and Politics*, July 1989, Vol. 1, 161-179.

20. "Excise Tax Evasion: Reply to Tower," (with A.V.L. Narayana), *Public Finance* 44, No. 3, 1989, 510-512.
21. "Temporary Trade Taxes, Welfare and the Current Account," (with Ramon Lopez), 1990, *Economics Letters* 33, 347-351.
22. "The Parallel Market in Centrally Planned Economies: A Dynamic Analysis," September 1990, *Journal of Comparative Economics* 14, 353-371.
23. "Indicative Planning in India: Discussion," December 1990, *Journal of Comparative Economics* 14, 736-742.
24. "Input Tariffs, Duty Drawbacks and Tariff Reforms," *Journal of International Economics*, February 1992, 132-147.
25. "Temporary Import and Export Quotas and the Current Account," (with Ramon Lopez), *Journal of International Economics*, November 1991, 371-381.
26. "Factor Mobility, Trade and Welfare: A North-South Analysis with Economies of Scale," *Journal of Development Economics* 39, 1992, 229-245.
27. "On the Theory of Piecemeal Tariff Reform: The Case of Pure Imported Intermediate Inputs," (with Ramon Lopez), *American Economic Review*, June, 1992, 615-625.
28. "Political Economy Arguments for a Uniform Tariff," *International Economic Review*, August 1993, 685-703.
29. "Can Revenue Maximizing Export Taxes Yield Higher Welfare than Welfare Maximizing Export Taxes?" (with Maurice Schiff), *Economics Letters*, 1994, Vol. 45, 79-84.
30. "A Political Economy Analysis of Free Trade Areas and Customs Unions," (with Ronald Findlay), in Robert Feenstra, Gene Grossman, and Douglas Irwin, eds., *The Political Economy of Trade Reform*, essays in honor of Jagdish Bhagwati, MIT Press, 1996. Reproduced as Chapter 17 in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
31. "Why and Why-Not of Uniform Tariffs," *Economic Studies Quarterly*, September 1994, 303-321.
32. "Explaining the Pattern of Factor Flows between the North and the South." *Osaka Economic Papers* 40, March 1991, 199-209.

33. "The Theory of Preferential Trade Agreements: Historical Evolution and Current Trends," (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *American Economic Review*, May 1996.
34. "The Meade Model of Preferential Trading: History, Analytics and Policy Implications," in Cohen, B.J., *International Trade and Finance: New Frontiers for Research*, Essays in Honor of Peter B. Kenen, Cambridge University Press, October 1997, 57-88. Reproduced as chapter 2 in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
35. "Preferential Trading and Capital Mobility," (with S. Suthiwart-Narueput) *Eastern Economic Journal* 22, No. 4, Fall 1996.
36. "Regional Integration and the Environment," (with S. Suthiwart-Narueput), *Environmental and Development Economics*, 1997.
37. "Preferential Trading and Real Wages," (with S. Suthiwart-Narueput) *Review of International Economics* 6, No. 3, August 1998.
38. "Preferential Trading and the Myth of Natural Trading Partners," *Japan and the World Economy* 9, 471-489, 1997.
39. "Trading Preferentially: Theory and Policy," (with Jagdish Bhagwati and David Greenaway), *Economic Journal*, July 1998, 1128-1148.
40. "Do Transport Costs Justify Regional Preferential Trading Arrangements? No." *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 134(2), 1998, 280-301.
41. "Anti-dumping Duty versus Price Competition," (with Poonam Gupta) *World Economy* 21(8), 1998, 1003-1019.
42. "The 'Gains' from Preferential Trade Liberalization in the CGEs: Where Do They Come From?" (with Rupa Duttagupta), in Sajal Lahiri, ed., *Regionalism and Globalization: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, 2001, 39-60.
43. "Evaluating the Factor-Content Approach to Measuring the Effect of Trade on Wage Inequality," *Journal of International Economics* 50(1), 2000 (Special Millennium and 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary issue)
44. "Preferential Trade Liberalization: The Traditional Theory and New Developments," *Journal of Economic Literature* 38, June 2000, 287-331.
45. "Defense and Welfare under Rivalry," (with Hirofumi Shibata) *International Economic Review* 41(4), November 2000, 951-69.

46. "A Unification of the Second Best Results in International Trade," (with Pravin Krishna) *Journal of International Economics* 52(2), 235-257, December 2000.
47. "Demand Elasticities in International Trade: Are They Really Low?" (with Shekhar Shah and Deepak Mishra), *Journal of Development Economics* 64, 2001, 313-342.
48. "On Welfare Enhancing FTAs," (with Pravin Krishna), *Journal of International Economics* 57(2), August 2002, 353-367.
49. "Politics of Free Trade Area: Tariffs versus Quotas," (with Rupa Duttagupta) *Journal of International Economics* 58(2), 413-427, December 2002.
50. "Cost of Protection: Where do We Stand?" *American Economic Review. Papers and Proceedings*, May 2002, 175-179.
51. "Anti-trade Bias in Trade Policy and General Equilibrium," (with Nuno Limao) *Contributions to Economic Analysis and Policy*, 2004, Vol. 3: No. 1, Article 14.
52. "India's Trade Reform" *India Policy Forum*, 2004, Volume 1, 1-57.
53. "The Muddles over Outsourcing," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 18, Number 4 (November 2004), pp. 93-114.
54. "Injury Investigations in Antidumping and the Super-Additivity Effect: A Theoretical Explanation (with Poonam Gupta), *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 142(1), 2006, 151-164.
55. "Bhagwati and Ramaswami: Why it *is* a Classic," *World Economy* 29(11), November 2006, 1553-1570.
56. "International Trade," in Clark, David, ed., *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, 2006, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 295-8.
57. "Migration: Who Gains, Who Loses," in Susan M. Collins and Carol Graham, editors, *Brookings Trade Forum 2006: Global Labor Markets?* 2006, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 229-244.
58. "International Trade." In David Clark, ed., *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, 2006, 295-298.
59. "Preferential Trading and General Equilibrium: The Small-Union Case Revisited," in Dinopoulos, Elias, Pravin Krishna, Arvind Panagariya and Kar-yiu Wong, eds., *Trade, Globalization and Poverty*, Oxon, U.K.: Routledge, December 2007.
60. "Inequality and Endogenous Trade Policy Outcomes," *Journal of International Economics* (with Nuno Limao) 72(2), pages 292-309, July 2007.

61. "Free Trade Areas and Rules of Origin: Economics and Politics" (with Rupa Duttagupta), *Economics and Politics* 19(2), 169-190, July 2007
62. "Bhagwati, Jagdish," *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, October 2007.
63. "Tariffs versus Quotas," *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, Forthcoming (May 2008).
64. "Heckscher-Ohlin Model, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy*, forthcoming.

#### **VII.D Policy Papers: India/South Asia (Also see press writings in Section VII.F)**

1. "The Caste System and Economic Development," *Rajasthan Economic Journal*, July 1981, 1-15.
2. "India: A New Tiger on the Block?" *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 1, Summer 1994, pp. 193-221
3. "What Can We Learn from China's Export Strategy?" *Finance and Development*, June 1995.
4. "Trade Policy in South Asia: Recent Liberalization and Future Agenda," *World Economy* 22(3), May 1999, 353-378.
5. "WTO Trade Policy Review of India, 1998," *World Economy*, August 1999, 799-824.
6. "The Millennium Budget: Behind Its Time?," *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 4-10, 2000, 755-758.
7. "India's Economic Reforms: What has been accomplished? What remains to be done?" EDRC Policy Brief 2, November 2001, Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines
8. "Trade Liberalization in Asia," in Jagdish Bhagwati, ed., *Going Alone: The case for Relaxed Reciprocity in Freeing Trade*, Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2002, 219-301.
9. "India at Doha: Retrospect and Prospect," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37(4), January 26, 2002, 279-284.
10. "South Asia: Does Preferential Trade Liberalization Make Sense?" *World Economy*, 2003, Volume 26, no. 9 (special issue on Global Trade Policy), pp. 1279-1291.

11. "India in the 1980s and 1990s: A Triumph of Reforms", IMF Working Paper WP/04/43. Forthcoming in Tseng, W. and D. Cowen, eds., *India's and China's Recent Experience with Reform and Growth*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London, forthcoming.
12. "Is a Crisis Around the Corner?" (Comment on "A Balance Sheet Crisis in India," by Nouriel Roubini and Richard Hemming) in Peter S. Heller and Govinda Rao, *A Sustainable Fiscal Policy for India: An International Perspective*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.
13. "India: Are the Skeptics Right?" *IMF Survey* 32, number 21, December 1, 2003.
14. "Growth and reforms during 1980s and 1990s," *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 19, 2004, 2581-94
15. "Vote Against Reforms?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 22, 2004.
16. "Bringing Competition to the Top Civil Service," *Yojana* (published in 13 Indian languages simultaneously), August 2005.
17. "Why India lags behind China and how it can Bridge the Gap," *World Economy* 30 (2), 229–248, February 2007.
18. "India and the WTO," in Kaushik Basu, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Economics in India*, 562-5, 2007.
19. 'India and China: Trade and Foreign Investment', paper presented at the conference 'Challenges of Economic Policy Reform in Asia', Stanford Center for International Development, June 1-3, 2006. To be published in a volume edited by T. N. Srinivasan.
20. 'Transforming India', in Jagdish Bhagwati and Charles Calomiris, eds., *Sustaining India's Growth Miracle*, forthcoming in April 2008.
21. 'The Political Economy of Trade and Foreign Investment Policies in India: 1950-2006,' paper presented at the conference 'Applied Economic Research in Independent India: The Way Forward', National Council on Applied Economic Research, December 17, 2006. To be published in a volume edited by Suman Bery, Surjit Bhalla and Rakesh Mohan.
22. 'External Liberalization by India and China: Recent Experience and Future Challenges,' presented at Macroeconomy Research Conference of the Tokyo Club Foundation for Global Studies, December 6-7, 2006.

## **VII.E Trade and Development**

1. "Commodity Exports and Real Income in Africa: A Preliminary Analysis," (with Maurice Schiff) in Chhibber, A. and Fischer, S., eds., *Economic Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa*, The World Bank, 1991, Published in Spanish under the title "Politica Comercial Exportaciones de Productos Basicos y Bienestar: Teoria y Aplicacion al Cocoa" in *Cuadernos de Economia* 28, 249-269, August 1991.
2. "Taxes versus Quotas: The Case of Cocoa Exports," (with Maurice Schiff), in Goldin, I. and Winters, A., *Open Economies: Structural Adjustment and Agriculture*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
3. "Unraveling the Mysteries of China's Foreign Trade Regime," *World Economy*, January 1993, 51-68.
4. "Introduction," in "A Symposium on the Economics of Uniform Tariffs," *Economic Studies Quarterly*, September 1994.
5. "Optimum and Revenue Maximizing Trade Taxes in a Multicountry Framework: Theory and Application to Cocoa," (with Maurice Schiff), *Revista de Analisis Economico*, June 1995.
6. "The Theory and Practice of Trade Reform: A Public Economics Perspective," (with Shanta Devarajan) in Guillermo Perry, John Whalley and Gary McMohan, eds., *Fiscal Reform and Structural Change in Developing Countries*, Volume 2, New York: St. Martin's Press and International Development Research Center, 2000.
7. "Introduction," (with M.G. Quibria and N. Rao) in Arvind Panagariya, Muhamed Quibria and Narhari Rao), eds., *The Global Trading System and Developing Asia*, December, 1997, 3-44.
8. "TRIPs and the WTO: An Uneasy Marriage," in Bhagwati, J., ed., *The Next Negotiating Round: Examining the Agenda for Seattle*, Proceedings of the Conference Held at Columbia University, July 23-24, 1999, 91-102, chapter 11. To be reproduced in a volume to be edited by Keith Maskus and published by Edward Elgar.
9. "Free Trade at the Border," in Bhagwati, J., ed., *The Next Negotiating Round: Examining the Agenda for Seattle*, Proceedings of the Conference Held at Columbia University, July 23-24, 1999, 209-223, chapter 20.
10. "E-Commerce, WTO and Developing Countries," *World Economy* 23, No. 8, August 2000, 959-978.
11. "Trade-Labor Link: A Post-Seattle Analysis," in Drabek, Zdenek, *Globalization under Threat*, Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 2001, 101-123.

12. "Developing Countries at Doha: A Political Economy Analysis," *World Economy: Global Trade Policy: 2002* (special issue, by invitation only) 25, No. 9, 1205-33.
13. "Evaluating the Case for Export Subsidies," in David Greenaway, Reanto Flôres and Germán Calfat, ed., *Essays in Honor of Mathew Tharakan*, forthcoming [available as Policy Research Working Paper 2276, World Bank, January 2000].
14. "Labor Standards and Trade Sanctions: Right End Wrong Means," in Devashish Mitra and Rana Hasan, eds., *The Impact of Trade on Labor: Issues, Perspectives, and Experiences from Developing Asia*, 2003, North Holland, 141-157.
15. "Wanted: Jubilee 2010. Dismantling Protection" (with Jagdish Bhagwati), *OECD Observer*, No. 231/232, May 2002, 27-29.
16. "Trade Liberalization and Food Security: Conceptual Links," in *Trade Reforms and Food Security*, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, Rome Chapter 3, 25-42.
17. "Equality versus Poverty," *Tech Central Station* (an interview by Radley Balko), August 4, 2003.
18. "Think Again: International Trade," *Foreign Policy*, November-December 2003, 20-28.
19. "Aid through Trade: An Effective Option?" forthcoming in an edited volume by the Center for Global Development.
20. "The Millennium Round and developing Countries: Negotiating Strategies and Areas of Benefits," September 1999, UNCTAD and Center for International Development, G-24 Discussion Papers Series, No. 1, March 2000.
21. "Miracles and Debacles: In Defense of Trade Openness," *World Economy* 27, No 8, (special issue on Global Trade Policy), August 2004, 1149-71.
22. "Agricultural Liberalization and the Least Developed Countries: Six Fallacies," *World Economy* 28, No. 9, (Special issue on Global Trade Policy) September 2005, 1277-1299.
23. "A Passage to Prosperity," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July/August, 2005.
24. "The Protection Racket," *Foreign Policy* September/October 2005, 94-95.
25. "Liberalizing Agriculture," *Foreign Affairs*, December 2005, 56-66.
26. "Trade and Labor: A Trade Economist's View," *Integration and Trade Journal*, July-December, 2006, No. 25, 261-279.

27. "Outsourcing: Is the Third Industrial Revolution Really Around the Corner?" Paper presented at Macro research Foundation Conference 2007, Tokyo Club Foundation for Research Studies, Tokyo, November 13-14, 2007.

**VII.F Policy Papers: Regionalism** (Also see the relevant items under VII.B and VII.C)

1. "Preferential Trading Areas and Multilateralism: Strangers, Friends or Foes?" (with J. Bhagwati), in Bhagwati, J. and Panagariya, A., *The Economics of Preferential Trading*, Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1996, 1-78. Reproduced as chapter 2 in Bhagwati, J., P. Krishna and Arvind Panagariya, eds., *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, February 1999.
2. "The Free Trade Area of the Americas: Good for Latin America?," *World Economy* 19(5), September 1996, 485-515. Reproduced in Milner, Chris, *Developing and Newly Industrializing Countries*, Volume I, Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, ch. 17, 375-405.
3. "East Asia and the New Regionalism in World Trade," *World Economy*, November 1994, 817-839. Reproduced in Milner, Chris, *Developing and Newly Industrializing Countries*, Volume I, Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, ch. 15, 341-363.
4. "East Asia: A New Trading Bloc?" *Finance and Development*, March 1994, 16-19.
5. "Should East Asia Go Regional?" in Lee, Hiro and Roland-Holst, David, *Economic Development and Cooperation in the Pacific Basin*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, ch. 4, 119-154.
6. "Is East Asia Less Open than North America and the European Community? No." (with Sumana Dhar) in Woodland, Alan and John Piggott, eds. *International Trade Policy and the Pacific Rim*, U.K.: Macmillan Press, 1998, ch. 5, 105-123.
7. "Rethinking the New Regionalism," in John Nash and Wendy Takacs, eds., *Trade Policy Reform. Lessons and Implications*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1998, 87-145.
8. "The New Regionalism," (with Jaime de Melo) *Finance and Development*, December 1992, 37-40.
9. "The New Regionalism: A Country Perspective," (with Jaime de Melo and Dani Rodrik) in Jaime de Melo and Arvind Panagariya, ed., *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, pp. 159-193, 1993. Also CEPR Discussion Paper #517 and World Bank working paper WPS #1094.

10. "Introduction," (with Jaime de Melo) in *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, pp. 159-193, 1993.
11. "L'integration Regionale Hier et Aujourd'hui," (with Jaime de Melo and Claudio Montenegro) *Revue Economique du Developpement*, February 1993, pp. 7-49. In English, "Regional Integration, Old and New," WPS #985, World Bank.
12. "APEC and the United States," in Woodland, Alan and John Piggott, eds. *International Trade Policy and the Pacific Rim*, U.K.: Macmillan Press, 1998, ch. 14, 302-318.
13. "The New Regionalism: A Benign or Malign Growth," (with T.N. Srinivasan) in Bhagwati, J. and Hirsch, M., eds., *The Uruguay Round and Beyond. Essays in Honor of Arthur Dunkel*, Springer-Verlag, May 1998, 221-240.
14. "Preferential Trading and Developing Asia," in Teunissen, J.J., *Regional Integration and Multilateral Cooperation in the Global Economy*, May 1998, The Hague: FONDAD, 77-92.
15. "An Empirical Estimate of Static Welfare Losses to Mexico from NAFTA," in Panagariya, Arvind, ed., *Regionalism in Trade Policy: Essays in Preferential Trading*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co, September 1999, 215-224.
16. "The Regionalism Debate: An Overview," *World Economy*, June 1999, 477-511.
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