

## **JAMES BACCHUS**

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### **Public Service**

A founding Member and twice the Chairman of the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, 1995-2003. The WTO dispute settlement system resolves international disputes involving more than 98% of all world commerce. Served eight years as a founding judge, the only American judge, and one of the seven judges worldwide on the highest global tribunal for world trade. Twice elected as Chairman by his six fellow judges, in 2002 and 2003. Nominated on a bipartisan basis by the United States and twice appointed to the Appellate Body by consensus of the currently 166 countries that are Members of the WTO. Judged every international trade dispute and wrote landmark legal opinions along with his colleagues during the first decade of the WTO. Every appellate judgment in every appeal during that time was by consensus. Helped establish the WTO Appellate Body as a leading global tribunal and the WTO dispute settlement system as a leading framework for resolving international trade disputes and upholding the international rule of law. Described by *The American Lawyer* magazine as “the John Marshall of the World Trade Organization” (March 2004). Recipient on 2004 of the Weeramantry International Justice Award for achievements on behalf of international law, peace, sustainable development, and global humanism.

Currently, Distinguished University Professor of Global Affairs and Director of the Center for Global Economic and Environmental Opportunity (GEEO) at the University of Central Florida in Orlando, Florida, since September 2017, and frequent Visiting Fellow at the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law and member of the Advisory Board to Cambridge Governance Labs of the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom. The mission of GEEO is to foster links to sustainable development at every level and to explore new forms of

governance at every level that further the creation of economic and environmental opportunity within a context of maximum democratic participation, social equity, and inclusion. GEEO aims to help scale and link sustainability initiatives locally, regionally, and worldwide; help establish and strengthen the enabling frameworks of rules needed to support these initiatives and help them succeed; and help identify and advance international rules and international institutions needed for effective and democratic global economic and environmental governance. GEEO is currently engaged locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally on a wide range of sustainable development issues and projects. The Cambridge Lauterpacht Centre is one of the leading research institutions for international law in the world, and the mission of Cambridge Governance Labs is to refine and disseminate knowledge about the elements of governance risk to empower those promoting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and tackling serious global threats.

Writer, speaker, and worldwide advocate and activist for addressing economic, environmental, and social issues of global governance and global concern. Numerous and varied current global pursuits in public service include: Member of the United States Leadership Council of the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network, the UN-sponsored agency devoted to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, the group with responsibility for leading the American effort to accomplish the global goals, since 2019. Senior Research Fellow of the Earth System Governance Project, since 2022. Member of the Expert Network and the Climate Trade Zero Steering Committee of the World Economic Forum, since 2021. Member of the International Advisory Committee to the Forum on Trade, Environment, and the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations Environment Program, since 2021. Member of the UK Climate and Trade Commission for the United Kingdom, since 2022. Member of the Advisory Board to the Center on Inclusive Trade and Development of Georgetown University, since 2022. Member of the Bretton Woods Committee, since 1995, and elected life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, since 1995.

Also, previously: Member of the High-Level Advisory Panel to the President of the Conference of Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, providing legal counsel during negotiations on the Paris climate agreement, 2014-2016. Chair of

the global Commission on Trade and Investment Policy of the Paris-based International Chamber of Commerce, representing more than seven million businesses in 120 countries on international commercial issues, 2012-2020. Chair of the Global Agenda Council on Governance for Sustainability of the Davos-based World Economic Forum, 2012-2014. Member of the Global Futures Council on Trade and Foreign Direct Investment of the World Economic Forum, 2011-2012, and 2014-2018. Chair of the global expert group on trade and climate change for the WEF E15 Initiative, 2014-2015. “B20” business adviser to the “G20” heads of state on the international economy, representing the International Chamber of Commerce, 2014-2020.

International jurist in dispute settlement and arbitration. International juridical service currently includes: member of the List of Chairpersons for international arbitration under the CARIFORUM Economic Partnership Agreement between the European Union and the CARIFORUM states of the Caribbean, since 2016; member of the Roster of Panel Chairs for international dispute settlement under the 11-nation Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership, since 2020; Chairperson on the List of Arbitrators appointed by Canada and the European Union under their Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, since 2020; member of the Chapter 24 Panel of Experts arbitration roster for the Canada-United Kingdom Trade Continuity Agreement, since 2022; member of the List of Chairpersons for arbitrations and for trade and sustainable development expert panel proceedings for European Union trade agreements, since 2022; arbitrator for the Shenzhen Court of International Arbitration in China, since 2022; and member of the Panel of Arbitrators for the South China International Arbitration Center in Hong Kong, since 2022.

Member of the Congress of the United States, 1991-1995. Elected to represent the 11<sup>th</sup> District of Florida in the United States House of Representatives in 1990. Elected to represent the 15<sup>th</sup> District of Florida in 1992. Chose not to seek re-election in 1994. Districts included Orlando, Cape Canaveral, and much of East Central Florida. Active member of Congressional committees on science, space, technology, and banking and other financial services. Member of select committee on children. Congressional leader and advocate on numerous international trade, banking, technology, environmental, education, children, space, health, and other issues. Leading sponsor and supporter of the International Space Station, the Space Shuttle, the

successful repair mission to the Hubble Space Telescope, improvements to the Commercial Space Act, and numerous other legislative initiatives involving public and private space exploration. Original co-sponsor of the implementing legislation for the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade agreements establishing the World Trade Organization and leading supporter of numerous other trade initiatives, including the North American Free Trade Agreement and establishing normal trade relations with China.

Also, while a Member of Congress: The leading sponsor of legislation establishing the Archie Carr National Wildlife Refuge for endangered sea turtles, expanding the Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge (the nation's oldest), and restoring the natural flow of the Kissimmee River into the Florida Everglades, among other environmental accomplishments. Secured federal funding for numerous other education, transportation, industry, health and other social services, and other projects throughout Central Florida. Chaired commission appointed by the Governor of Florida to oversee military base closures in the state. Organized and led community work projects every other week called "Citizen Saturdays" in which volunteers cleaned up beaches, rivers, and lakes; worked in nursing homes; built homeless shelters and Head Start centers; and engaged together in other forms of grass-roots public service. The first Democrat in the history of the South elected to an open Congressional seat in a district where Republicans outnumbered Democrats, and the first one re-elected.

Special Assistant to United States Trade Representative Reubin Askew, Executive Office of the President, 1979-1981. Assisted the USTR on trade issues and on trade negotiations worldwide, including implementation of the agreements resulting from the Tokyo Round of GATT multilateral trade negotiations, implementation of the first bilateral trade agreement between the United States and the People's Republic of China, negotiations on an array of trade issues with other US trading partners, and work on international financial issues relating to the World Bank and other international financial institutions. Later became first former trade negotiator for the United States to serve in the Congress of the United States since John Quincy Adams.

Deputy Press Secretary and Chief Speechwriter, 1974-1976, to Florida Governor Reubin Askew, who was named by the Kennedy School at Harvard University as one of the ten greatest American governors of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Senior aide and adviser to Governor Askew in crafting and implementing state initiatives in many areas, including ethics reform, judicial reform, international trade, economic development, education, environmental preservation, health and other social services, and sustainable development, which in Florida at the time was called growth management. Co-author of the “Sunshine Amendment” to the Florida Constitution for open and ethical government. Led to later roles addressing the nexus of economic and environmental issues as general counsel to Florida’s state growth planning commission, 1985-1986, and as chairman of community development efforts in hometown of Orlando, Florida, 1987-1989, before election in 1990 to the Congress of the United States.

Enlisted service in the United States Army, the United States Army Reserve, the Connecticut National Guard, and the Florida National Guard, 1971-1977.

### **Publications**

Author of numerous newspaper, periodical, and journal articles, essays, and papers appearing in prominent publications worldwide on many aspects of international law and international political economy; and author of the following books: *Trade and Freedom*, published by Cameron May in London in 2004, sold worldwide, reprinted several times, and translated and published in Mandarin in China in 2014; *The Willing World: Shaping and Sharing a Sustainable Global Prosperity*, published by Cambridge University Press in July, 2018, named one of the “Best Books of the Year” for 2018 by the *Financial Times* of London and selected as the featured book at the 2018 Global Public Forum of the WTO; *The Development Dimension: Special and Differential Treatment in Trade*, with co-author Inu Manak, published by Routledge Press in 2021; *Trade Links: New Rules for a New World*, published by Cambridge University Press in March, 2022, named by the *Financial Times* as one of the “Best Books of the Summer” for 2022 and selected as the featured book at the 2022 Global Public Forum of the WTO; and

*Truth About Trade: Reflections on International Trade and Law* (World Scientific Publishing, 2023). In spring 2025, Cambridge University Press will publish his next book, *Democracy for a Sustainable World: The Path from the Pnyx*, which is about the relationship between democracy and sustainable development and the need for a much more participatory form of democracy as a framework for genuinely democratic global governance.

### **Academic and Scholarly Experience**

Visiting Fellow, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law and Wolfson College, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2023 and 2024.

Pao Yue-Kong Chair University Professor, Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China, 2018 - 2022.

Adjunct Scholar, Cato Institute, Washington, D.C, since 2018.

Global Fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, since 2017.

Distinguished Fellow, European Institute for International Relations, Paris, France, since 2021.

Distinguished Global Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Athens, Greece, since 2022.

Senior Fellow, Centre for International Sustainable Development Law, Montreal, Canada, since 2022.

Global Fellows Faculty Committee of the Asia Global Institute, Hong Kong, China, since 2017.

Honorary Professor of Law, University of International Business and Economics, Beijing, China, since 2010.

Faculty and Chairman for sessions of the Salzburg Global Seminar on trade and on sustainability, Salzburg, Austria, beginning in 2012.

Visiting Professor of Law, Vanderbilt University Law School, Nashville, Tennessee, 2004-2009. Taught courses on international trade law and WTO dispute settlement. Lectured elsewhere in the law school and in other university departments.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Politics, Rollins College, 1995-1997. Distinguished Visiting Scholar in 1995. Taught courses on political philosophy and democratic governance.

Frequent lecturer on public international law; on international economic, environmental, climate change, and sustainability law; and on the international rule of law in law schools and research institutes worldwide, including Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Georgetown, Virginia, and other universities and institutes in the United States, and leading universities and institutes in Australia, Canada, China, Greece, Mexico, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, the United Kingdom, Spain, France, South Korea, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and other countries.

### **Legal Experience**

Chair of the Global Practice of Greenberg Traurig, P.A. with offices in Orlando, Florida, and Washington, D.C., 2004-2017. A principal shareholder in the largest law firm in the United States and one of the largest in the world, an international law firm of more than 2500 lawyers,

with tens of thousands of business clients and more than three dozen offices in the Americas, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Chaired and engaged in worldwide law practice focusing on transactions, disputes, and other matters relating to international business, finance, trade, investment, climate change, environment, and sustainable development. Several decades of experience as counsel on complex international matters of numerous kinds. Listed repeatedly in *Chambers Global*, *Chambers USA*, *Washington DC Super Lawyers*, and *Best Lawyers in America*. Selected and listed by Martindale Hubbell as AV Preeminent Attorney – Judicial Edition.

Founder and Managing Shareholder of the Orlando, Florida, office of Greenberg Traurig, 1995-2001. Started the office alone after choosing not to seek re-election to a third term in the Congress. Office now includes about 40 lawyers. Served as a Member of the WTO Appellate Body, nominally a part-time post, while also building the Orlando office of the law firm. On leave of absence while serving as Chairman of the WTO Appellate Body, 2001-2003. Attorney and Partner, Akerman Senterfitt & Eidson, Orlando, Florida, 1984-1990, until election to the Congress. Attorney, Greenberg Traurig, P.A., Miami, Florida, 1979, 1981-1982, both before and after service in the Office of the United States Trade Representative.

Member of the Bar of the District of Columbia.

### **Journalistic Experience**

Reporter and columnist, Orlando *Sentinel*, in Florida and in Washington, intermittently, 1968-1973. Reporter, Sanford *Herald*, Florida, 1964-1967. Winner of numerous journalism awards, including the national Silver Gavel Award for Outstanding Public Service in Journalism by the American Bar Association in 1974, for a series of articles on Florida prisons which helped lead to significant state correctional reforms at that time.



## **Education**

Juris Doctor, Florida State University College of Law, 1978. High Honors. Order of the Coif. Editor-in-Chief of the Florida State University Law Review.

Master of Arts in History, Yale University, 1973. Woodrow Wilson Fellow. Attended on a full academic fellowship.

Bachelor of Arts, Vanderbilt University, 1971. Magna Cum Laude. Phi Beta Kappa. High Honors in History. Founders Scholar. Attended on a full academic scholarship.

Honorary doctorates from Rollins College, Sierra Nevada College, and the University of Central Florida. Alumnus of the year of Florida State University in 2005.

Named as one of the 100 leading alumni in the history of Florida State University.