



Universiteit
Leiden

Faculty of Humanities

**“Economic Interdependence and Security: A Discourse
Analysis of WTO Accessions”**

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June 29th, 2018

Master Thesis in International Relations (Global Political Economy)

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Word count: 16.367 words

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Chapter 1: Introduction

States have used different justifications for acceding to the WTO, mostly through economic or security terms (or both). Considering the existing debates on economic interdependence, *to what extent did Latvia and Yemen invoke security as a justification for joining the WTO?* This question becomes relevant as we assess the existing positions regarding free trade. Indeed, multiple academics have made arguments regarding the economic benefits of free trade (Dollar 1992; Ben-David 1993; Sachs and Warner 1995; Edwards 1998; Frankel and Romer 1999). Proponents of free trade, either in academia or in government, have mostly mentioned and based their case upon economic gains, but many of those proponents have also put forward the importance of trade regarding economic interdependence and security. Indeed, a great part of the current literature in international political economy (IPE), as well as in security and conflict studies, argues that trade between countries is beneficial for security reasons, as it disincentives countries to go to war with a country with whom they benefit from through economic gains.

In other words, according to proponents of free trade (both in academia and according to foreign policy executives (FPEs)), there are two main reasons for which trade represents an essential part of the international system: economic and security gains. If a majority of academics and FPEs agree on the importance of economic gains as a justification for trade, it is worth questioning the actual importance of security, as a part of the economic interdependence argument, as a justification for states to join the global economic system that we currently experience. Moreover, understanding states' justifications could help reduce the policy gap between International Relations Theory (IRT) and actual happenings, which could in turn, help better understand state behaviour regarding trade and international organizations.

Arguably, the global economy is currently a rules-based system, with international institutions and regimes all pointing to free-trade as being, if not an imperative, a strong recommendation for countries to follow in domestic and international economic activities. As the crown jewel of

international organizations for free-trade proponents, the World Trade Organization (WTO) itself recognizes that states have different reasons for acceding to the Organization, for instance based upon economic, development, or security justifications¹. Related to this issue of justifications, several branches of IRT have looked at the value of language and the power it carries. For example, a number of constructivists and members of the Copenhagen School agree upon the fact that through language, issues can be considered a “speech-act”, through which “the utterance itself is the act” (Waever 1995, 55). Thus, assessing the language used by states to justify their accession to the WTO becomes relevant, allowing us to inquire whether security is seen as an important issue by states when entering economic interdependence relationships.

To analyse state justifications, I am using Discourse Analysis (DA), which aims to inquire whether liberal and/or realist claims about the relationship between economic interdependence and security are in fact present in discursive and textual justifications made by states. The focus of this thesis is thus to assess how states frame their justifications for joining the WTO, and not to evaluate motives or interests. It must be noted that the research question stated the term “states” as the object of analysis. However, in this thesis, the scope will be focused upon foreign policy executives. Indeed, the justifications and choices regarding trade policy-making come from FPEs, whether this concerns governmental ministers, parliamentarians of the majority, or trade representatives for instance. Therefore, the approach will be linked to Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), in which foreign policy executives are believed to be the main decision-makers, in lieu of the “state” (Hudson 2005). Speeches, statements, declarations, books, or memoirs issued by foreign policy executives in charge of, or responsible for, the WTO Accession of their government (and therefore the state) will thus be analyzed through DA.

Importantly, this thesis aims to fill out a gap in the literature through discourse analysis. On one hand, economic interdependence is almost taken for granted as a state justification in the liberal literature, and its possible decline is not present in the liberal literature. It is mostly agreed in the realist paradigm that economic interdependence is a weak type of insurance between states (as it

¹ WTO Secretariat. (2008): “Introductory statements made at the first meeting of Working Parties provide applicants with an opportunity to introduce themselves. They may also provide an insight into the reasons behind their application to accede [...]”. The chapter then states that applicants have provided reasons such as: “economic development”; “trading opportunities” or “stability promised by the system, emphasizing that membership of the WTO will be a guarantee that their trade relations will be based on commercial considerations and the rule of law, rather than on political considerations and pure bargaining power” (pp. 55).

requires trust, which neither states themselves nor international organizations are assumed to be able to provide). Inquiring into the framing of justifications given by states might provide broader conclusions regarding the realm of economic interdependence. Also, on the other hand, the use of DA itself in international political economy is quite rare, especially when focusing upon the WTO, and may provide further insights into states' positions regarding economic interdependence and security.

Moreover, while all international economic institutions play a role in increasing economic interdependence among nations, the GATT/World Trade Organization creates a much stronger case for economic interdependence than the other main global institutions. Indeed, the GATT/WTO has the goal of increasing and bettering relationships between trade partners through international negotiations, fitting the theoretical concept of economic interdependence like a glove. Secondly, although the GATT/WTO has also been criticized for reasons like the IMF and the WB, most of the literature largely agrees that the WTO has mainly been beneficial to its members, by increasing trade levels, as well as regulatory convergence. And most importantly, WTO membership is not easy to obtain, nor does it come from a fee having to be paid. States must show they are adapting to the rules of the WTO and that they intend to implement and respect future changes. Moreover, the GATT, as the WTO's predecessor, emerged in the post-war context, when numerous international organizations were created, with one of the main common goals being the reduction of interstate conflict through the increase of international relationships, intertwining states with one another politically, economically, culturally and militarily (meaning aiming for peaceful relationships should in theory be enshrined within the Organization's culture), hence why studying whether economic interdependence (understood as a security tool) is still relevant as a state's justification for accessing the WTO has value in contemporary times. From a broader perspective, studying the WTO might also provide further insights into international organizations in IRT in general.

Furthermore, while further explanation will be given in the Methods section as to why those two countries were chosen, it must be noted that part of the relevance of this study resides in the fact that the cases of Yemen and Latvia allows the investigation of countries that are outside of the 'Great Powers' spectrum. Considering that both Yemen and Latvia are considered to be *small* states, this study, while it is not its primary aim, moves away from the Great Power bias inherent

to modern IRT, Also, considering the contemporary evolutions in international trade, especially the potential blow to the WTO from the United States and its move away from multilateralism, studies of this type become very relevant.

In order to answer the research question, I will first assess the current literature regarding the value of economic interdependence and the theoretical debates regarding its importance in developing today's global economic institutions. Following this will be a review of the literature on the accession to the WTO, as well as a section the value of language in International Relations. Next up will be a chapter on the research methods I use in this thesis. The bulk of the analysis will then follow, with a multiple case-study analysis of specific countries (namely Latvia and Yemen) and their justification(s) for joining the WTO, to further understand state preferences in economic interdependence.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This literature review seeks to define the key terms related to this thesis, to provide the current debates regarding economic interdependence and their limitations, to look at the different possible justifications made by states to join international organizations, as well as to assess the relevance of Discourse Analysis in the field of IPE.

1. Definitions

The definition of *state* is highly debated in the international relations scholarship. For instance, there is a debate on whether a state is a unitary unit commanded by the elite (often argued by classical realists) or directed by its domestic forces (an important notion for the liberal schools). Its power and influence as a unit is also very much challenged both empirically and in theoretical matters, by the increasing transnational character of actors. However, as stated earlier, trade policy-making (and its justifications), which is the focus of the thesis, is guided by foreign policy executives. Indeed, although civil society, corporations, unions, etc. might have influence upon a state's behaviour in WTO Accession negotiations, the final decision belongs to foreign policy executives alone. Therefore, *state* in our case will be limited to FPEs.

Justifications in our case refers to the ideology, the driving force, the mechanisms that the states believe to be the reason(s) for acceding to the WTO, and that the state decides to mention in the public eye. Importantly, the term “justifications” inherently refers to an interactive relationship. Indeed, it is necessarily linked to a process of “what justification to whom”. In our case, justifications would originate from the states themselves, and would be directed towards either the international community, the WTO, or to domestic constituents (whether they would be part of civil society or of business associations for instance). One important thing to note is that justifications (or any sort of statements made and available to the public eye) cannot be considered “exclusive”, insofar as the data we will be using is not confidential or secret data, as in the case of government officials making back-door promises to certain interest groups to rally them to their cause.

The term *security* could be understood in different ways, especially in the context of international relations, of international economics, and of the WTO. This could refer to security in terms of military stability and simply avoiding conflicts; to economic security for states and/or citizens; to food security; or to environmental security for instance. However, in this thesis, security will be referred to from a national perspective, namely for a state avoiding conflict or at least mitigating conflict. Conflict in this thesis can be seen as either inter-state conflict, or intra-state conflict.

Economic interdependence can be defined in two separate ways, although these two notions are not necessarily opposite and can co-exist in empirical international relations. Using Richard Baldwin's concept of 'dependence' (himself borrowing from Raymond Duvall), economic interdependence can either be referred to as "sensitivity interdependence" or as "vulnerability interdependence", the first notion referring to the idea that a state's well-being is dependent on contingent forces; while the latter implies that states' relationships with one another "would be costly to forego" (Baldwin 1980, 475-476). While vulnerability interdependence relates to states' ability to "reduce the costs imposed by outside actions" (Keohane and Nye 1977, 12), sensitivity interdependence allows us to focus on the costs that states would face if a policy were to change. In our case, this means that states would face security costs were their economic links with other states to lower or degrade. Hence, for purposes of clarity, I will make a distinction between the two main facets of economic interdependence: economic (through mutual gains) and security (through intertwining of economies). This will indeed be the main issue of study in this thesis, namely to observe whether states are interested in economic gains only, or in economic and security gains at the same time, when joining the WTO.

Within the current literature on economic interdependence as a security tool, a few debates can be identified and discussed to understand the validity and relevance of our thesis. Because states, when joining the WTO, make a conscious choice of increasing and bettering their trading position, it is relevant to look at the literature on state behaviour regarding trade, and especially the discussion on the rationality for states to prefer trade to war to secure their position. Two schools of thought can be distinguished within this literature. First, enshrined within the liberal position is the idea of *Perpetual Peace*, mostly coming from Immanuel Kant. The main idea is that international peace can be achieved between republican governments,

through trade and international federation. The idea has been studied by many since then, but Oneal and Russett have managed to provide a fair account of its relevance in modern times. They argue that “commercial relations draw states into a web of mutual self-interest that constrains them from using force against one another” (Oneal and Russett 1999, 3). Moreover, trade is to be favored over war for two main reasons. First, it is argued that states obtain similar gains through trade or war, but they do not have to suffer the costs of going to war when choosing to trade. Second, modern times have seen the rise of increasingly dangerous technology, accompanied with rising costs of war. As a result, trade is assumed in the liberal literature to be a rational and logical behaviour (Copeland 1996, 8).

On the other hand, the realist argument, however, posits that trade and economic interdependence actually “heightens the likelihood of war” (Copeland 1996, 11). According to the realist literature, one should expect states would not rely and trust economic interdependence as a tool for security and peace. They argue so because since states prioritize their survival, they must be in control of the resources they use and being dependent on another country only weakens a state’s position. Several realists have supported this position, including Dell: “interdependence is threat to independence” (1987, 17); Mearsheimer: “economic interdependence [...] will probably lead to greater security competition” (1990, 45); or Waltz, for whom states have “to control what they depend on or to lessen the extent of their dependency” (1979, 106). Barry Buzan even goes as far as saying that “interdependence becomes addictive” as “high levels of domestic welfare are dependent on the maintenance of liberal economic relations, governments become especially vulnerable to economic pressure” (1984, 603-604). Moreover, several empirical studies have had conclusions clashing with the liberal claims about trade’s peaceful effect, such as Barbieri (1996; 2002).

In sum, state engagement in trade and economic interdependence is assumed to be rational for liberals, as it benefits states through mutual gains, as well as reduce the costs of reaching these economic benefits. It is quite the opposite for a majority of realists, whom argue that states should refrain from entering relationships that resemble interdependence, at the risk of losing agency and security. This debate is very much linked to the core questions of the trade-security nexus related to economic securitization. Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde argued that securitization “is the move that takes... [foreign economic policy] beyond the established rules of the game

and frames the issue as either a special kind of politics or as above politics” (1998, 23), hence why this ‘conscious’ choice made by states when entering interdependent relations are relevant to study.

Some authors have attempted to find a middle-ground between both sides of the spectrum on economic interdependence, such as Gasiorowski, who argued that “while the costly aspects of interdependence seem to produce greater international conflict, its beneficial aspects appear to produce a decline in conflict” (1986, 23). Whether or not an agreement can be found between the two positions, or whether one is more reflective of reality than the other, is not really the issue, as I will explain later in this literature review.

2. What are states’ justifications for joining international organizations?

Linked to the idea of economic interdependence is the existence of international institutions. Indeed, whether through the form of bilateral, regional or multilateral organizations, institutions, or regimes, states intertwine their security issues, their economies, their culture, or their norms. But how do states justify joining these international organizations?

One of the most important reasons regards security interests; for instance, alliances provide stability for states amid anarchy. The Foreign Minister of the latest country to join NATO, Montenegro, argued that becoming a member marked a definite move into the Western security structures, further away from Russia (Deutsche Welle, 2017). Realists such as Mearsheimer argue that “states sometimes operate through institutions. However, rules reflect state calculations of self-interest based primarily on the international distribution of power” (Mearsheimer 1995, 13). According to this view, IOs are nothing more but a ‘tool’ for countries to increase their relative power (Simmons and Martin, 194-195). In the case of the WTO, one could argue that states’ may aim to use the institution for their own economic interests, as argued by mercantilist scholar Ha-Joon Chang, who argued that “when they were developing countries themselves, today’s developed countries used very few of the policies and institutions that they recommend to, or even force upon, today’s developing countries” (Chang 2002b, 64).

Another reason emerges from economic interests; indeed, through international agreements, states can benefit from comparative advantage in general, or when mutually lowering tariffs out

of negotiated accord (as it is done within the framework of the WTO). Functionalists, for instance, argue that IOs emerge as a response to states' willingness to better the market relationships with other states and eliminate barriers. For example, Haftel and Thompson argued that "increasing cross-border economic exchange demands greater regulation of such interaction and thus greater authority delegated to centralized institutions" (Haftel and Thompson 2006, 266), which is exactly what the WTO was created for. Indeed, the WTO is of the upmost resemblance to what O'Neal and Russett could wish for in terms of international cooperation, as it benefits from a dispute settlement system and puts countries on a level-playing field. Another reason for which the liberal literature would expect states to join the WTO is the security tool that economic interdependence provides. Indeed, through economic interdependence, states have an incentive to maintain positive economic relationships with one another, because to do otherwise would have negative repercussions. For example, the declarations from the FPEs of the latest country to join the WTO, Afghanistan, shows both aspects of this justification: "trade-led growth will create new economic opportunities and jobs, [...] it will reduce poverty and increase prosperity. It will certainly contribute in a major way to dramatically reduce extremism and achieve regional peace and security" (WTO 2015). Therefore, we would expect states to mainly justify their accession to the WTO through increasing both: economic gains and security.

Other interests can lead states to join IOs, such as common identity for instance, and therefore other justifications. Rooted in constructivist theory, one approach argues that IOs increase states' "willingness to act on 'generalized principles of conduct' and diffuse reciprocity" (Wendt 1994, 386), meaning that states, by seeking to join IOs, aim to facilitate cooperation and peaceful relationships through common norms and values. The WTO offers this option, by having and sharing common rules and laws regarding trade practices, as well as market-driven norms. Another important notion relates to the concept of context. Indeed, alliances and conflictual relationships have evolved over time. A state's past and present clearly have an influence upon its current and future choices, which could partially explain why a state would, or would not, decide to join an international organization. As argued by Reiter, "whereas realism proposes that states ally in response to changes in the level of external threat, the learning theory advanced here proposes that states make alliance policy in accordance with lessons drawn from formative historical experiences" (Reiter 1994, 490). Although acceding to the WTO is not necessarily

about forming an alliance with other states, the organization still bears historical precedents, which could incentivize (or not) states to join it.

Bearing this in mind, the aim of this thesis will thus be to enquire how states framed their justifications for accession, depending on the two main (and most relevant) established justifications, namely economic and security reasons.

3. *The Value of Discourse in IPE*

Having assessed the different possible justifications made by states/foreign policy executives when acceding to international organizations, and to the WTO in particular, it is important to understand why the study of these justifications is indeed valuable. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, IPE is often focused on quantitative research methods, strongly departing from a discursive approach. A few scholars have recognized the importance of studying language in IPE (Gal 1989; Irvine 1989), but mostly focusing on the relationship between discourse and relations of production. Cho highlighted the fact that “WTO norms, *qua language*, serve as the storehouse of historically accumulated collective meaning and experience throughout the GATT/ WTO era” (Cho 2014, 121). Nonetheless, the research on discourse in the WTO Accession Process is rather thin and focusing on a discursive approach would add to the current literature.

The second reason relates to the idea that the two main notions of economic interdependence in the literature (namely the increase of economic gains and security) are ideas, which are necessarily modified and influenced by language. Indeed, as argued by Neufeld, “the practices in which human beings are engaged cannot be studied in isolation from the ‘web of meaning’, which is, in a fundamental sense, constitutive of those practices” (Neufeld 1995, 76). This concept can also be found in Foucault’s work, for whom discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault 2002, 54). What this means is that the use of language bears meaning and influences the object of discussion itself. This interactive relationship signals the power of language in IR, and therefore warrants the study of justifications to accede to the WTO. Important to note is also that discourses by individuals or groups with power have more influence upon the evolution of an idea (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 258), thus vindicating focusing on foreign policy executives. Goldstein and Keohane

argued that “causal beliefs are beliefs about cause-effect relationships which derive authority from the shared consensus of recognized elites”, which means that “causal beliefs imply strategies for the attainment of goals, themselves valued because of shared principled beliefs” (Goldstein and Keohane 1993, 10). In our case, foreign policy executives formulate justifications for joining the WTO based on their beliefs, which can either be that acceding to the Organization will generate wealth, or security or both.

4. Different audiences for state justifications

Having looked at the value of Discourse in IPE, as well as the relevance of using Discourse Analysis for WTO Accession, one nuance is important to grasp. Indeed, several scholars of Discourse argue that the difference in audience matters strongly in order to understand how speech is conducted. For instance, Buchanan and Dawson argued that “narrators recognize the necessity to allay public and/or public anxieties, while ensuring that their story is compelling in meeting audience expectations” (Buchanan and Dawson 2007, 677). In the case of the justifications for WTO Accession, this argument is indeed applicable. As a matter of fact, FPEs have to address different audiences when justifying WTO Accession, domestic and international, in both cases having to convince their audiences of their intentions of joining the WTO.

Even the technical aspects of WTO Accession warrant the study of discourse. Indeed, if the accession process had to be defined in one word, it would be *negotiations*. For states to become members of the Organization, acceding countries have to offer concessions, meaning lowering and/or eliminating certain tariffs and quotas, in order to offer market access to other states. Acceding states’ representatives have to repeat this process both bilaterally, and multilaterally². However, the exact terms of accession are not specified by the GATT. Indeed “Article XII [of the GATT] does not explain the terms on which applicants may be invited to accede. One reason for its lack of specificity is that the terms of accession are different in each case also because each acceding government negotiates its own unique concessions [...] on the basis of its national measure” (WTO Secretariat 2008, 48). What this means is that the WTO understands the issue of domestic differences and does not enforce certain procedures during the accession process. Following this line of thought, “members expect applicants to submit comprehensive legislation

² See Appendix A for a summary of the accession process.

action plans outlining the work programme underway to achieve full conformity with all WTO rules by the date of accession” (WTO Secretariat 2008, 51). Therefore, we can clearly expect an acceding country’s government to justify to its constituents the introduction (and adoption) of new legislation related to the WTO Accession. Indeed, although realists see “the state as a unitary actor” and “governments [as] unencumbered by the societies they rule” (Katzenstein 1976, 8)³, liberal theorists believe there are “intimate relations between domestic and foreign policy and between society and state” (Katzenstein 1976, 9). Moravcsik agrees by arguing that “without demands from transnationally interdependent social and substate actors, a rational state would have no reason to engage in world politics” (2012, 88). He even looks at the importance of this issue regarding trade and posits that “liberalization is favored by powerful economic interests in developed countries” (2012, 89), meaning that certain interests can have an impact upon state preferences.

Since we are aiming to assess assumptions in the literature, it is relevant to look at the liberal literature on the relationship between WTO Accessions and domestic factors, as the domestic realm is one area for which FPEs justifications have to be emitted. In his study of the influence of domestic constituents upon WTO negotiations, Zahrnt presented several relevant arguments coming from trade negotiators. First, his findings showed that that “the greater average participation of parliaments tended to decrease their countries’ readiness to open up their markets” (Zahrnt 2007, 407). Second, Zahrnt also found that “delegates perceived civil society as a strongly protectionist force” (2007, 407). What this means is that, from these findings, we can clearly assume that trade negotiators (and representatives of the government in the WTO) must state their justifications for acceding to the WTO to convince domestic actors of their intentions. Also, domestic input in trade policy-making is increasingly considered to be relevant in assessing the choices made by governments in multilateral negotiations and the range of options it has at its disposal. Conceição-Heldt has written extensively on the issue, particularly regarding certain states’ position during international trade negotiations, based on domestic influence (Conceição-Heldt 2011; 2013a; 2013b). Her conclusions entail that governments, put under pressure domestically, must justify their choices not only on the international scene, but also to their

³ Except for neo-classical realism, which acknowledges the importance of domestic input in the formulation of foreign policy. For more, see: Ripsman, Taliaferro and Lobell. 2016. *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*.

constituents. This distinction between the international and domestic spheres is essential to our argument, as it justifies the reason for focusing on case-studies with visible domestic forces to capture the nuances in states' preferences after having looked at the 'big picture' regarding state justifications.

5. *Gap in Literature*

Considering this review of the current literature on economic interdependence, it appears there is a gap within the scholarship. Indeed, there is a missing aspect regarding the previously mentioned debate: do states even care about the security aspect of interdependence? The literature, in both the liberal and the realist camps, focus their debate on whether economic interdependence (as a security tool) has influenced interstate conflict, as well as if states are expected to join multilateral economic organizations because of economic interdependence.

However, the literature assumes state preferences, and does not provide a missing piece of the puzzle. Jeffry Frieden identified this issue and argued that several scholars have been guilty of committing this mistake. For example, some have assumed that "states prefer to maximize national wealth or size" (Frieden 1999, 54), but clearly this brings issues of definition and clarity. If assuming one respects scientific method, states' actual interests cannot be properly discovered and studied (for obvious reasons). And indeed, in practice, the importance that states give to economic interdependence as a security tool is not empirically studied, but rather assumed. For example, not once did Oneal and Russett mention the GATT or the WTO in their piece; quite surprisingly considering the Organization embodies everything they argue will help states reach *perpetual peace*. Assessing empirical evidence and the potential belief of a causal relationship between economic interdependence and security therefore becomes relevant, especially by focusing on the discourse of foreign policy executives.

Chapter 3: Research Design

1. Design

To answer my research question, I will assess how states (namely foreign policy executives) frame their justifications for joining the WTO, considering the existing debates put forward by the academic literature.

In order to achieve this, I will use a case-study design, namely about two cases. This design is most fitted for my research question as it will allow to draw generalizations about a greater number of cases, which is something a single case-study would not allow. Although I am limited by the time and resources allocated to achieve this research, the design I will use in this thesis bears potential for further investigation of similar cases looking at answering the same question using similar tools of research. Indeed, the data specific to each country can be found in a similar manner for other acceding states, therefore allowing for broader conclusions regarding the value of security within economic interdependence. My research does not claim, depending on my findings, to refute or confirm the literature's assumptions about the value of security in states' eyes, but rather aims to add analytical knowledge regarding the gap between theory and empirical events.

2. Data collection

As argued above, states' justifications cannot be interpreted as state interests for different reasons. To dig even deeper into the concept of state preferences, it is highly relevant to look at specific case-studies. Indeed, looking at possible differences in states' statements on the international scene and domestically might enlighten us regarding the stated value given by states to economic interdependence as a security tool. Moreover, this fits within the liberal argument, notably put forward in Putnam's two-level games approach. Indeed, although states are the main actors on the international scene, domestic pressures from civil society, political

opposition, and citizens in general, can have an impact upon states' policies and interests⁴. Hence why an analysis of justifications on the domestic scene will also be relevant to study.

Therefore, as outlined in the introduction, my unit of analysis will be foreign policy executives. In terms of obtaining the data itself, various sources will be used. Respectively, the analysis of Latvian discourse will concern 14 speeches/statements, while Yemeni discourse will be analysed based upon 11 different sources⁵. The unit of observation will be two-fold. For the justifications made on the international scene, I will use declarations and statements made by trade representatives to the WTO during the accession process, as well as papers and speeches made by trade ministers. I will also use memoirs issued by trade representatives during or after their time at the WTO. Documents emitted by official government branches (state-owned newspapers for instance) will also be used, as they represent the official discourse of foreign policy executives. Notably, I have relied upon the now-digitalized archives of the GATT (produced by Stanford University), as well as the WTO database. As seen in the literature review, justifications are also made with an intent to focus on the domestic realm. Considering this, I will use declarations and statements made by FPEs, mostly those in charge of trade policy, when addressing constituents or the latter's representatives. This will mostly take the form of public statements issued by Ministries, or again, memoirs from FPEs regarding the accession to the WTO. In terms of the material, I have looked at more than 100 different sources and elected to choose these particular ones for their relevance. I have then coded each document and proceeded to sort them out according to the dichotomy that the literature looks at.

Because of the timeline, some data is harder to obtain, especially regarding the latest days of the GATT and the earliest days of the WTO, as well as data from governments with no English/French/Spanish translation of their websites. However, English and French are the two official languages of the institution, which necessarily eases the process of accessing and analyzing data from all member states. Nonetheless, I must acknowledge that I am not fluent in all the languages used in the analysed discourses and have done my outmost best in trying to capture the original meaning of the discourser. Moreover, the quantity of sources I have used for

⁴ For instance, see Keohane and Nye (1973): "As interdependence blurs the distinction between domestic and international politics in some settings, the two fields become more relevant to each other"

⁵ For a list of the sources used, see Appendix B.

my analysis have proven to be sufficient, as any additional material I have analysed provided similar results and themes to those already analysed.

3. Data analysis

For the analysis, I will use discourse analysis. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, language is an essential aspect of International Relations, and DA serves to understand how one individual (or group thereof) apprehends social realities. This research method becomes relevant, as the aim of this thesis is to assess WTO Accession justifications. The specific approach will be one of “predicate analysis”, which “focuses on the language practices of predication – the verbs, adverbs and adjectives that attach to nouns” that are present in “diplomatic documents, [and] transcripts of interviews” ((Milliken 1999, 232 (brackets added)). Moreover, Milliken argues that predicate analysis allows for both theoretical and empirical study (Milliken 1999, 234), which is exactly what we are aiming to unravel in this thesis, through these types of documents. Indeed, as “discourse analysis aims primarily to illustrate and describe the relationship between textual and social processes” and is “concerned with [...] the political consequences of adopting one mode of representation over another” (Jackson 2007, 395-6), it will allow us to determine the vision of foreign policy executives considering the different theoretical paradigms of international relations. In our cases, this will mean classifying justifications in relation to the different framings justifications can take (economic, security, or both).

For the operationalization, the theory I am assessing is whether security is invoked in discourses of WTO Accessions, because the assumption of an interest in security when states enter economic interdependence is shared by most economic interdependence scholars. The concept I will be assessing is the justification for joining the WTO (and economic interdependence). In the literature, it can be defined either as coming from economic gains, economic interdependence (understood as a security tool), or both. Associations of language between notions of security and trade are telling of state preferences. The matrix of criteria deduced from the literature would be “security”; “peace”; “conflict”; “stability” when referring to security issues; while terms such as “trade”; “development”; “integration”; “participation”; “interdependence” are examples of terms referring to trade relations. The lexical field of words related to both security and economic interdependence is obviously much larger and will be used to its full extent. Importantly, these

two lexical fields will need to be associated in terms of a *process* (as in economic interdependence leading to heightened security). Moreover, I will also be looking for different audiences to FPEs' justifications for acceding to the WTO. Indeed, as shown in the literature review, the difference in audience matters in order to assess the framing of justifications, and this applies to the case of WTO Accession.

4. Case justification

Regarding the spectrum of possible cases, among the 35 accessions since 1995, 16 countries out of the 35 (including the Russian Federation itself) can be considered as “under Soviet influence”, or at least until recently. Acknowledging that this thesis aims to assess the theoretical argument regarding economic interdependence and security interests through DA, and that the Cold War ended relatively recently, choosing a country out of this category would be highly relevant. Considering this, because Russia's power and influence had heavily declined in the 1990s, we could expect these countries to show little, if none, interest in increasing security through trade and joining the WTO. Another world region that has seen several countries join the WTO is the Middle-East (Jordan, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen). Also considering the ongoing instability of the region, assessing a country's security interests when joining the WTO becomes relevant. Also, very interesting is the fact that among all the accessing countries since 1995, these four countries are the only ones with military spending exceeding 3% of GDP (at the time of accession), at the exception of Russia and Croatia. This could potentially indicate either defensive or offensive intentions from these states, showing a strong security interest. We could therefore expect these countries to show high security interest when joining the WTO. Several countries do not fit within either category (Croatia, Ecuador, Liberia, Macedonia, Nepal, Panama, Samoa, Seychelles, Taipei and Tonga). This is problematic insofar as it leaves out certain cases, but the two case studies still provide for a strong assessment of the theoretical argument regarding trade and interdependence in relation to security interests.

Considering the allocated time and resources available to achieve this thesis, I have decided to pick a limited number of countries to investigate. Noting that Latvia was the first Baltic country to join the WTO post-USSR, and considering the historical tensions between Russia and Latvia, the latter offered the best choice among post-Soviet states. Regarding the countries in the

Middle-East, choosing a case-study regarding a country with constant security issues (with both international and domestic predicaments) would also be interesting. Therefore, Yemen was the best case to choose among those that join the WTO since 1995.

5. Potential issues

One possible approach for the analysis would have been to use Goldsmith and Posner's definition of state interests, namely the "state's preferences about outcomes", mostly defined by the preferences of the state's political leadership (Goldsmith and Posner 2005, 6). However, choosing to use this type of data (state officials' speeches) to establish state interests can bear some issues, for a few reasons. Frieden identified this issue in trying to assess state interests, and argued that, in some cases, analysis of statements is the best way to do so, although it has some obstacles (Frieden 1999, 57-61). State declarations can be very subjective (as they come from the states themselves); represent a state's view at a precise point in time; and they possibly include strong bias (as all discourse does). Very importantly, this research will acknowledge that discourse cannot and does not represent the entirety of states' motive, for several reasons: 1) states can have, within their organizations, contradictory opinions regarding policy; 2) states can make public statements for the sake of adopting/respecting international regimes, norms and values (as constructivists would argue); 3) power relations might impede or force a state to make or not make a statement in relation to securitization. An argument against this type of research would be that states would refuse to publicly declare their motives. For instance, Moravcsik analysed some of De Gaulle's seemingly-pro European policies and argued that they served as a "smokescreen", purposely hiding "narrow national interests from both domestic and international opponents and creating a bargaining edge for French diplomacy" (Moravcsik 2012, 59). Thus, for purposes of scientific rigorousness, we will analyse statements as being justifications, rather than state motives or interests. The aim will therefore be to come as close as possible to deciphering interests through the analysis of justifications, but this thesis will not claim to know a state's interests through its discourse. As argued by Larsen, "we do not have access to meaning, only to language. The language is the closest we can come to meaning" (1997, 11).

The next chapters will be the two case-studies on Latvia and Yemen, followed by a concluding chapter.

Chapter 4: Latvia

1. Pre-Accession Context

Historically, Latvia (and the ancestors of the modern State we are focusing on) has found itself dominated by the country today called Russia. Henceforth, because of political and psychological reasons, Latvia's security challenges have mostly come from Russia, and have heavily influenced Latvia foreign policy. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Latvia, as a newly-found Republic, decided to move quickly towards its integration in the West, considering "it was regarded as the only viable guarantee of the restored independence" (Van Elsuwege 2008, 90), and that it no longer wanted to find itself in between Russia and the West. Moreover, although Russia had historically been Latvia's main security threat, the post-Cold War context presented itself with lessened danger coming from the Soviet state⁶. Indeed, Soviet Troops were leaving the newly-independent country, and by August 1994, all of them (except 600 army personnel) were gone (Jeffries 2004, 188). Latvia's desire to move towards Western institutions was highlighted in the official government newspaper *Latvijas Vēstnesis* in 1995, when the journal published an article describing Latvia's main foreign policy directions until 2005. The piece argued that security, political and economic structures were interrelated, allowing for stability and security. Most importantly, it also argued that the preconditions for this security and stability were the development of parliamentary democracy, internal stability and continuity of economic reforms. As such, developing cooperation with the IMF, the World Bank and acceding to the GATT/WTO would be essential (*Latvijas Vēstnesis* 1995). Thus, from the early days of the accession process, Latvia had an interest in increasing security through interdependence, but has this shown through the justifications for GATT/WTO Accession given by foreign policy executives? This is the question I will aim to answer in this section.

⁶ Nonetheless, Latvian animosity towards the Russian minority is still present, as shown by the changes made to citizenship and naturalisation laws in the 1990s. See Jeffries 2004, 179-187.

2. Accession Process

Latvia officially asked to join the GATT on December 7, 1993 (GATT 1994a), arguing that “[Latvia’s] accession would provide the best basis for mutually favourable trade relations with other countries on a multilateral basis” (GATT 1994b, 5). Prior to this, the Latvian Government had initiated domestic councils on a possible GATT Accession to assess the benefits and costs that would arise from membership (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia 2018). Acceding to the World Trade Organization is partly a political process, as it affects a wide range of actors in society, hence why justifications for membership are to be expected.

In the early days of the accession process⁷, in a statement addressing the other members and observers of the GATT, Olgerts Pavlovskis (the then-State Minister of Foreign Trade and European Union Affairs) argued that the establishment of the Working Party on the Accession of Latvia “marked an important step in Latvia’s re-integration process into the global market and international community” (GATT 1994c, 1). The association of “market” and “community” imply that these two notions are related, and somehow that they can be attained through WTO membership. Pavlovskis then praises “regional cooperation”, pointing out to the importance of “the global market and broader multilateral agreements” in light of Latvia’s goal in a “rule of law” basis. In this statement, Latvia’s Minister plainly showed the value of interdependence in making sure lawful relations between states are maintained.

As the GATT became the WTO on January 1st, 1995, Latvia’s accession process was changed into an accession process in the WTO on February 7th, 1995. With the growing importance of the WTO on the international scene and the increasing value of one’s membership (through the Organization’s newly established assets and powers⁸), some of the highest Latvian officials have publicly presented Latvia’s interests in joining the Organization. Among them was Former Prime Minister Māris Gailis, a few days before the first Working Party Latvia would attend, in Geneva in 1995. Although he was speaking at a conference on public investment in Latvia, he mentioned that joining the GATT/WTO would benefit Latvia not only in terms of economic benefits, but also because it would possibly lead to a membership in the European Union (Gailis 1995). Although this is not clearly stated, this prospect would mark a voluntary departure from Russia

⁷ See Appendix A for a summary of the main steps in the Accession Process to the WTO.

⁸ Particularly the creation of the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) and its enforcement capabilities.

(and its influence), by increasing trade and interdependence with the West. As argued by Van Elsuwege, although NATO was used as a tool by Latvia to increase its security vis-à-vis Russia, trade was also an option for them. Indeed, one of the main interests of Latvia post-USSR was “integration into the western security structures”, and if clear security objectives were set (such as joining NATO), “trade liberalisation” was also invoked as a tool to minimize Latvian dependence on Russia (Van Elsuwege 2008, 90-91). Empirically, this mainly occurred through becoming a member of certain preferential free-trade agreements (FTAs), with the EFTA countries in 1993 and the EU in 1994 (Jeffries 2004, 217; WT/SPEC/6, p. 1.).

In the first meeting of the Working Party on Latvia’s accession to the WTO in May 1995, Pavlokis addressed the economic situation with Russia. He acknowledged that “Russia [remained] Latvia’s principal trade partner” but argued for the increase of trade relations with other states, especially with European countries. He justified Latvia’s position by arguing that “Latvia’s geographical bridge position between East and West” (WTO 1995, 1) warranted Latvia’s behaviour. This is relevant because it shows that at this time, even though Latvian officials acknowledged the need to move away from dependence on Russia, Latvia framed its discourse at to show it was not worried about ‘triggering’ Russia by entering economic relationships (and interdependence to a certain extent) with Western institutions and states, thus showing the importance of context in the study of international relations.

In 1996, during the accession negotiations, one of Latvia’s trade representative, Iveta Sers gave an interview to *Latvijas Vēstnesis*, regarding Latvia’s accession to the WTO. After a brief presentation of the WTO, she then focused on the domestic legislative changes Latvia will have to go through to become a member state. Although she had the opportunity to mention any security interest among the benefits Latvia would obtain from membership, she did not. Indeed, her justifications were focused on integration into the world economy, future opportunities to join the European Union, and evidently, increased wealth benefits (Sers 1996). This discourse was used by most Latvian FPEs in the great majority of their discourse when justifying Latvia’s accession to the WTO.

As part of the documents required for accession, the Draft Report of the Working Party is often revised, as it was done by Latvian FPEs in 1997. This led to the inclusion of this sentence in the introductory statement: “bilateral and regional arrangements alone could not provide the

necessary stability for external trade relations”, as well as the removal of the importance of Russia in Latvian trade volume (WTO 1997). This shows that, in Latvian foreign policy executives’ mind, only an agreement at the global level, namely membership of the WTO, would provide stability to international relations. This is significant, as it marks a stark change in tone from Latvian officials, and arguably the introduction of a new framework used for justifying Latvia’s WTO Accession.

And indeed, in 1997, a shift in the framing of accession justifications occurred. Although WTO accession was previously justified on sole economic reasons earlier, notions of security and cooperation were introduced in 1997. For instance, Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs addressed a domestic audience, at the University of Latvia, in Riga. Focusing on the issue of security, Birkavs argued that Latvia’s security issues had yet to be resolved to properly satisfy Latvian officials (and most likely the population). Still acknowledging that Russia represented the biggest threat to Latvia, he held that several advancements were needed as to protect the country. Starting with the assumption that domestic and foreign policy were linked to one another and had to be coordinated, he posited that integration into the Western institutions would be a massive asset, especially in terms of EU and NATO membership. But more importantly, he argued that because of heightened globalization, membership in the WTO would also be an essential foreign policy direction to address security issues (Birkavs 1997).

This opinion was not Birkavs’ alone, as it was echoed in Latvian president Guntis Ulmanis’ words on November 17th, at a conference named “Security and Prosperity in the Baltic Region”. Indeed, he argued that “a strong economy is a pre-requisite for a stable and sustainable national internal policy and hence security”, and posited that this was a matter of Latvia’s “integration into the European Union and the World Trade Organization” (Ulmanis 1997) Calling Latvia’s objective as “security through cooperation” (or “cooperative security”), Ulmanis put an emphasis on Latvia’s “effort to establish cooperative relations with all countries” that would “prevent the emergence of threat” (Ibid). Clearly, Ulmanis’ and Birkavs’ discourse frame their understanding of economic interdependence and security as two inter-related concepts.

A year later, in May 1998, occurred the Geneva Ministerial Conference (MC), the first one in which Latvia spoke as an observer. In his speech to WTO members, Birkavs focused his justifications for accession on economic reasons: “we have striven to join this multilateral

trading system of an inevitably and steadily growing importance [...], leading to the growth of the world trade and investment thus creating possibilities for new jobs” (WTO 1998, 1). Clearly, the justification did not mention any security apparatus or incentive for Latvia in its process of joining the WTO, as it had a year earlier. This opinion was echoed in Prime Minister Guntars Krasts in a speech in Sweden, addressing an international audience at a conference on investments in the Baltic Sea Region, where he clearly stated that “the main goal of Latvia's foreign economic policy is integration into the European Union” (Krasts 1998).

However, these statements become more interesting when put into further context. As the negotiations with other states were nearing their end, discourse regarding the accession intensified on the part of Latvian FPEs. And indeed, a few months later, on August 6th, 1998, Birkavs argued that joining the WTO would not only help Latvia acquire a “WTO quality seal” but would also help the country join both the European Union and NATO later (Birkavs 1998d). This appeal to NATO, and thus to security imperatives being reached through WTO membership, was not present in Birkavs’ speech to WTO representatives, but only to its domestic audience (as his interview came from the official journal of the government, *Latvijas Vēstnesis*), as he had also done earlier in his 1997 speech at the University of Latvia. These notions of security and economic interdependence being linked were also present a year later in a Birkavs’ speech in Riga, by arguing that the main directions of Latvia’s foreign policy were “security policy” as well as “European economic and political integration”, which he argued would be facilitated through WTO membership (Birkavs 1998c).

In October 1998, the WTO General Council accepted Latvia’s accession. Still pending full ratification depending on Latvia’s parliament, the *Saeima*, Birkavs gave a speech in neighbouring Estonia, where his discourse reiterated Latvia’s view that WTO Accession was mostly about integration into “Euro-Atlantic structures”, whereas any notion of increasing security was dismissed (Birkavs 1998b); while a speech two months later in Riga focused upon the role of WTO membership in Latvia’s security (Birkavs 1998a).

This constant back-and-forth between justifications is relevant to note because we see that there is this belief among Latvian officials that, although WTO membership will be beneficial for Latvia’s economy, it will also serve as a stepping stone for Latvia in reaching its goal of European integration, and security. Moreover, this difference of justification between domestic

and international audiences might reveal a will from foreign policy executives to formulate justifications based on what its audience wishes to hear. As mentioned earlier, through DA, we see that Latvian officials frame their discourse on WTO Accession differently according to their audience, here focusing on possible domestic risks (such as populism) rather than international integration and interdependence as Latvian FPEs do when addressing an international audience.

3. Conclusion

As a country in transition, Latvia experienced the 1990s as a period in which it had to make strong policy choices. As seen earlier, in both its discourse and in practice, it chose the path of integration into Western institutions, whether this regarded membership in the EU, NATO, or the WTO. What emerged from our analysis is that, even when controlling for the security imperatives present in the discourse regarding NATO and the EU, Latvian foreign policy executives still put a great emphasis on increasing their security through WTO membership, especially when addressing a domestic audience. One could argue that framing WTO membership as a matter of security, which had shown to be an issue close to the Latvian people's heart, could have helped the successive Latvian governments obtain the domestic support they needed in the Saeima. Nonetheless, the theoretical argument regarding the relationship between economic interdependence and increasing security has shown to be empirically present in discourses and has been used by Latvian officials repeatedly. This discourse highlighting the link between economic interdependence and security was still present in Latvian FPEs' speeches after official accession. For instance, two months post-accession, in December 1999, it was declared that "globalization and increasing interlinkage among the economies of separate countries is an inescapable process. It is important that the WTO responds to this process and plays a constructive role in shaping the global trading system"(WTO 1999, 1).

Moreover, this case offers new insight on the relationship between security and economic interdependence. Considering that all the signs were showing a reduced threat from Russia, one could have expected Latvia to avoid speaking of security issues, as to steer clear of any chance of creating a security dilemma. Despite this, Latvian FPEs repeatedly mentioned a causal relationship (in their own mind) between acceding to the WTO and acceding to NATO, thus plainly invoking a security imperative in their justifications to accede to the WTO. As to why

that was the case is another question, but this shows that security justifications might be an integral part of economic interdependence. This, however, does not mean that these justifications made by FPEs are irrespective of context; indeed, this case also showed that there was a constant difference between domestic and international justifications, with FPEs focusing on security when addressing domestic audiences, while concentrating solely upon economic gains and integration in the multilateral trading system when pitching international audiences. This is strongly linked to the theoretical debate related to the importance of the domestic realm in foreign policy-making. Indeed, this case clearly shows that, regardless if domestic factors were in fact influencing foreign policy-making, Latvian FPEs did take into account the differences in audiences, hereby mentioning security imperatives in their justifications to domestic audiences.

More than two years after Latvia obtained officially obtained WTO membership, a Latvian FPE argued at the Doha Conference in November 2001 that:

“Latvia attaches particular importance to the role of the developing countries in the trading system. We are of the strong view that the results of new negotiations should facilitate the integration of the developing countries into the multilateral trading system. Trade has always been an important instrument of economic and political development. Hence, involvement of the developing countries into the global trading system will contribute to the world welfare and security”(WTO 2001b, 2).

This quote represents well how Yemen framed its justifications for accession for more than a decade, starting in 2000. The next chapter will address Yemen’s accession, and the discourse that Yemeni FPEs used to justify their accession to the WTO, in light of the security and economic interdependence nexus.

Chapter 5: Yemen

1. Pre-Accession Context

The country of Yemen as it is known today only became so after the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990. Although the formal application for WTO Accession was made on April 4, 2000, domestic reform efforts in the economic sector started earlier, in the 1990s. Indeed, similarly to Latvia, the Yemeni Prime Minister initiated government action regarding WTO Accession before the formal application was made: for instance, on February 7th, 1998, a government committee consisting of representatives of different Yemeni ministries was formed, with the aim of studying a possible accession (Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Republic of Yemen 2010). Alongside this, the Yemeni Government implemented a Structural Adjustment Programme to liberalise its economy to a degree that would be acceptable for WTO membership (Hamim 2001, 21). On April 14, 1999, Yemen became an Observer to the WTO, and a year later, on July 17, 2000, “the WTO General Council accepted Yemen’s formal application for WTO membership” (Hamim 2001, 21).

Prior to the analysis of the WTO Accession justifications, it must be acknowledged that although the main and grave conflict that affects Yemen is one of its own, namely a domestic civil war (Winter 2011); it has nonetheless remained for decades a country subject to Saudi influence and power, as well as suffering from being used as a proxy by Saudi Arabia in the latter’s feud with Iran (Noueihed and Warren 2013), as well as seeing terrorism affect all parts of the country. This is relevant to note since this means that Yemen has theoretically even more reasons to justify and frame its accession through security terms.

As stated per the Yemeni Government itself, although joining the WTO itself was an important objective since 1998, Yemen was more interested in the broader picture, namely “the integration of [the] country in the world trade system”, referencing the evermore interdependent global economy and the need to “avoid the marginalization that threatens the countries that do not fit in this framework” (Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Republic of Yemen 2014). Considering

the ever-present threats to Yemen's safety, did the Yemeni FPEs justify the accession of their country to the WTO through security terms or simply focused upon economic reasons? This is the question I will answer in the following section.

2. Accession Process

In September 2000, Yemeni FPEs first engaged with the WTO General Council. Although the speaker is not named, the transcript presents him/her as "the official representative of Yemen", which means that he/she was part of the foreign policy executives. The representative starts by acknowledging the difficulties Yemen had known when "merging the two form parts of Yemen into one political and economic system" but argues that Yemen now "enjoys a fully fledged political democratic system where political parties, NGOs and civil society organizations were actively and freely participating in the political process" (WTO 2000, 8). Then, Yemen acknowledges that "long border disputes with neighbours had been settled. The signing of the historic Yemeni-Saudi marine and land border Treaty had actually ended the 66-year-old dispute, and had opened up new hopes of partnerships with Yemen's neighbours and with the world at large" (Ibid).

What is relevant here is that at a time when Yemen considered its domestic and international security issues to be solved, its request for WTO accession was not justified and framed through security terms. Indeed, the rest of the statement from the Yemeni delegation then focuses upon the economic changes Yemen had started to implement, and the economic gains it aimed to make through WTO membership, thereby justifying its request for accession solely from an economic perspective.

Thus, the initial stance of Yemeni foreign policy executives speaking at the WTO was one focused on economic justifications, as well as cooperation and integration (thus focused on the international scene). However, framing the accession in terms of security was not on the agenda. As argued at the beginning of the Doha Round in 2001, "Yemen's vision of the role of the WTO [...], in the context of the general view of cooperation between all countries" corresponds to functions of strengthening "trading system and cooperation on different levels"(WTO 2001a, 1). Moreover, the Yemeni delegation believed that "Yemen's accession to the WTO would enable its

appropriate integration into the world economy”(Ibid). In this statement at the Doha MC, the Yemeni Minister of Industry and Trade, Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamed Ali Othman, largely makes appeal about ideas of “cooperation”. Now whether that corresponds to economic or security cooperation is another question. Nonetheless, this notion of cooperation refers to states relying on one another, therefore to the notion of interdependence.

At the next two Ministerial Conferences, Yemen maintains its approach focused on cooperation and economic integration, excluding security issues in its discourse. For instance, in September 2003 in Cancun, Yemeni FPEs mainly makes reference to the “declared support to integrate LDCs into the multilateral trading system and the global economy” and the progress Yemen wishes for in this domain (WTO 2003, 1), while at the Hong Kong MC in 2005, the then Minister for Industry and Trade Dr. Khaled Rajed Sheikh Dawood argued that Yemen sought their “trading partners' understanding of Yemen's special trade, financial and development needs, and [hoped] to see this understanding reflected during [their] bilateral and multilateral negotiations” (WTO 2005, 1-2 [brackets added]). This trend of justifications being solely focused on economic integration and cooperation is visible in Yemeni speeches from that period until 2009, when a change occurs.

Indeed, at the 2009 Geneva MC, Dr. Yahya Al-Mutawakel (then Minister of Industry and Trade) shifts the framing of Yemeni discourse in WTO Accession justifications, as he made note of the current global context. From 2007 onwards, the quasi-totality of countries had been strongly affected by the global financial crisis. Yemen, for instance, lost wealth from a reduced amount of remittances from the diaspora abroad. Added to this issue was the food crisis in Yemen, as well as the increasingly volatile oil prices, on which Yemen is heavily dependent in terms of exports (WTO 2009).

Importantly, although the Yemeni delegation does not make any reference to security issues, its discourse now moved toward the inclusion of the domestic issues faced by Yemen. Through the apparition of domestic economic problems, Yemen asks for their “negotiating partners’ understanding of Yemen’s special needs and circumstances, and hope to see this considerate stand reflected during our bilateral and multilateral negotiations in the few coming closing months, as Yemen plans to conclude its accession process in 2010” (WTO 2009, 2). Although asking for a special understanding of Yemen’s difficult conditions was previously done,

Yemen's discourse now asked to speed up the accession, using its unfortunate domestic conditions to the its benefit in the process of WTO Accession. As it now known, Yemen did not become a WTO member until June 2014, but in 2009, the Yemeni representatives believed that they could justify their accession (and possibly aim to hasten the process) through the invocation of domestic concerns.

In 2010, even as “extraordinary events” took place in Yemen, meaning an increasing domestic threat from al-Qaeda, as well as rebellious activities across the country, Mohamed Saeed al-Attar (Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Yemen to the UN Office in Geneva) argued that: “the extraordinary events taking place in the national arena will not discourage Yemen from continuing its march [to] Yemen's accession to the World Trade Organization”, as it “will enhance transparency, competitiveness and investment environment” (Al-Attar 2010). Even as domestic unrest started, bringing security issues to the Yemeni agenda, FPEs in Geneva did not use the unrest to their advantage, almost dismissing the domestic issues on the international scene, maintaining its frame of Yemen being ready for WTO Accession.

Nonetheless, Yemeni discourse in their justifications to access to the WTO became even more strongly focused upon the domestic situation in Geneva in 2011. Indeed, Dr. Ibrahim S. Al-Adoofi (Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Yemen) argued that the “Yemen Government is committed to seeking full membership to this rules-based organization”, hence why in light of this, he called “upon all WTO Members to spare no effort to assist my country on the path of stability and economic recovery” (WTO 2011a, 2). The wording here is really strong; indeed, “spare no effort” refers to a type of urgency, in which all potential forces have to be put to use in order to reach “stability and economic recovery”.

It is worth comparing the previous statement to one made two years later, in December 2013, in Bali, by the Yemeni Minister of Industry and Trade, Dr. Saadaldeen Talib. Indeed, he argued that: “On internal front, Yemen is currently witnessing the final phase of an extensive and inclusive national dialogue that started mid-March this year. We are hopeful that a “New Yemen” shall emerge from the ruins of a protracted and complicated serious crisis. Therefore, I call upon Yemen Friends, all of whom are WTO Members, to spare no effort to assist my country on the path of stability and economic recovery” (WTO 2013a, 2).

In the midst of these two Ministerial Conferences (Geneva 2011 and Bali 2013), the domestic situation in Yemen worsened. Following the Arab Spring movement, Yemen saw the emergence of violent domestic protests against the government (Bakri and Goodman 2011), including the attempt to assassinate the Yemeni President, Ali Abdullah Saleh (Bakr 2011). Although the statements made by the Yemeni delegation at the MCs seem very similar, it seems as though context has had an impact upon Yemen's urgency to join the WTO. Indeed, in the December 2013 statement, Mr. Talib purposely mentions the domestic situation and frames the issue of WTO Accession as though it would not only be a bonus for economic recovery, but also for security reasons, mentioning the hope of a "new Yemen" emerging "from the ruins of a protracted and complicated serious crisis" (WTO 2013a, 2). This appeal to other members to accelerate Yemen's accession shows not only that context does matter, but also that in the eyes of Yemeni foreign policy executives, conflictual domestic conditions can be mitigated through economic interdependence. In sum, Yemen clearly makes the argument that economic interdependence and security are inherently linked to one another, even finding a causal relationship between the two phenomena.

This discourse regarding economic interdependence and trade became ever more present in Yemeni FPEs' speeches. In reference to the "internal situation in Yemen", Mr. Talib stated in 2013 that "WTO membership would be an important contribution to the "new civil modern state of law and order" (WTO 2013b). Interestingly, one could think this domestic aspect would solely refer to the economic conditions of citizens and companies. However, the case of Yemen shows that there is potential progress to be made in terms of bettering domestic conflictual situations. Potentially, there was no need for Yemen to state its interest in protecting and improving domestic security when domestic conflict was not happening; but the fact is that it could have also not mentioned it since its Civil War started, considering that the WTO is assumed to only have a reach on the international scene. Nonetheless, Yemen did make a mention of the possible implications that WTO membership would have for its domestic security. Whether Yemeni officials truly believed there would be a causal relationship between these two occurrences is a different question, but further investigation shows that Yemeni FPEs really concluded a relationship existed between WTO membership and domestic security.

Indeed, Mr. Talib, with the help of his government, published a booklet on Yemen's WTO Accession, including sections on the reasons for acceding to the WTO, as well as the benefits of membership. Very often in this book, Talib mentions the role of WTO membership in establishing a "New Yemen, based on law and order" (Talib 2014, 2-3). He also equates national change with WTO Accession (and the reforms needed for the latter), arguing that it would help Yemen be based on "security"; "stability" and "good governance" (Talib 2014, 3).

Another important notion framed by Talib's discourse resides in his belief in the WTO's role in maintaining positive economically interdependent relationships between states. Indeed, not only does he frame trade as a *stepping stone* for further goals, such as sustainable development and reducing poverty" (Talib 2014, 4 & 23), he also argues that "liberalization" also leads to "non-economic benefits, including avoiding war and promoting peace" (Talib 2014, 5). Clearly, he makes the link between security and free-trade, which is essentially the security argument for economic interdependence.

This book sums up quite well how the evolution of the domestic context (and the growing importance of security) has influenced Yemen's justifications for WTO accession. If one sentence should summarize Talib's thought, it is the following one. Enumerating the numerous possible economic benefits associated with WTO membership, Talib wrote:

"Many of these benefits are linked, of course, to political and security stability, and the rule of law" (p.25)

In May 2014, a month before joining the WTO, Yemen joined the g7+ group⁹. In the last WTO MC in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the g7+ announced they were forming a new group in the Organization, called the "g7+ WTO Accessions Group". Among these countries was Yemen. The official objective from the group was to "[establish] a platform for targeted facilitation and tailored support of the WTO accession and post-accession efforts of fragile and conflict affected states"(WTO 2017a). Very interestingly, the declaration from the g7+ also mentioned this:

⁹ See: g7+ Charter, 2014: pp.17. http://www.g7plus.org/sites/default/files/resources/g7plus-Charter_0.pdf and the full list of the g7+ member-states: <http://g7plus.org/test-site/en/who-were-are/member-countries>.

“Emphasizing the specific challenges faced by fragile and conflict affected states on their way to sound economic foundation, security and peace;

Recognizing the role of international trade as a universal instrument for economic growth, employment and development and the importance of the meaningful and effective participation in the multilateral trading system to help address these challenges” (WTO 2017a).

Thus, according to the g7+ group, including Yemen, who had recently gained accession to the WTO, there is a strong correlation between one’s inclusion in the multilateral trading system and one’s ability to reach “sound economic foundation, security and peace”. The declaration also mentions specifically the Yemeni case, arguing that WTO “efforts have helped realize WTO membership of Yemen in 2014 [...] and have promoted the sustained use of the WTO accession process for peacebuilding and sustainable economic development”. Once more, there is a strong association between economic growth (attached to the concept of economic interdependence) and the idea of increasing a state’s security. relationship between the two concepts is also recognized by the WTO itself, as argued by the current WTO Director General Roberto Azevedo, saying the Organization backed the g7+ group, as it aimed to “support and realize the objective of integration into the multilateral trading system to promote peace, security and stability” (WTO 2017b, 4).

3. Conclusion

This notion of stability and economic growth/recovery can be found in most statements made by the Yemeni delegation, but especially when civil strife occurred domestically. However, when it was missing from Yemen’s statements, it became an argument for Yemen’s accession. In fact, it seems as though the domestic context represents a constant source of justification for the acceding country. Indeed, in times of domestic “success” (with Yemen having democratic institutions and political stability), the latter is the source for justifications based on being a country “ready” for WTO membership. However, in times of political instability and security issues, Yemeni representatives started to use the domestic situation to appeal to other members, arguing that WTO membership would help Yemen to re-become politically stable. Regardless of the actual benefits that WTO membership could bring to an unstable Yemen,

However, regardless of Yemen's "use" of its domestic situation as a justification, it seems as if justifications for accession to the WTO based on security mostly occurred at times when domestic security (including political stability) was threatened. Indeed, prior to 2011, Yemen focused its justifications upon bringing development and wealth to its country through economic integration in the multilateral trading system. However, with the emergence of what is now known as the Yemeni Civil War in 2011, Yemen's representatives made several appeals for accelerating the process of accession, calling on other members to hear their specific concerns in accession negotiations, especially regarding issues of security.

Interestingly also, it seemed as though security threats coming from the feud between Saudi Arabia and Iran have been completely dismissed after the initial mention that "long border disputes with neighbours had been settled" (WTO 2000, 8) in the early days of the accession process. The literature could have expected Yemen to frame its justifications for its accession through this aspect, but Yemeni FPEs might have thought it was best to avoid reviving old conflicts through its mentions.

In relation to the literature on economic interdependence, the case of Yemen showed that liberal theories are on the right path in acknowledging the role of domestic context in international relations (as is neoclassical realism). However, most theories of economic interdependence strongly focus upon the international benefits of the phenomenon, and rarely paid attention to the role interdependence can have upon domestic security. Indeed, the literature usually focuses upon inter-state conflictual relationships potentially being solved through the increase in numbers and intensity of commercial relationships with other states but does not focus upon intra-state security issues potentially being solved through the increasing influence of international commercial relationships.

Quite interestingly, the case of Yemen possibly enlarges the liberal argument regarding the value of domestic politics. Indeed, although WTO scholars have previously written on the importance of domestic views concerning the accession to the organization, as seen in the literature review, theories of economic interdependence (on both realist and liberal sides) are heavily dominated by macro approaches to accession. Nonetheless, this case shows that domestic interests are valuable in considering WTO Accessions for two main reasons: first, domestic support is needed for the

country's success in acceding to the Organization, (as argued by Reiter in 2015); and second, domestic interests are reflected in the negotiations taking place during the accession process.

Moreover, the framing of the discourse by Yemeni officials showed that the evolution of context has had an impact upon Yemen's interests, as well as on the tools it was using to justify its accession to the WTO. By appealing to the international community based on a domestic security conundrum, it showed that the relationship between economic interdependence and the increase of security is empirically present, at least in foreign policy executives' mind.

Why does this matter? In terms of theoretical advancement, this shows that there is a potential bridge in the literature between the WTO Accession scholarship and the 'larger' liberal theories of IR. Not only does this reinforces the argument are domestic preferences important for state behaviour, but it also broadens the liberal argument considering the trade-security nexus. Indeed, increasing security through economic interdependence is shown here not to be simply relevant for the international scene, but also domestically, as Yemeni representatives to the WTO explained.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

1. Answer to research question

While this concluding chapter will further reflect on common trends shared by the insights of the two cases, the answer to the research question seems clear; through the analysis of the discourse of foreign policy executives of Latvia and Yemen, this thesis has found that, indeed, FPEs and States often frame their discourse in terms of security when joining the GATT/WTO.

Again, this thesis aimed to assess the discourse of Latvian and Yemeni FPEs, and especially decipher the importance of security within justifications for increasing economic interdependence. And indeed, the case of Latvia has shown that, despite the supposedly reduced threat from the Russian Federation, Latvian officials have repeatedly framed their arguments based on security imperatives. References to Latvia having to join the Western institutions (the European Union, the WTO, and NATO) are numerous, as well as mentions of separating itself from its past history with its historical threat, Russia. To show how far Latvia believes to be safe by its integration in these institutions, it is interesting to note that Latvia congratulated Russia on its accession to the WTO in 2011, arguing that it “will lay solid legal foundation and will create profitable conditions to further improve and widen the framework for the economic cooperation between our countries” (WTO 2011b, 1). Yemen, despite mentioning a stable security context early in the accession process, experienced severe security threats during the next decades. The analysis of Yemeni FPEs discourse has shown that the growing insecurity was increasingly used in order to justify Yemen’s Accession to the WTO, arguing that the alleged-causal relationship between development and security would benefit Yemen and its population.

2. Interpretations of results

Moreover, earlier in the literature review, the importance of historical and present context was mentioned, especially in regard to the possible justifications of states when joining

international organizations. The conclusions of the two case-studies provided similar conclusions; with Latvia basing its justifications on its historical relationship and newly-ended complicated political influence, while Yemen used its domestic context as a constant source of justifications.

While the timelines and the domestic security contexts of the two cases differ strongly, a few similar trends have appeared in the results. First, although only two cases were selected, a trend is present in both cases, despite the strong differences in security imperatives for Latvia and Yemen. Indeed, despite the constant threats concerning Yemen and the declining Russian threat upon Latvia, both states have invoked security imperatives when justifying their accession to the GATT/WTO. One could have expected Yemen to do so, but the fact that both did signifies the importance of security in the eyes of FPEs when acceding to the WTO. This is relevant insofar as it warrants further study of similar cases, in order to verify whether the results here are part of a larger discursive trend, or simply anomalies in usual behaviour in foreign policy executives' discourse when acceding to the WTO. Moreover, considering the contemporary situations for some of the countries currently in the process of acceding to the Organization, further investigation would be relevant. For instance, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, or Syria, all countries sadly known for their security issues, are in the process of acceding to the Organization (some for more than 20 years), and it would be relevant to analyse the discourse of FPEs through a framework similar to the one used in this thesis.

A second conclusion comes from the fact that it is now clear that different audiences have had an impact on state behaviour in WTO Accessions. Indeed, the differences between the domestic and international realms have shown to lead FPEs to use different frames of discourse for WTO Accession, hereby providing a further possible point of approach to study state behaviour and discourse. One of the biggest debates in International Relations relates to the issue of *the object of the analysis*. What is to be studied? What is relevant? Going back to the two-level games approach proposed by Robert Putnam, the results of the analysis in this thesis seem to warrant further investigation not only into the domestic realm, but also (and especially) into the comparison of domestic and international audiences. Indeed, one of the most challenging results emerging from the analysis is the differentiated discourse emitted by FPEs regarding WTO Accession. Clearly, this signals two things: first, knowledge on the part of FPEs that there in a

difference in audiences; and second, knowledge that modifying their discourse is essential for justifying WTO Accession. On a broader scheme, this implies that state behaviour can be different at the domestic and international levels, despite focusing on the same issue. This comparative approach between the two levels (domestic and international) might also be a way to conciliate the ever-debated subject of the level of analysis. Extensive opinionated work has been written as to what is relevant to study in IRT. But the results here show that focusing on either of the two main levels of analysis (domestic or international) is problematic. Indeed, if state behaviour is different depending on the level of analysis, generalizations made from studies focusing on a single layer of analysis are not as strong as usually argued. It is not to say that any study focusing solely on a one layer of analysis is not valid, rather that it cannot present the whole picture, as states know about different audiences and modify their behaviour accordingly.

Third, discourse related to security has shown to be present at most times during WTO Accessions (especially for Yemen), being used in both extremes of security threat. If there is stability in the acceding country, it is used in FPEs' discourse as to justify the worth and value of adding the country to the multilateral trading system. Otherwise, if the acceding country shows to be unstable and/or threatened, the FPEs' discourse still uses the security imperatives, arguing that integration into the multilateral trading system would be beneficial for the acceding country, for both security and economic reasons. This means that, at all times, states have an incentive to utilize their domestic situation in their discourse as an argument, regardless of the domestic situation itself (positive or negative). Although most of the discussion in this thesis focused on liberal arguments regarding economic interdependence and security, this result is more challenging than expected. Indeed, seeing states and their FPEs utilizing their situation in order to benefit from an international organization could quite fit into the realist paradigm, which posits that states will prioritize survival over other interests. Although utilizing domestic situations in discourse does not entail any sacrifice for the state, it means that *regardless* of the situation, states are willing to use their domestic conditions to their benefit. This might be a way to bridge the liberal/realist divide regarding economic interdependence, with discourse showing that both paradigms can agree on the value of interdependence in light of security issues.

3. Limitations and further research

Importantly, this framework of analysis, using DA, could be used upon other cases of accession, thereby offering a clearer vision of the bigger picture. As mentioned previously, the use of DA in the field of political economy is still quite rare, despite the relevant results and conclusions emerging from the existing work. Interestingly, there is an extensive number of quantitative studies in the field of trade policy, but although both political scientists and FPEs acknowledge the political character of trade decision-making, discourse analysis is rarely used. Regarding the possible limitations in this study, it is fair to argue that investigating language can only take us so far. As mentioned earlier, language and meaning, albeit close, are not identical. Therefore, Discourse Analysis as a method of analysis has its shortcomings, but should not be dismissed as a whole, as it allows for the exploration of perspectives not yet apprehended by the field of IPE in general.

Moreover, as proposed earlier, the results warrant further investigation into the differences of discourse between domestic and international audiences, as our interpretation of the data suggested not only a difference between those discourses, but also a knowledge on the part of FPEs that such difference matters and could potentially be harnessed to the state's benefit. Has the use of different discourse from FPEs beneficated states in practice? This is another related question, but one to which science and discourse analysis might not be able to provide the answer, considering the extensive and intertwined variables to consider. Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, this study could possibly shed light on IOs in International Relations. Interestingly, the cases of Yemen and Latvia show that organizations, such as the WTO, that do not have a primary aim of fostering security, can still provide security, or at least the sentiment of it, to member states. This becomes important as it fits within the idea that states behave accordingly with their primary interest, being survival, and that any IO that provides interdependence (military, economic or culturally-wise) is beneficial to states' interests.

On a last note, this type of study focusing on the multilateral trading system is much needed, as the study of the importance of security within the realm of the WTO is very thin, and the Organization is, as this is written, under fire from one of its founding and most important members, the United States. While the GATT was created as a safeguard to increase and protect international security, the U.S. Administration is currently using pretences of national security

threats in order to restrict imports coming from many of its economic and military allies. Considering the sad and terrible irony of false security issues possibly destroying an entity created partly for security purposes, it is important to keep studying and re-asserting the role of the major international organizations safeguarding international peace and commerce.

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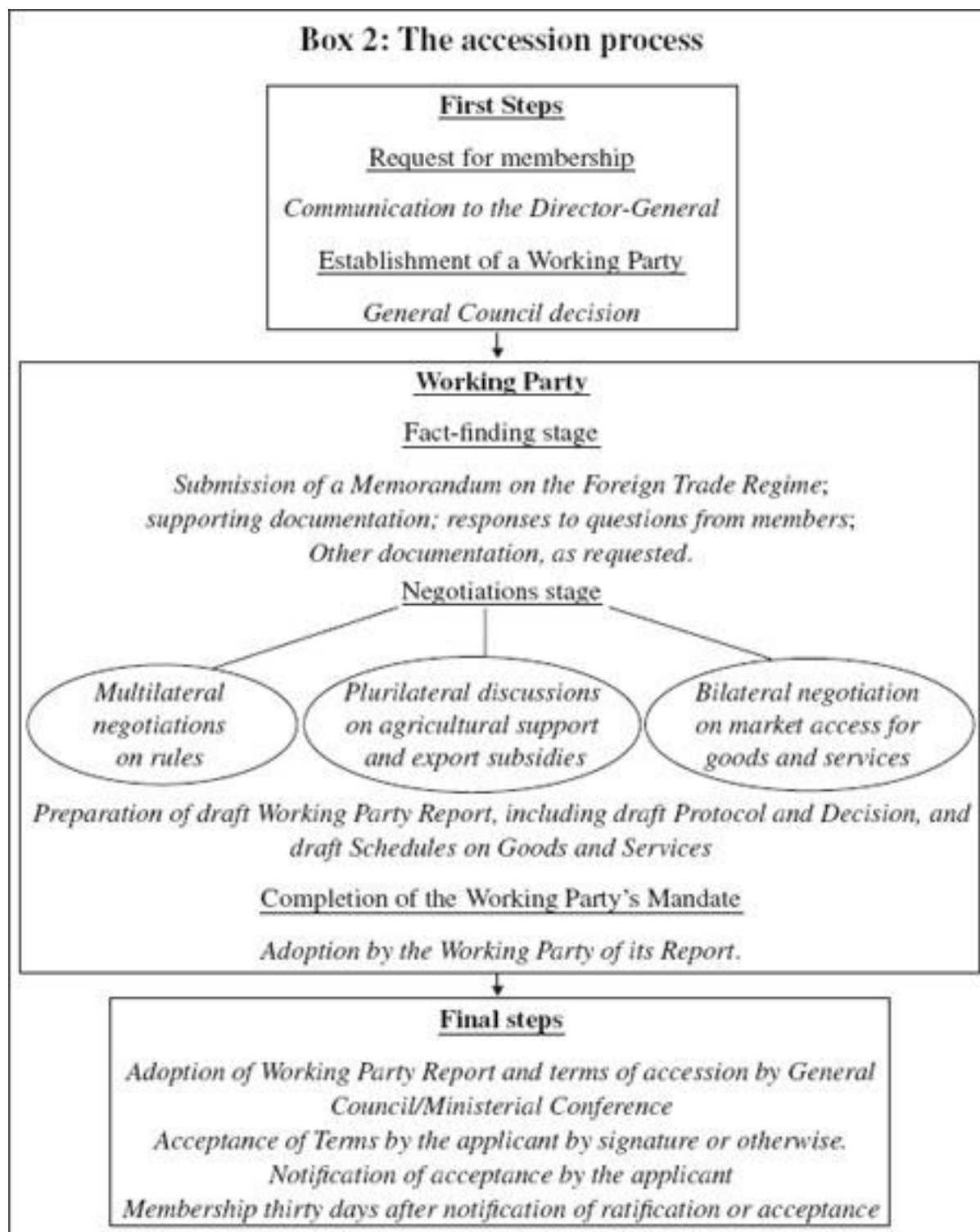
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Appendix A: Accession Process to the WTO



Source: WTO (https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/cbt_course_e/c4s1p1_e.htm)

Appendix B: Sources for Discourse Analysis

Speaker	Document	Date
<i>LATVIA</i>		
Latvian FPE	Council of Representatives (C/M/268)	17-Dec-93
O. Pavlovskis	Trade Negotiations (MTN.TNC/MIN(94)/ST/28)	12-Apr-94
M. Gailis	Speech “Public investment in Latvia”	02-May-95
O. Pavlovskis	Working Party on Accession (WT/SPEC/6)	16-May-95
I. Sers	Interview with Government Journal	24-Oct-96
Latvian FPE	Draft Working Report (WT/ACC/SPEC/LVA/3/Rev.2)	02-May-97
V. Birkavs	Speech “The Baltic Region's State Changing Europe”	28-Jan-97
G. Ulmanis	Speech "Security and Prosperity in the Baltic Region"	17-Nov-97
V. Birkavs	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(98)/ST/28)	18-May-98
G. Krasts	Speech at Conference "Investing in the Baltic Sea Region"	15-Sep-98
V. Birkavs	Interview with Government Journal	05-Aug-98
V. Birkavs	Speech "Latvia In The Era Of Globalization"	22-Sep-98
V. Birkavs	Speech "Challenges of Globalization & Development”	20-Oct-98
V. Birkavs	Speech "How Secure are the Baltic States"	05-Dec-98
<i>YEMEN</i>		
Yemeni FPE	General Council Meeting (WT/GC/M/57)	14-Sep-00
A. Othman	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(01)/ST/139)	12-Nov-01
K.R.S. Dawood	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(03)/ST/142)	13-Sep-03
K.R.S. Dawood	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(05)/ST/83)	16-Dec-05
Y. Al-Mutawakel	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(09)/ST/136)	Nov-09
M.S. Al-Attar	Interview on Industry and Trade Ministry Website	24-Oct-10
I.S. Al-Adoofi	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(11)/ST/92)	17-Dec-11
S. Talib	Ministerial Conference (WT/MIN(13)/ST/69)	03-Dec-13
S. Talib	Working Party on Accession (WT/ACC/YEM/43)	26-Sep-13
S. Talib	Excerpts from Book on WTO Accession	2014
G7+ Group	Declaration by Trade Ministers	Dec-17