

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	2
Acknowledgements	3
List of Abbreviations	4
Abstract (English, Italian, German).....	6
 Chapter 1 Introduction.....	 13
<i>Part I Hegemonic Transformation and the Trade Regime: A Conceptual Framework</i>	
Chapter 2 A Neo-Gramscian Framework to Analyse the Role of Social Forces in Regime Change	48
Chapter 3 Hegemonic Transformation: From GATT to the WTO.....	84
 <i>Part II TNCs in Setting the Agenda For the GATT: The Case of Services</i>	
Chapter 4 Building Northern Consensus for A GATT Agenda on Trade In Services	116
Chapter 5 Building North/South Consensus for Integrating Services to the Trade Regime	165
 <i>Part III TNCs in Setting the Agenda for the WTO: The Case of Investment</i>	
Chapter 6 The Two Track Approach: Investment at the OECD and the WTO	220
Chapter 7 TNCs, Resistance and Failure of the Investment Agenda at the WTO	273
 Chapter 8 Conclusion	 326
<i>Bibliography</i>	
1 Primary sources	356
2 Secondary sources	369
<i>Annexes</i>	
1. List of Interviews	391
2. Punta Del Este Declaration	393
3. U.S. Trade in Goods and Services - Balance of Payments (BOP) Basis	404
4. Foreign-Direct-Investment Inflows and Outflows, 1983-1995	406
5. Investment in WTO Ministerial Declarations/Drafts	407