

Todd N. Tucker, Ph.D

www.toddtucker.com

@toddtucker

Short Bio

Todd N. Tucker is a political scientist and fellow at the Roosevelt Institute. His research focuses on political economy, governance, judicial politics, and democracy.

Longer Bio

Todd N. Tucker is a political scientist and fellow at the Roosevelt Institute. His research focuses on political economy, governance, judicial politics, and democracy. He is author of *Judge Knot: Politics and Development in International Investment Law* (Anthem Press, 2018). His academic work has been published by Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, and other academic outlets. A leading scholar on the intersection of the domestic and global economy, Tucker has testified before legislatures and expert committees around the world. He has made hundreds of media appearances, including in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and on CNN. A native of Louisville, Kentucky, Tucker received his Ph.D. and M.Phil from the University of Cambridge, and his B.A. from the George Washington University.

Education

Ph.D, Development Studies, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, 2016;
Dissertation Title: "Institutions and Development Ideologies in Investment Treaty Arbitration"; Supervisor/Chair: Ha-Joon Chang; Committee members: Walter Mattli (Oxford), Michael Waibel (Cambridge).

M. Phil, Development Studies, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, 2002.

B.A., International Affairs, The George Washington University, Washington, DC, 2001.

Research and teaching positions

Fellow and political scientist, Roosevelt Institute, 2016-.

Lecturer for "Thinking Economically," an advanced undergraduate course at Johns Hopkins University, 2017-.

Lecturer for "Advanced Topics in Trade," graduate class at University of New Hampshire, 2017.

Research director, Public Citizen, 2004-2012.

Policy analyst, Center for Economic and Policy Research, 2002-2004.

Book (peer reviewed)

Todd Tucker, *Judge Knot: Politics and Development in International Investment Law* (London: Anthem Press, 2018).

Articles and reports (peer reviewed)

Todd N. Tucker, “Fixing the Senate: Equitable and Full Representation for the 21st Century” (New York: Roosevelt Institute, March 18, 2019).

Todd N. Tucker, “Off-Balance: Five Strategies for a Judiciary That Supports Democracy” (New York: Roosevelt Institute, November 13, 2018), <http://rooseveltinstitute.org/off-balance-five-strategies-judiciary-supports-democracy/>.

Todd N. Tucker, “Seven Strategies to Rebuild Worker Power for the 21st Century Global Economy: A Comparative and Historical Framework for Policy Action” (New York: Roosevelt Institute, September 18, 2018), <http://rooseveltinstitute.org/seven-strategies-rebuild-worker-power/>.

Todd N. Tucker, “Toward an Institutional Turn on Trade,” *Democracy Journal* Spring 2018, no. 48 (March 12, 2018), <https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/48/toward-an-institutional-turn-on-trade/>.

Todd N. Tucker, “The Sustainable Equitable Trade Doctrine” (New York: Roosevelt Institute, March 16, 2017), <http://rooseveltinstitute.org/trade-set-doctrine/>.

Todd N. Tucker, “Grounded Theory Generation: A Tool for Transparent Concept Development,” *International Studies Perspectives* 17, no. 4 (November 2016).

Todd N. Tucker, “Inside the Black Box: Collegial Patterns on Investment Tribunals,” *Journal of International Dispute Settlement* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 2016): 183–204, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jnlids/idv035>.

Book chapters (peer reviewed)

Kyla S. Tienhaara and Todd N. Tucker, “Regulatory Expropriation Post-Methanex: Policy Space Reclaimed?,” in *Alternative Visions In The International Law On Foreign Investment: Essays In Honour Of Muthucumaraswamy Sornarajah*, ed. Chin Leng Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Todd N. Tucker, “The Concept of the State in Investor-State Arbitration: A Social Science Perspective,” in *The Role of the State in Investor-State Arbitration*, ed. Shaheez Lalani and Rodrigo Polanco (Boston: Brill | Nijhoff, 2014), 131–61.

Todd N. Tucker, “The WTO Ruling on the United States’ Flavoured Cigarettes Ban,” in *The Global Tobacco Epidemic and the Law*, ed. Tania S. Voon and Andrew D. Mitchell (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014), 87–104. (Previously published as “One of These Things Is

Not Like the Other': Likeness and Detrimental Impacts in US-Clove Cigarettes", *Legal Issues in Tobacco Control*, TDM 5 (2012).

Todd N. Tucker, "The Looming GATS Conflict with Capital Controls," in *Capital Account Regulations and the Trading System: A Compatibility Review*, ed. Kevin P. Gallagher and Leonardo Stanley, Pardee Center Task Force (Boston: Boston University, 2013), 25–34.

Lori Wallach and Todd N. Tucker, "US Politics and the TPPA," in *No Ordinary Deal: Unmasking the Trans-Pacific Partnership Free Trade Agreement*, ed. Jane Kelsey, 21: Into a New Century (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010), 52–69.

Work in process

Martin Hearson and Todd N. Tucker, "An Unprecedented Surrender of Fiscal Sovereignty: Arbitration and Sovereignty in the Double Taxation Regime," 2019.

Paul Adler and Todd N. Tucker, "Operation Monkeywrench: Towards A Populist Policy Process?," 2019.

Other published work (select)

Todd N. Tucker and Marshall Steinbaum, "2020 Matters for the Left. But Here's Why 2022 Matters Much More," *Time*, December 2, 2018, <http://time.com/5475791/2020-bernie-sanders-2022-progressives-left-corbyn/>.

Todd N. Tucker, Ganesh Sitaraman, and Marshall Steinbaum, "Trump's New NAFTA Supports Tech Monopolies like Facebook and Google," *Quartz*, October 16, 2018, <https://qz.com/1424817/trumps-new-nafta-supports-tech-monopolies-like-facebook-and-google/>.

Todd N. Tucker, "USMCA, NAFTA, and Why Labor Is a Foreign Policy Issue," *Vox*, October 11, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2018/10/11/17964552/nafta-usmca-unions-labor-trump-trade-deals>.

Todd N. Tucker and Timothy Meyer, "Why Canada's Leaders Should Wait out Trump's NAFTA Deal," *Politico*, September 25, 2018, <https://politi.co/2DuNup9>.

Todd N. Tucker, "New Challenge to Trump's National Security Tariffs and Executive Power," *Lawfare*, July 5, 2018, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/new-challenge-trumps-national-security-tariffs-and-executive-power>.

Todd N. Tucker, "In Defense of Court-Packing," *Jacobin*, June 28, 2018, <https://jacobinmag.com/2018/06/supreme-court-packing-fdr-justices-appointments>.

Todd N. Tucker, "How Mexico Could Force America's Hand on Immigrants," *POLITICO Magazine*, June 22, 2018, <https://politi.co/2IeutVI>.

Todd N. Tucker, "Is the Supreme Court Going Too Easy on Overseas Corporations?," *Politico*, May 8, 2018, <https://politi.co/2I68WyO>.

Heather Boushey and Todd N. Tucker, "Trump Is Right to Want to Help Workers Hurt by Trade. But He's Doing It Wrong.," *Vox*, April 19, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2018/4/19/17254322/trump-china-trade-war-economics-middle-class-democrats>.

Todd N. Tucker, "First Case Filed Against Administration's National Security Motivated Tariffs," *Lawfare*, April 6, 2018, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/first-case-filed-against-administrations-national-security-motivated-tariffs>.

Todd N. Tucker, "How Trump's New 'War' Could Bring Down His Own Trade Policy," *POLITICO Magazine*, March 2, 2018, <http://politi.co/2oJH1w4>.

Todd N. Tucker, "If Trump Really Wants to Save American Steel, He'd Nationalize It," *Politico*, February 22, 2018, <http://politi.co/2oqQP6>.

Todd N. Tucker, "Why NAFTA Needs an Expiration Date," *Politico*, October 26, 2017, <http://politi.co/2hcpYQk>.

Todd N. Tucker, "Legal Context and Government Defendants: Some Thoughts from Travel Bans, Patents, and Aircraft Subsidy Cases," *Duck of Minerva* (blog), March 27, 2017, <http://duckofminerva.com/2017/03/legal-context-and-government-defendants-some-thoughts-from-travel-bans-patents-and-aircraft-subsidy-cases.html>.

Todd N. Tucker, "On Trade, It's Trump vs. the Deep State," *Politico*, March 6, 2017, <http://politi.co/2IOm1k5>.

Todd N. Tucker, "How Trump Could Declare a Trade Emergency," *POLITICO Magazine*, January 5, 2017, <http://politi.co/2hXdi0v>.

Todd N. Tucker, "Don't Let Uncertainty and Fear Destroy International Order," *Time*, October 31, 2016, <http://time.com/4548048/international-order-and-globalization/>.

Todd N. Tucker, "How to Fix the Most Controversial Element of Trade Deals," *Politico*, September 21, 2016, <http://politi.co/2d9cQvY>.

Todd N. Tucker, "TransCanada Is Suing the U.S. over Obama's Rejection of the Keystone XL Pipeline. The U.S. Might Lose.," *The Washington Post*, January 8, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/08/transcanada-is-suing-the-u-s-over-obamas-rejection-of-the-keystone-xl-pipeline-the-u-s-might-lose/>.

Todd N. Tucker, "The TPP Has a Provision Many Will Love to Hate: ISDS. What Is It, and Why Does It Matter?," *The Washington Post*, October 6, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/10/06/the-tpp-has-a-provision-many-will-love-to-hate-isds-what-is-it-and-why-does-it-matter/>.

Todd N. Tucker, “Investment Agreements versus the Rule of Law?,” Discussion Paper, IPFSD-Forum (Geneva: UN Conference on Trade and Development, October 9, 2013), <http://investmentpolicyhub.unctad.org/Views/Public/FeaturedDiscussionDetails.aspx?fdid=25..>

Todd N. Tucker and Jayati Ghosh, “WTO Conflict with Financial Re-Regulation,” *Economic and Political Weekly* XLVI, no. 51 (December 17, 2011): 75–79.

Todd N. Tucker, “A Bad Trade,” *Foreign Policy*, April 18, 2011, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/04/18/a-bad-trade/>.

Todd Tucker, “The WTO’s Financial Services Terms and Deregulation,” Policy Briefs (Washington, DC: Inter-Governmental Group of 24 on International Monetary Affairs and Development, November 26, 2010), http://www.g24.org/Publications/PolicyBriefs/PB66tho_wto_financial_services.html.

Todd N. Tucker and Lori Wallach, *The Rise and Fall of Fast Track Trade Authority* (Washington, DC: Public Citizen, 2009).

Mark Weisbrot and Todd Tucker, “The Cancún Ministerial and the U.S.: Public Perception, Reality, and Implications,” in *The Post-Cancún Debate: Options, Views, and Perspectives From South and North With Contributions From 9 Countries*, ed. Rainer Falk, Global Issues 6 (Berlin: Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2004), 8–15.

Dean Baker and Todd N. Tucker, “Capital Movements: How Harmful for Development?,” *North American Congress on Latin America* 38, no. 2 (2004), <https://nacla.org/article/capital-movements-how-harmful-development>.

Dean Baker, David Rosnick, and Todd Tucker, “Too Sunny in Latin America? The IMF’s Overly Optimistic Growth Projections and Their Consequences,” *North American Congress on Latin America* 37, no. 3 (2003).

Additionally, I authored or coauthored 66 substantial reports and 76 shorter pieces in non-profit and pre-PhD work. The topics included environmental, consumer, economic and other fields of policy - often with a comparative or international bent. (Full list available on request.)

Blog writing and media impact

Roosevelt Forward / Medium – Regular blogs on governance and economic policy, 2016-.

Under Two Ceilings - blog about public policy, international political economy and law and courts issues, over 100 posts, 2012-2017.

Eyes on Trade - editor and contributor on international trade negotiations and related matters, 688 posts, 2007-12.

Citations in media and academic outlets: over 600.

Select press coverage

Michael Scherer, "Court packing' ideas get attention from Democrats," Washington Post, March 11, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/court-packing-ideas-get-attention-from-democrats/2019/03/10/d05e549e-41c0-11e9-a0d3-1210e58a94cf_story.html?utm_term=.ca989c8dd614

Sam Gillette, "Trump Said Over and Over 'Mexico Is Going to Pay' for the Wall; Now He Says He Didn't Mean Literally Pay," People Magazine, Jan. 10, 2019, <https://people.com/politics/donald-trump-mexico-wont-pay-for-wall/amp/>

Janyce McGregor, "International trade in 2018: making sense of a 'tarrifying' year," CBC, Dec. 28, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/2018-review-mcgregor-1.4952059>

Paul Blumenthal, "Kavanaugh And Gorsuch Confirmations Force Progressives To Rethink The Supreme Court," HuffPo, Nov. 25, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/supreme-court-kavanaugh-gorsuch_us_5bf806e3e4b0771fb6b8489a

Tim Fernholz, "The new NAFTA gets rid of controversial corporate legal rights—for now," Quartz, Oct. 4, 2018, <https://qz.com/1412330/the-new-nafta-changes-global-corporate-arbitration/>

Interviewed on C-SPAN on NAFTA, Oct. 3, 2018, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?452406-4/washington-journal-todd-tucker-discusses-us-canada-mexico-trade-deal>

Sarah Jones, "A Paris Agreement for the Workers of the World," New Republic, Sept. 20, 2018, <https://newrepublic.com/article/151316/paris-agreement-workers-world>

Jordan Weissman, "Is Donald Trump About to Become NAFTA's Savior?," Slate, Aug. 31, 2018, <https://slate.com/business/2018/08/donald-trump-may-be-about-to-save-nafta.html>

Jeff Spross, "How Congress Handed Trump Trade Tyranny," The Week, July 2, 2018. <http://theweek.com/articles/782153/how-congress-handed-trump-trade-tyranny>

Ana Swanson, "In Trump Era, Boeing Trade Case Boils Over Into 'Multicountry Feud'", New York Times, Sept. 26, 2017, at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/25/business/boeing-commerce-department-bombardier-trump.html?mcubz=1>

Alana Semuels, "What Would a Better NAFTA look like?" The Atlantic, April 19, 2017 <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/08/nafta-renegotiations-workers-trade/537360/>

Academic service

Populism, Peer reviewer (2018-19).
Research and Politics, Peer reviewer (2015-16).
Journal of International Dispute Settlement, Peer reviewer (2014).
Journal of Environment and Development, Peer reviewer (2010).

Conferences organized or co-organized (select)

A Progressive Vision for Trade Policy, March 6-7, 2019, Open Society Foundations (DC and NYC).

Rebalancing Globalization, Feb. 7-8, 2019, Mortara Center at Georgetown (DC).

Democracy Journal Special Trade Issue Launch Events, March 2018, New America and Open Society Foundations (DC and NYC).

Unrigging the Liberal Order: How Can Progressive Intellectuals Help?, November 9, 2017, Roosevelt Institute (NYC).

International Cooperation and Trade Strategy, April 26, 2017, New America (DC).

Rewriting the Rules of Globalization, March 3, 2017, Roosevelt Institute and Peterson Institute (NYC).

Academic presentations

Martin Hearson and Todd Tucker, "Arbitration, Sovereignty, and Defection in the Double Taxation Regime," paper presented at 2018 American Political Science Association meetings, also presented at European International Studies Association.

Paul Adler and Todd N. Tucker, "Operation Monkeywrench: Towards A Populist Policy Process?," Paper presented at New Directions in Study of Populism Conference, Arizona State University, March 2018.

Todd Tucker, "Is Arbitrator Political Responsiveness a Liability or an Asset? A Historical Institutional Perspective," paper presented at Danish National Research Foundation's Centre of Excellence for International Courts at the University of Copenhagen, Feb 2, 2018.

Todd Tucker, "Multinational Investor Rights in the Trump Era: Populist Turn or More of the Same?," paper presented at the University of Oxford's Blavatnik School of Government, January 30, 2018.

Todd Tucker, "Development Ideologies and Adjudicator Autonomy in Investment Treaty Arbitration," revised paper presented at University of Oslo's PluriCourts (Centre for the Study of the Legitimate Roles of the Judiciary in the Global Order), May 23, 2016.

Todd Tucker, "Accountability in a Regime Complex: Charting Policy Reforms for Investor State Dispute Settlement," paper presented at the 2016 American Political Science Association annual meetings.

Todd N. Tucker, "Development Ideologies and Adjudicator Autonomy in Investment Treaty Arbitration" (Judicialization of International Relations Conference, Chicago: Northwestern University, 2016).

Martin Hearson and Todd N. Tucker, "Independence Is Contextual: Adjudicator Autonomy in Tax and Investment Arbitration" (International Studies Association Annual Meetings, Atlanta, 2016).

Todd Tucker, "Methodological Challenges and Opportunities of Interviewing Judges: the Case of Investment Treaty Arbitrators", (for roundtable presentation I convened and chaired at American Political Science Association Annual Meetings, San Francisco, CA, 2015).

Todd N. Tucker, "Judicialization Without Tenure: Principal and Regime Complexes in Investment Arbitration," in *Judicialization of International Relations Conference* (Judicialization of International Relations, Chicago: Northwestern University, 2015).

Todd Tucker, "Institutional Mechanisms in Investment Treaty Arbitration: How Constraining on Arbitral Discretion?", paper presented at the 2015 International Studies Association annual meetings.

Todd Tucker, "Inside the Black Box: Investment Treaty Arbitrators' Attitudes About States," in *Investor Surveillance of States: New Empirical Work on Investment Treaty Arbitration* (presented at American Political Science Assoc Annual Meetings, Washington, DC, 2014).

Todd N. Tucker, "Development Matters: Emerging Trends in Investment Treaty Arbitration," in *Investment Treaties* (Development, FDI and Investment Treaties Conference, Washington, DC: Vale Columbia (University) Center on Sustainable International Investment | Embassy of Ecuador | Inter-American Development Bank, 2014).

Todd Tucker, "Development Matters: Improving Replication Standards for Mixed Methods Investment Treaty Research," in *Replication in International Relations: Successes and Failures in Practice* (presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meetings, Toronto, 2014).

Todd N. Tucker, "Is Investor-State Arbitration Biased Against Development" (Advanced Graduate Workshop, Bangalore: Azim Premji University | Columbia University's Initiative for Policy Dialogue | Institute for New Economic Thinking, 2014).

Todd N. Tucker, "State Power: From Social Science to Arbitration and Back" (Role of the State in Investor-State Arbitration Conference, Bern: University of Bern's World Trade Institute, 2013).

Todd Tucker, "WTO Conflict with Financial Re-Regulation," (presented at Capital Account Regulations and the Trading System Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Boston University | Center for the Study of State and Society (CEDES), 2012).

Todd Tucker, "GATS and Capital Controls" (presented at the International Development Economics Associates Conference, New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2012).

Todd Tucker, "Prudential Policies and the GATS," (presented at Financial Liberalization and Global Governance Conference, Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis (IBASE), 2009).

Todd N. Tucker, "The Trade-Policy Blindspot in the U.S. Financial Crisis Response" (Regulating Global Finance in the Light of the Global Crisis, Beijing: Tsinghua University, 2009),
http://www.networkideas.org/ideasact/feb09/beijing_conference_09/todd_tucker.pdf.

Other lectures, testimonies, and speeches (select)

Various book talks 2018-19, including at Boston University's GDP Center (April 23, 2019), Columbia Center for Sustainable Investment (Feb. 19, 2019), University of Buenos Aires School of Law (Nov. 23, 2018), Gates Foundation staff (July 10, 2018), South Centre Geneva (July 1, 2018), Gates Cambridge Boston (June 1, 2018), and Politics and Prose (May 1, 2018).

Presentation on Green New Deal at Cato Institute on Geoeconomics, March 26, 2019

Spoke on panels with former Argentine government officials at G-20 pre-conference, Nov. 21-22, 2018.

Gave talk with representatives from the World Bank and Mozambique government for Society of International Development conference, June 7, 2018.

Gave invited testimony before U.S. House of Representatives' Democratic Steering and Policy Committee on the State of Working America and trade, May 3, 2017.

Gave invited talk and guest class lecture on trade policy at American University's School of International Service, March 1 and March 22, 2017.

Panels on appellate body options for investment law, American University Washington College of Law, October 13 and 25, 2016.

Panel on Haley Edwards book "Shadow Courts," New America Foundation, Sept 22, 2016.

Lecture on financial services at Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge, Feb. 15, 2013.

Lecture on financial services at Center for Transnational Legal Studies, King's College London, Sept. 26, 2012.

Gave presentation on financial services at World Bank Spring Meetings, April 15, 2011.

Testified for the Canadian House of Commons' Standing Committee on International Trade hearing on multinational taxation and trade issues, Nov. 17, 2010.

Gave presentation on financial services at World Bank Spring Meetings, April 24, 2010.

Testified to U.S. Model Bilateral Investment Treaty Review Committee at Joint State Department / U.S. Trade Representative Hearing, July 29, 2009.

Participated in President Obama's Food Safety Working Group advisory session, speaking about trade agreements and food safety, May 13, 2009.

Gave presentation on government procurement at Carnegie Council, New York, April 2006.

Spoke on trade and development issues at Center for Agrarian Research of Ecuador conference in Ibarra, Ecuador, August 2004.

Gave presentations on various Latin American issues, Eighth Trade Ministerial of the Free Trade Area of the Americas, Miami, Fla., November 2003.

Additionally, I gave regular briefings (public, semi-public and private) to officials from Congress, the executive branch, foundations, foreign governments, non-governmental organizations and students from 2002 to the present.

Honors, awards and community service

Gates Cambridge Scholarship, tuition, fees and stipend for Ph.D. at Cambridge, 2012-2015.

Scholar at Institute for New Economic Thinking's Advanced Graduate Workshop, 2014.

Bender Fellowship, tuition, fees and stipend for M.Phil. at Cambridge, 2001-02.

Fullbright Fellowship Awardee for Bolivia, 2001 (opted to turn down).

National Security Education Program Boren Scholarship for study abroad in Argentina, 1999

Presidential Scholarship, tuition for B.A. at George Washington University, 1997-2001.

J.B. & Maurice C. Shapiro Public Service Award (summer internship wages), 1998.

National Merit Scholar, 1997.

Analyst and student organizer, Center for Economic Justice, 2000-02.

Campus leader, United Students Against Sweatshops and GW Action Coalition, 1999-2001.

Assistant camp director for teens, Anytown USA, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1996-97.