

## **PETER F. COWHEY**

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### **CURRICULUM VITAE**

#### **EDUCATION**

B.S.F.S. Georgetown University, 1970 (Foreign Service)  
M.A. University of California, Berkeley, 1971  
Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1977 (Political Science)

#### **EMPLOYMENT**

##### Current Positions

2009- Senior Counselor to the U.S. Trade Representative, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative  
2007- Associate Vice Chancellor – International Affairs, Univ. of California, San Diego  
2003- Qualcomm Chair in Communications and Technology Policy  
2002- Dean, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), Univ. of California, San Diego  
1989- Professor of Political Science, and IR/PS, Univ. of California, San Diego

##### Recent Positions

1999-2006 Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California system  
1997 Chief, International Bureau, FCC (resigned in September 1997 to return to UC San Diego)  
1994-97 Senior Counselor for Economic and Competition Policy of the International Bureau (while on leave from Univ. of California, San Diego) and Branch Chief for Multilateral and Development Affairs, International Bureau, Federal Communications Commission

##### Prior Positions

1987-88 Associate Professor, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), University of California, San Diego  
1985-86 Senior Consultant, International Market Planning, AT&T International  
1983- Associate Professor of Political Science, Univ. of California, San Diego  
1978-83 Assistant Professor of Political Science, Univ. of California, San Diego  
1976-77 Acting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Univ. of California, San Diego  
1975-76 Acting Instructor of Political Science, Univ. of California, Berkeley

#### **Selected Boards and Memberships**

Chairman of the Board, Digital Partners (a global non-profit), 1999-2004  
Member, California Council on Science and Technology, 2007-  
Member, Board of Directors, eMobile (a Japanese corporation), 2006-2009 (resigned 1/09)  
Member, Board of Directors, Grameen Foundation, 2005-  
Member, Board of Directors, Institute of the Americas, 2001-  
Member, Board of Directors, San Diego World Trade Center, 2001-2006  
Member, International Advisory Board, Silicon Wave, 2000-2003  
Member, International Advisory Board, 555-1212.com, 1998-2002  
Member, Council on Foreign Relations  
Member, Pacific Council on International Affairs

## **HONORS, AWARDS, AND SPECIAL ACHIEVEMENTS**

### **I. SELECTED AWARDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS**

- Chairman's Special Achievement Award, Federal Communications Commission, for distinguished service, 1996. (This is the highest award for non-career employees of the FCC.)
- Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship, 1984 (for 1985-1986)
- Rockefeller Foundation International Affairs Fellowship, 1983 (for 1984-1986)
- Odegard Prize, Department of Political Science, 1974
- Ph.D. Examinations passed with Distinction, 1973
- NSF Traineeship, 1970-1973 (declined 1972-1973)
- Edmond A. Walsh Award, Georgetown University, 1970

### **II. RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, BIOSECURITY AND FOREIGN TRADE AND INVESTMENT**

- Member, Joint Task Force on The Global Innovation Economy: Enhancing Cooperation in India-U.S. Relations, Pacific Council on International Policy and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 2007--
- Member, Steering Committee, The American Assembly's project on the "Next Generation of Foreign Policy Leadership," 2005—
- Co-Principal Investigator, National Security Fellows Training Program, U.S. Department of State, 2005—
- Co-Principal Investigator, Public Policy and Biological Threats, 2004--, Project of the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, funded by the Carnegie Corporation
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Middle East Security Dialogue," 2001-8, U.S. Department of Energy
- Member, Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on International Trade Policy, 1999-2001
- Member, Northeast Asian Cooperation Dialogue, 1999-2001
- Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics, 1997 (offer declined)
- Member, China-Japan-U.S. Trilateral Forum, 1996-2000
- Visiting Scholar, Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, Winter 1993
- Research Scholar, Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, 1992-1994
- Co-Director, Conference on Comparing Public Policy and Politics in the U.S. and Japan, February 1992
- Visiting Scholar, Instituto Juan March (Madrid Spain), Spring 1992
- Co-Principal Investigator, "The Politics of Economic Integration in the Americas," 1991-1992 (Grant from Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation)
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Comparative Foreign Policies and the Commitment to Multilateralism," 1991-1992 (Grant from Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation)
- Director, Project on International and Security Affairs, University of California, San Diego, 1990-1994
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Political Institutions and Policy-Making in Pacific Rim Nations" U. C. Pacific Rim Research Program, 1989-1991
- Co-Principal Investigator, "UCSD Colloquium on International Institutions," 1988-1990 (Ford Foundation grant)
- Co-Principal Investigator, "Study of Hegemonic Change in the Pacific Rim," University of California Pacific Rim Research Program, 1987-1988
- Co-Director, Working Group of the Council on Foreign Relations, "International Corporate Alliances and the Future of International Cooperation and Competition," 1985-1986

### III. RESEARCH ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND SERVICES INDUSTRIES

- Research Fellow, Annenberg Center, University of Southern California, 2006-2007
- Member, Technology Center Advisory Board, Grameen Foundation, 2005- (Board of directors subsequently)
- Co-Director, "Spectrum Policy Workshops" (a joint project of UCSD and ENST, France), 2002—2006
- Layer Leader, Public Policy and Markets Research, California Institute on Telecommunications and Information Technology, 2002--2005
- Advisory Board, UNDP-Markle Foundation Project on Communications and Information Technology, 2001-2
- Advisory Board, US AID E-government, 2001-2006
- Co-Director, International Workshops on Communications Regulations, 2000-2
- Principal Investigator, Markle Foundation, "Regulatory Reform and Developing Countries," 2000-2002
- Co-organizer, California E-conomy Project (co-sponsored by Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy and IGCC), 1999-2004
- Co-Organizer, International Settlement Rates Conference, Annenberg School of Communications, Winter 1998
- Co-Director, Council on Foreign Relations study group, "Global Communication and Information Policy," 1996
- "Special Act" Awards from the Chief of the International Bureau. 1995 (Foreign Carrier Order), 1996 (Accounting Rate Policy Statement , AT&T International Nondominance Order), and 1997 (International Settlement Rate benchmark NPRM and World Trade Organization negotiation)
- Co-Director, Project on Comparative Telecommunications Reform in Perspective, Department of Education grant, 1992-1993
- Investigator, "Europe 1992 project," Brookings Institution, 1988-1990
- Co-Director, Project on U.S.-Mexico Telecommunications Relations, Center on U.S.-Mexico Studies, U. C. San Diego, 1987-1989
- Visiting Scholar, Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, University of California, Berkeley, 1984-1985
- Visiting Scholar, Communications Program, M.I.T., 1984-1985
- Co-Principal Investigator, "International Services and Telecommunications Policy" American Enterprise Institute, 1983-1987
- Research grants, UC San Diego Faculty Senate, "International and Domestic Telecommunications Policy," 1981-1982

### IV. ENERGY RESEARCH

- Co-Principal Investigator, "An Analysis of the Merits of International Oil Agreements", Columbia University Institute for Law and Economics (1980-1981)
- Principal Investigator, "International Geothermal Energy Project," U.S. Department of Energy (1979-1980)
- Visiting Scholar, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, 1978-79
- Research Grant, International Foundation for Development Alternatives, Nyon Switzerland, 1978-79
- Faculty Senate Research Grants, 1978 (for European interviewing on energy policy)
- NSF Post-Doctoral Fellowship for Energy Studies, 1975

### V. TEACHING FIELDS

- International Political Economy (Trade and Investment Policy)
- Regulation and Public Policy (Telecommunications and Information Policy, Theory of Regulation, Biosecurity, Comparative Public Policy)
- International corporate strategy
- Comparative foreign policy

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **I. Books**

Transforming the Global Information and Communications Market: The Political Economy of Innovation (with J. Aronson and D. Abelson) MIT Press (2009).

Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States: An Institutional Approach, (co-edited with Mathew McCubbins) Cambridge University Press (1995) (reprinted in 1997).

Managing the World's Economy: The Consequences of Corporate Alliances, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press (1993) (with J. Aronson).

Changing Networks: Mexico's Telecommunications Options, (co-edited with J. Aronson and G. Szekely) (Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, UC San Diego, 1989).

When Countries Talk: Global Telecommunication for the 1990s, a book for the International Trade project of the American Enterprise Institute (Ballinger, 1988) (with J. Aronson),

Profit and the Pursuit of Energy: Markets and Regulations, (co-edited with J. Aronson), Westview Press (1983).

The Problems of Plenty: Energy Policy and International Politics, University of California Press (1984).

### **II. Book in Preparation**

American Foreign Economic Policy: Understanding Causes and Consequences (book manuscript) (in preparation, with M. McCubbins)

### **III. Articles**

“Network Theory and Internet Governance,” in Miles Kahler (ed.), Networked Politics (Cornell University Press, 2009) (with Milton Mueller)

“Political Economy and Technological Architectures: The Political Economy of the U.S. Information and Communication Technology Infrastructure,” November 2008 Journal of Policy Research (with J. Aronson and J. Richards)

“The Peculiar Evolution of 3G Wireless Networks: Institutional Logic, Politics, and Property Rights” in William Drake and Ernst Wilson (eds.), Governing Global Electronic Networks (Social Science Research Council and MIT Press, 2009) (with J. Aronson and J. Richards)

“Negotiating Positions and Policy Reform in Developing Countries in the next Round of WTO Negotiations on Basic Telecommunications Services,” policy paper for the World Bank (2004) (with J. Aronson) (Updated version published in Aaditya Mattoo, Robert M. Stern, and Gianni Zanini (eds.), A Handbook of International Trade in Services. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007.

“The Politics of Technological Transitions in Networked Industries,” in John Zysman and Abraham Newman, eds., How Revolutionary was the Revolution? National Responses, Market Transitions, and Global Technology in the Digital Era (Stanford University Press, 2006). (with J. Aronson and J. Richards)

“Property Rights and the Institutional Foundations of International Services Markets: Comparing Aviation and Telecommunications,” in Stephen Vogel (ed.), The State after Statism (Harvard University Press, 2006). (with J. Richards)

“The New International Trade Regime in Telecommunications Services and Network Modernization in Transition Economies,” Emerging Markets Finance and Trade, vol. 40, no. 1, January-February 2004, pp. 59-94. (with M. Klimenko)

“Cross-Border Telecommunications Services: Competition and Trade Policy in the Next WTO Round” in Damien Geradin and David Luff (eds.), Trade in Telecommunications and Audio-Visual Services in the Context of the WTO: Towards Convergence? (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

“Deregulating and Liberalising the North American Telecommunications Market: Explaining the U.S. Approach,” in Paolo Guerrieri and Hans-Eckart Scharrer (eds.) Trade, Investment and Competition Policies in the Global Economy: The Case of the International Telecommunications Regime (Baden-Baden: Momos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002, pp. 85-118), (with J. Richards). Also published as “Deregulating and Liberalising the North American Telecommunications Market: Explaining the US Approach,” Hamburgisches Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv (HWWA) Discussion Paper No. 164, (2002). (with J. Richards).

“The Next Generation Internet: Promoting Innovation and User – Experimentation,” in Robert Litan (ed), Tracking a Transformation: E-commerce and the Terms of Competition in Industries (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001). (with Bar, Cohen, de Long, Kleeman, and Zysman).

“Implementing Telecommunications Liberalization in the Developing Countries after the WTO Agreement on Basic Telecommunications Services” in Robert Stern (ed), Services in the International Economy, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). (with M. Klimenko). (Reprinted in Rohan Kariyawasam (ed.), The WTO, Communications, E-Commerce and the Internet (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2008).

“The WTO Negotiations and Telecommunications Reform,” monograph for the World Bank Trade Policy Support Papers, No. (2001) (with M. Klimenko).

“Telecommunications Reform in Developing Countries After the WTO Agreement on Basic Telecommunications Services,” Journal of International Development, 12, (2000) pp. 265-281, (with M. Klimenko)

“Access and Innovation Policy for the Third-Generation Internet,” Telecommunications Policy, 24 (July/August 2000) (with F. Bar, S. Cohen, B. de Long, M. Kleeman, and J. Zysman).

“Dialing for Dollars: The Revolution in Communications Markets,” in Jeffrey Hart and Akheem Prasash (eds.), Coping with Globalization (New York: Routledge, 2000). (with J. Richards)

“FCC Benchmarks and the Reform of the International Telecommunications Market,” Telecommunications Policy, January 1999.

“The Future Trade and Investment Order of the Pacific Rim: Asean, Nafta, and APEC in the Context of Japanese and U.S. Diplomacy,” in P. Gourevitch, T. Inoguchi and C. Parrington (eds), U.S.-Japan Relations and International Institutions after the Cold War (La Jolla, CA: IRPS Publications, 1995) (reprinted in Japanese edition of book: NTT Publishing Co., Tokyo, 1997).

“Ballot-box Diplomacy: The War Powers Resolution and the Use of Force,” International Studies Quarterly, 41 (Winter 1997), 505-528. (with D. Auerswald)

“The Promise of a New World Information Order” in The Knowledge Economy: The Nature of Information in the Twentieth Century (1993-94 Annual Review of the Institute on Information Studies,

Aspen Institute, 1993) (with Margaret McKeown). (Reprinted in Global Information Infrastructure series by the US Information Agency (January 1995)).

"Building the Global Information Highway: Toll Booths, Construction Contracts, and Rules of the Road," in William Drake (ed.), The Global Information Infrastructure (New York: A Twentieth Century Fund book, 1995).

"Introduction, Introduction to Part One, Introduction to Part Two, and Conclusion," in Peter Cowhey and Mathew McCubbins (eds.), Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States: An Institutional Approach, (Cambridge University Press, 1995). (with Mathew McCubbins)

"The Politics of U.S. and Japanese Security Commitments," in Peter Cowhey and Mathew McCubbins (eds.), Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States: An Institutional Approach (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

"Prospects for Post-Uruguay Round Trade Management," Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems 4(1994). (with J. Aronson)

"Public and Private Cooperation on the International Informatics Regime," in Eli Noam and Seisuke Komatsuzaki (eds.), Pacific Basin Telecommunications (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

"A New Trade Order," (with J. Aronson) Foreign Affairs, March 1993. (republished in the Japanese edition of the journal).

"Corporate Alliances and Telecom Services," (with J. Aronson) Transnational Data and Communications Report, March/April, 1993.

"Elect Locally -- Order Globally: Multilateral Cooperation and Domestic Politics," in John Ruggie (ed.), Multilateralism Matters (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

"Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments: The Cases of Japan and the United States," International Organization, April 1993. (Reprinted in Benjamin Cohen and Charles Lipson (eds.), Theory and Structure in International Political Economy, MIT Press, 1999).

"Telecommunications: Market Access Regimes in Services and Equipment," in Peter Gourevitch and Paolo Guerrieri (eds.), New Challenges to International Cooperation: Adjustment of Firms, Policies, and Organizations to Global Competition (Research Monograph Series: IR/PS, UCSD, 1993).

"The Agenda of the Leading Nations for the World Economy: A Theory of International Economic Regimes," in Gunter Heiduk and Kozo Yamamura (eds.), Technological Competition and Interdependence (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991) pp 107-150.

"Future Paths for International Telecommunications Regulation," in Harvey Sapolsky, Eli Noam, and Russ Neuman (eds.) The Telecommunications Revolution (Routledge Kegan, 1991).

"The ITU in Transition," Telecommunications Policy, August, 1991, pp. 298-310.

"The International Telecommunications Regime: The Political Roots of High Technology Regimes," International Organization, Spring, 1990. Reprinted in Fritz Kratochwill and Edwin Mansfield (eds.), International Organization: A Reader (New York: Harper Collins, 1993).

"Telecommunications," in Gary Hufbauer (ed.), Europe 1992: an American Perspective, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1990).

"States and Politics" in American Foreign Economic Policy," in John Odell and Thomas Willett (eds.), Blending Economic and Political Theories (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

"Telecommunications and Foreign Economic Policy," in Paula Newberg (ed.), New Directions in Telecommunications Policy: Vol. 2, Information Policy and Economic Policy (Duke University Press, 1989).

"The Globalization of Telephone Pricing and Services," Chapter Two in James Alleman and Richard Emmerson (eds.), Perspectives on the Telephone Industry: The Challenges for the Future (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1989).

"Trade in Services and Changes in the World Telecommunications System," and "Global Diplomacy and National Policy Options for Telecommunications," (with J. Aronson), in J.D. Aronson, P.F. Cowhey, and G. Szekely (eds.), Changing Networks (Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, 1989).

"Bilateral Telecommunications Negotiations," in Albert Bressand and Kalypso Nikolaides (eds.), Strategic Trends in Services (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1989) (with J. Aronson). Also published in the Overseas Telecommunications Journal of the Research Institute of Telecom Policies and Economics (Tokyo), 1988, No. 2, pp. 32-46. (in Japanese)

"International Trade and Telecommunications," in Maurice Estabrook and R. Marche (eds.) Telecommunications: A Strategic Perspective on Regional Economic and Business Development, (Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 1987).

"Trade Talks and the Informatics Sector," International Journal, Winter, 1986/1987, pp. 107-137.

Trade in Services: A Case for Open Markets, (monograph). Published by the Project on Competing in a Changing World Economy, American Enterprise Institute, 1985 (with J. Aronson).

"Trade in Services and Latin America," Published as part of a volume on international trade by Sistema Economico Latino Americano, Caracas, Venezuela, 1985 (with J. Aronson).

"Canada-U.S. Trade in Communication Services: The Prospects for Liberalization." Published in The Management of Transborder Data Flows: U.S.-Canada and Beyond. The proceedings of a Conference. Sponsored by the Canadian Studies Program of Columbia University, (with J. Aronson).

"Trade in Communications and Data Processing" in Robert Stern (ed.), U.S.-Canada Trade in the Service Industries (University of Toronto Press, 1985).

"The Great Satellite Shootout," (with Jonathan Aronson) Regulation, May/June 1985, pp. 27-36.

"Can Telecommunications Networks Save The European Computer and Microelectronics Industries?" (with Jonathan Aronson) in Der Kampf un den Wohlstand von morgen, ed. by Alfred Pfaller, (1985).

"Telecom: Le Service Public En Question" (with Jonathan Aronson) in 30 Jours D'Europe, September/October 1985.

"The Politics of U.S. Trade Policy and the Fate of High Technology Industries," Issues in Science and Technology, Spring 1985.

"Testing Theories of Regime Change: Hegemonic Decline or Surplus Capacity?" (with Edward Long), International Organization, Spring 1983. (Reprinted in Joseph Grieco (ed.), Theories of Hegemony)

"The Future of the International Oil Companies and the Probable Evolution of the World Energy System in the Eighties" in Miguel Wionczek (ed), The Future of the World Hydrocarbons Market (Pergamon Press, 1982).

"Las Companias Petroleras Internacionales y El Futuro del Sistema Mundial de Energia", Cuadernos Sobre Prospectiva Energetica, June, 1981. Monograph published by El Colegio de Mexico (Mexico City).

"Bearing the Burden: Presidential Responsibility for Foreign Policy" (with David Laitin), International Studies Quarterly, 1978.

"The Theory of Collective Goods Reexamined" (with Jeffrey Hart), Western Political Quarterly, Fall, 1977.

#### **IV. Popular Press Articles**

"Right Target, Wrong Weapon," Financial Times, September 12, 2000, p. 17 (with J. Aronson).

"Northeast Asia and 'stealth détente'," San Diego Union-Tribune, January 28, 2000, p. B-11.

"Do Mergers Threaten Nations?" Los Angeles Times, June 28, 1998, p. M1 (with Jonathan Aronson)

"America, The Global Telecom Laggard," Wall Street Journal, March 6, 1998, p. A14 (with Scott Blake Harris).

"The FCC and the Reform of the International Telecommunications Services Market" Euromoney (Winter 1998) (with Laura Sherman)

"The Clinton Technology Policy: Boon or Boondoggle?" USA Today Magazine, January 1994

"Clinton Will Need Fast-Tech Results," New York Times, January 3, 1993, (with D. Brass)