

TRADE POLICY FLEXIBILITY AND ENFORCEMENT IN THE WTO

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is an incomplete contract among sovereign countries. Trade policy flexibility mechanisms are designed to deal with contractual gaps, which are the inevitable consequence of this contractual incompleteness. Trade policy flexibility mechanisms are backed up by enforcement instruments which allow for punishment of extra-contractual conduct.

This book offers a legal and economic analysis of contractual escape and punishment in the WTO. It assesses the interrelation between contractual incompleteness, trade policy flexibility mechanisms, contract enforcement, and WTO Members' willingness to cooperate and to commit to trade liberalization. It contributes to the body of WTO scholarship by providing a systematic assessment of the weaknesses of the current regime of escape and punishment in the WTO, and the implications that these weaknesses have for the international trading system, before offering a reform agenda that is concrete, politically realistic, and systemically viable.

SIMON SCHROPP is an international trade analyst for Sidley Austin LLP, a leading law firm in international trade law and WTO litigation. He has previously worked for the WTO Secretariat and as a research fellow investigating legal and economic issues of the WTO.



CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC LAW

As the processes of regionalization and globalization have intensified, there have been accompanying increases in the regulations of international trade and economic law at the levels of international, regional, and national laws.

The subject matter of this series is international economic law. Its core is the regulation of international trade, investment, and cognate areas such as intellectual property and competition policy. The series publishes books on related regulatory areas, in particular human rights, labor, environment, and culture, as well as sustainable development. These areas are vertically linked at the international, regional, and national level, and the series extends to the implementation of these rules at these different levels. The series also includes works on governance, dealing with the structure and operation of related international organizations in the field of international economic law, and the way they interact with other subjects of international and national law.

Books in the series:

Trade Policy Flexibility and Enforcement in the WTO: A Law and Economics Analysis Simon A. B. Schropp

The Multilaterization of International Investment Law Stephan W. Schill



TRADE POLICY FLEXIBILITY AND ENFORCEMENT IN THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

A Law and Economics Analysis

SIMON A.B. SCHROPP





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi
Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521761208

© Simon A. B. Schropp 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-76120-8 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my parents, for their love and unquestioning support, and to my sister Lena, for being her



List of figures page xi

1

2

CONTENTS

List of abbreviations xii Acknowledgements xiv	
Foreword xvii	
1 ottwork Avii	
Introduction: trade policy flexibility in the WTO – vice or	
virtue? 1	
1.1 Trade policy flexibility in the WTO: a system at fault 3	
1.2 Some definitional groundwork: connecting issues of	
breach, remedies, and commitment level in incomplete contracts	7
1.3 Objectives of the study 12	
1.4 A reader's guide to this study 14	
1.5 A brief survey of the literature on trade policy flexibility and enforcement in the WTO 20	
PART I An introduction to incomplete contracting 27	7
Complete contracts and the contracting ideal 29	
2.1 Contracts: enforceable commitment over time 29	
2.1.1 Timing 30	
2.1.2 Commitment: cooperative intent and assurance 30	
2.1.3 Effective enforcement and the link between commitment and enforcement 32	
2.1.4 Concluding remarks on the definition of contracts 41	
2.2 Basics of contracting: creating rules 43	
2.2.1 Primary rules of contracting: exchange of entitlements 4	13
2.2.2 Secondary rules of contracting: entitlement protection 4	6
2.2.3 Tertiary rules of contracting: enforcement of entitlements	49
2.2.4 Mixed regimes of entitlement and entitlement protection	50



viii		CONTENTS
		Types of contracts and alternatives to contracting 54 2.3.1 Collaboration vs. coordination 54 2.3.2 Complexity of contracts and alternatives to contracting 56
	2.4	The contracting ideal: the Pareto-efficient complete contingent contract 57
	3 In	complete contracting and the essence of flexibility 60
	3.1	A categorization of contractual incompleteness 61
		3.1.1 What makes contracts incomplete? Transaction costs and bounded rationality 62
		3.1.2 Contractual incompleteness: a taxonomy 65
		3.1.3 Effects of incompleteness on contracting behavior 77
	3.2	2 How to deal with contractual incompleteness: strategies of gap-filling 84
		3.2.1 Circumnavigating incompleteness: comprehensive contracting 85
		3.2.2 Seizing regret: drafting flexibility mechanisms 87
		3.2.3 Minimizing room for disputes: the principle of precaution 94
		3.2.4 Delegating responsibility: using courts as gap-fillers 95
		3.2.5 Summary: dealing with contractual incompleteness and the significance of contractual rules of default 98
	3.3	3 Crafting rules of flexibility: inalienability, specific performance, or liability? 101
		3.3.1 Inalienability or efficient non-performance? 105
		3.3.2 Liability or property rule? 107
		3.3.3 Additional modalities of default rule design 122
	3.4	The efficient "breach" contract as the incomplete-contracting ideal 124
	3.5	5 A first step towards a general theory of disputes? 128
		Theorizing about the WTO as an incomplete ontract 131
	4 A	dding context: the WTO as an incomplete contract 133
		Players, preferences, and contractual intent 134
		4.1.1 Players and preferences: political economy theories of endogenous trade policy-making 135
		4.1.2 Contractual intent: what is the rationale for trade cooperation? 143



		CONTENTS
		4.1.3 A tentative conclusion: trade agreements based on market access externalities and minimum standards 181
	4.2	Primary rules of contracting: basic entitlements in the WTO 190
		4.2.1 Bilateral market access entitlement 191
		4.2.2 Minimum standard entitlements 193
		4.2.3 Basic auxiliary rules of entitlement 194
		4.2.4 Prominent role of the market access entitlement 196
	4.3	Establishing the WTO as an incomplete contract 199
		4.3.1 Contingencies and uncertainty affecting the market access entitlement 202
		4.3.2 Contingencies, uncertainty, and incompleteness affecting minimum standard entitlements and other multilateral entitlements 210
	4.4	Conclusion: the WTO – an incomplete contract based on market access externalities and minimum standards 211
5	An	alyzing the system of non-performance in the WTO 213
	5.1	Trade policy flexibility and protection of the market access entitlement 214
		5.1.1 De iure protection of the market access entitlement 215
		5.1.2 De facto protection of the market access entitlement 222
	5.2	De iure and de facto protection of the coordination entitlements 228
		5.2.1 De iure protection of multilateral entitlements 228
		5.2.2 De facto protection of multilateral entitlements 230
		Rules of enforcement 230
	5.4	Does the current system of trade policy flexibility and entitlement protection make sense? 234
		5.4.1 Flawed protection of the market access entitlement 234
		5.4.2 Flawed protection of multilateral coordination entitlements 247
		5.4.3 Conclusion and consequences 249
		RT III Flexibility and enforcement in the WTO: towards agenda for reform 255
_		
6		eorizing about the WTO as an efficient "breach"
		ntract 257
		The "trade game" 260
	6.2	Organizing protection of the market access entitlement 264
		6.2.1 Focusing on default rules 265
		6.2.2 Inalienability or <i>ex post</i> discretion? 266



X

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-76120-8 - Trade Policy Flexibility and Enforcement in the World Trade Organization: A Law and Economics Analysis Simon A. B. Schropp Frontmatter More information

	CONTENTS
	6.2.3 A property or liability rule of escape? A question of transaction costs 280
	6.2.4 Specifics of the default rule 286
	6.2.5 Conclusion: an unconditional liability rule as optimal protection of the market access entitlement 288
	6.3 Organizing the protection of multilateral entitlements 289
	6.3.1 Focusing on default rules 289
	6.3.2 Optimal design of default rules protecting multilateral entitlements 290
	6.3.3 Conclusion: mixed default rules of protection for multilateral entitlements 295
	6.4 A two-tier system of enforcement 295
	6.5 The vWTO as an efficient "breach" contract: a "better" trade agreement? 300
	6.5.1 How do the WTO and the vWTO differ? 301
	6.5.2 Efficiency edge of the vWTO over the WTO 303
	6.5.3 The vWTO: a "better" contract? 305
7	Towards an efficient "breach" contract: an agenda for
	reform 308
	7.1 The shortlist of reform 308
	7.1.1 Establish a revised GATT Art. XIX 309
	7.1.2 Add Art. Xbis to the WTO Agreement 312
	7.1.3 Revise DSU Art. 22 313
	7.2 Long-term reform proposals 317
	7.2.1 Reforming the protection of the market access entitlement 317
	7.2.2 Reforming the protection of multilateral entitlements 319
	7.2.3 Reforming the WTO enforcement regime 320
	7.3 Final remarks and future research 320
	Bibliography 324
	Index 347



FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Non-performance (breach and remedies) in incomplete
	contracts 7
Figure 1.2	Commitment, breach, and trade policy flexibility in incomplete
	contracts 10
Figure 1.3	Locating the existent WTO literature on trade policy flexibility 21
Figure 2.1	Enforcement constraint in contracts 34
Figure 2.2	Importance of enforcement capacity and enforceability in
	contracts 38
Figure 2.3	Divided entitlement protection: points along a continuum 53
Figure 3.1	A taxonomy of contractual incompleteness 67
Figure 3.2	Impact of contractual incompleteness on the victims'
	commitment 80
Figure 3.3	(a) and (b) Impact of contractual rigidity on injurers' commitment 82
Figure 3.4	Overview of gap-filling strategies in incomplete contract situations 98
Figure 3.5	Designing contractual default rules 104
Figure 4.1	(a) and (b) Overview of economic rationales for trade agreements 145
Figure 4.2	Coordination issues as rationale for trade agreements 162
Figure 4.3	International relations rationales for trade agreements 164
Figure 4.4	Economic and non-economic rationales for trade agreements 178
Figure 4.5	Overview of primary entitlements in the WTO 196
Figure 4.6	Nature of interaction in the WTO 200
Figure 4.7	Nature of incompleteness affecting the market access entitlement 209
Figure 6.1	Trade-offs and constraints in the WTO "trade game" 261
Figure 6.2	Breakdown condition for the simple tariff-setting game 268
Figure 6.3	Stability and breakdown in the escape-clause game according to
	Rosendorff 2005 271
Figure 6.4	Stability in the escape-clause game according to Herzing 2005 273



More information

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-76120-8 - Trade Policy Flexibility and Enforcement in the World Trade Organization: A Law and Economics Analysis Simon A. B. Schropp Frontmatter

ABBREVIATIONS

AoA Agreement on Agriculture

AB Appellate Body

ABM Agreement on Anti-Ballistic Missiles

AD antidumping

ADA Antidumping Agreement

Art./Arts. article(s)

BoP balance of payments

CCC Pareto-efficient complete contingent contract

CvD countervailing duty

DDA Doha Development Agenda

DG Directorate General
DR default rule(s)
DS dispute settlement
DSB Dispute Settlement Body
DSM Dispute Settlement Mechanism
DSU Dispute Settlement Understanding

EBC efficient "breach" contract EC European Communities

EEC European Economic Communities

EU European Union

GATS General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GPA Agreement on Government Procurement
GSP Generalized System of Preferences
ILC International Law Commission

ILO International Labour Office

ILP Agreement on Import Licensing Procedures

IMF International Monetary Fund
 IO industrial organization
 IP intellectual property
 IR international relations
 IT information technology

xii



Frontmatter More information

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xiii

International Trade Organization ITO

L&E law and economics

least developed country/countries LDC

liability rule(s) LR most-favored nation **MFN**

non-governmental organization NGO NVC non-violation complaint(s) **OMA** orderly marketing agreements

PD prisoners' dilemma PR property rule(s)

politically realistic objective function(s) **PROF**

R&D research and development ROO Agreement on Rules of Origin reasonable period of time RPT Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty

SALT

Agreement on Safeguards and Countervailing Measures SCM

SG safeguard

SGA Agreement on Safeguards SIG special interest group

Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures SPS

Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade TBT

transaction costs TCterms of trade TOT

TPRM Trade Policy Review Mechanism

Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures **TRIMs** TRIPS Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights

UCC United States Uniform Commercial Code

Uruguay Round UR

USTR United States Trade Representative

VCLT Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

VER voluntary export restraint(s) WTO World Trade Organization



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"Build a house, beget a son, plant a tree, write a book." It is said that these are four essential things every man should accomplish during his lifetime. Writing a book certainly can be a solitary, frustrating, and self-deprecating process at times. Yet it does not have to be this way, especially if one receives as generous a support as I did during the completion of this book. It is thanks to the following outstanding individuals that I now could – in theory – turn my full and undivided attention to more tangible projects, such as planting trees or constructing houses.

Petros Mavroidis was my cosmopolitan PhD advisor – twice. Petros not only worked "like a dog" on earlier drafts of this book; he also has been a never-ending source of support and inspiration to me. At St. Gallen University, Heinz Hauser was the best "Doktorvater" I could have hoped for: patient yet demanding, stern yet just, supportive yet always straightforward. His comments on this book were extremely helpful to me.

During my time at Columbia University and the Graduate Institute, Geneva, I was fortunate to work with a number of distinguished WTO scholars. Patrick Low was not only a brilliant boss at the WTO; he also showed great flexibility and patience in accepting me as his *impromptu* PhD student. Cédric Dupont supported me in all stages of the process and saw to providing my funding for over two years. Joost Pauwelyn has been a great teacher and it was a privilege to have collaborated with him on several exciting academic projects. Henrik Horn was there for me when help was most needed (and most appreciated). I am indebted to Richard Baldwin, Jagdish Bhagwati, Chad Bown, Richard Gardner, and Merit Janow.

Alexander Keck and Marc Bacchetta at the WTO; Manfred Elsig, Mirko Abbritti, Kornel Mahlstein, and Philip Stucki at the Graduate Institute; and Frieder Roessler, Niall Meagher, and Tom Sebastian of the Advisory Center of WTO Law provided valuable academic input and moral support.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

XV

I wish to thank Scott Andersen, Todd Friedbacher, Nicolas Lockhart, and Andy Shoyer of Sidley Austin LLP for giving me the opportunity to work in such a stimulating and fun environment, and for granting me the time and intellectual latitude to engage in various academic extravaganzas.

Last but not least, things indubitably would have gone South without the unquestioning support and loving care of my family and friends. Without aiming to be exhaustive, I would like to express my profound gratitude to Andreas Moll, Ladane Nasseri, Johanna von Braun, Nico Tyabji, Tim and Marc Stog, SCG, Benvenuto Salm-Reifferscheidt, Dominic Furlong, and whoever it was that invented *Ramazotti*. This book is dedicated to my parents Helga and Peter, and to my sister Lena, in love and eternal gratitude.

Simon Arnd Benedikt Schropp Geneva



FOREWORD

The study of WTO dispute settlement has been attracting increasing interest in law and economics scholarship: in part, as a reaction to the largely impressionistic early legal literature, which had decided on the effectiveness of the new regime on scarce evidence; in part, because of the characteristics of the new regime – compulsory third party adjudication is not the paradigmatic adjudication process in international relations. There is already an impressive body of literature that addresses a series of questions relating to the participation of various WTO Members in proceedings; the impact of third parties on the outcome; the legal capacity of the various participants as an explanatory variable for success in proceedings; the propensity of complainants to prevail; the decision to litigate, and the connected decision to move from one stage of the proceedings to the next. The predictive power of the various models employed varies, and some would argue that it is probably too early to have robust empirical evidence for many of them.

The study of remedies occupies a prominent place within this body of literature. The original contributions, which saw nothing wrong with the WTO system, gave way to more skeptical views over time. There are few empirical papers and lack of transparency often makes this study difficult. Simon Schropp is on top of the literature, and this volume displays it in excellent manner. However, this is not all that the author does. Borrowing from contract theory, he places enforcement in a wider context where a player deviates from the contract (ab)using its safeguards clauses and/or without invoking them.

There should be little doubt that, in light of the de facto prospective nature of remedies in the WTO, WTO Members have an incentive, for political economy reasons, to abuse recourse to, say, safeguards, and thus to provide their domestic industry with the necessary "breathing space." Indeed, bad-faith behaviour is probably exacerbated by the fact that WTO adjudicating bodies have interpreted the safeguard clause in a

xvii



XVIII FOREWORD

very restrictive manner, de facto depriving potential users of an important instrument.

More generally, we are still far away from developing a comprehensive theory of disputes – there are no models predicting when disputes will occur in a setting like the WTO. Contract incompleteness is probably a contributing factor, but in and of itself no reason for a dispute: for one, the trading partners can always go back to the table and negotiate further; unless one takes the view that some of the GATT provisions are obligationally incomplete, it should be that heavy negotiating costs dictate adjudication over renegotiation.

Schropp's work is one of the first that tries to shed light on these questions. The author provides both a framework for analysis for all these questions, as well as his own proposals to help trading partners deal with the various problems identified in this volume. The outcome is a very welcome input to an ongoing discussion regarding the shaping of the multilateral trading system. Having set himself high standards with his first work, his subsequent steps in this area will be eagerly anticipated.

Petros C. Mavroidis

New York City

Edwin B. Parker

Professor of Law at Columbia Law School,

New York