Trade multilateralism in the twenty-first century faces a serious test as weakness in the global economy and fast-paced technological changes create a challenging environment for world trade. This book examines how an updated and robust rules-based multilateral framework, anchored in the WTO, remains indispensable to maximizing the benefits of global economic integration and to reviving world trade. By examining recent accessions to the WTO, it reveals how the growing membership of the WTO has helped to support domestic reforms and to strengthen the rules-based framework of the WTO. It argues that the new realities of the twenty-first century require an upgrade to the architecture of the multilateral trading system. By erecting its ‘upper floors’ on the foundation of existing trade rules, the WTO can continue to adapt to a fast-changing environment and to maximize the benefits brought about by its ever-expanding membership.

Alexei Kireyev is a senior economist at the International Monetary Fund and the former IMF representative to the WTO. He has led advance IMF missions to member countries, provided advice on macroeconomic policies to countries with IMF-supported programmes, and authored numerous publications on international economics.

Ambassador Chiedu Osakwe is Trade Advisor and Chief Negotiator for Nigeria while he is on special leave from the WTO. In the WTO, he has served as director of various divisions for many years, including most recently as Director of the Accessions Division.
TRADE MULTILATERALISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Building the Upper Floors of the Trading System Through WTO Accessions

Edited by

ALEXEI KIREYEV
International Monetary Fund

CHIEDU OSAKWE
World Trade Organization
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2. Mr Mohammad Khan Rahmani, First Deputy Chief Executive of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and Director-General Roberto Azevêdo celebrate the approval of Afghanistan’s WTO membership terms at the 10th Ministerial Conference in Nairobi in December 2015. © WTO/ANTARA.

3. President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan at the WTO’s headquarters on the occasion of the formal approval of Kazakhstan’s WTO membership terms in July 2015. © WTO.

4. Kazakhstan’s President Nursultan Nazarbayev and DG Azevêdo celebrate the adoption of Kazakhstan’s membership terms on 27 July 2015. © WTO.

5. Liberia’s President, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, and DG Azevêdo celebrate the approval of Liberia’s WTO membership terms at the WTO’s Tenth Ministerial Conference in Nairobi in December 2015. © WTO/ANTARA.

6. President Sirleaf of Liberia and DG Azevêdo at a special ceremony held to mark the approval of Liberia’s membership terms at the WTO’s Tenth Ministerial Conference in Nairobi. © WTO/ANTARA.

7. Seychelles’ Minister of Finance, Trade and Investment, Pierre Laporte, and DG Azevêdo celebrate the signing of Seychelles’ Protocol of Accession on 10 December 2014. © WTO.

8. Seychelles’ WTO terms of entry were adopted by WTO members at a General Council meeting on 10 December 2014. © WTO.
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CONTRIBUTORS

Editors

ALEXEI KIREYEV is a senior economist at the International Monetary Fund and the former IMF representative to the WTO.

CHIEDU OSAKWE is Trade Adviser and Chief Negotiator for Nigeria. He is Chairman of the African Union Negotiating Forum for the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA). He is currently on a twelve-month leave from the WTO, where he held the position of Director of the WTO Accessions Division, as well as being adjunct professor in international trade, diplomacy and negotiations at the International University in Geneva (IUG).

Contributors

AXEL M. ADDY is Minister of Commerce and Industry, Liberia, and the former Chief Negotiator of Liberia's accession to the WTO.

ROBERT D. ANDERSON is counsellor and team leader for government procurement and competition policy at the Intellectual Property Division, WTO Secretariat. He is also honorary professor in the School of Law at the University of Nottingham (United Kingdom) and a part-time faculty member in the World Trade Institute at the University of Bern (Switzerland).

ROBERTO AZEVÊDO is the Director-General of the WTO.

MICHELINE CALMY-REY is a visiting professor at the University of Geneva.

VICKY CHEMUTAI a consultant with the Trade and Competitiveness Global Practice of the World Bank in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor at the International University in Geneva (IUG).
CONTRIBUTORS

DIWAKAR DIXIT is an economic affairs officer in the Agriculture and Commodities Division of the WTO.

HUBERT ESCAITH is a research fellow at GREQAM/DEFI, a research centre at Aix-Marseille University (France) and a former Chief Statistician at the WTO Secretariat.

NANNAN GAO is a paralegal at Dechert LLP.

ARANCHE GONZÁLEZ is Executive Director of the International Trade Centre (ITC).

HUMAYOON RASAW, from Afghanistan, is Minister of Commerce and Industries of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and an Honorary Professor at Kabul University.

PIERRE LAPORTE is Country Director of the World Bank for Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea and Togo.

JUNEYOUNG LEE is a legal affairs officer in the Accessions Division of the WTO.

MAŠA LEKIĆ is a research assistant in the Office of the Director-General in the WTO.

CILLIA MANGROO is Principal Secretary for the Trade Department in the Ministry of Finance, Trade and Economic Planning in the Seychelles Government.

CHARLES MORIN is the Chief Negotiator for trade agreements in Seychelles. He is also Lead Negotiator for the African Union Continental Free Trade Negotiation, Chairman of the Seychelles Trading Company and Chairman of the Seychelles Bureau of Standards.

ANNA CAROLINE MÜLLER is a legal affairs officer in the government procurement team of the Intellectual Property Division of the WTO.

NORA NEUFELD is a trade lawyer with a specialization in WTO matters.
xii CONTRIBUTORS

ATSUYUKI OIKE is Minister Plenipotentiary and Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Japan in Washington, DC.

MAIKA OSHIKAWA is a counsellor in the Accessions Division of the WTO.

JOSEFITA PARDO DE LEÓN is a legal affairs officer in the Intellectual Property, Government Procurement and Competition Division of the WTO Secretariat.

SVENJA RAUCH is a research and project assistant to Ms Micheline Calmy-Rey at the University of Geneva, and a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science and International Relations.

NIVEDITA SEN was a researcher in the Intellectual Property, Government Procurement and Competition Division of the WTO.

ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF is the 24th President of Liberia.

MARIAM SOUMARÉ is a junior trade policy analyst in the Accessions Division of the WTO.

ANTONY TAUBMAN is Director of the WTO Intellectual Property, Government Procurement and Competition Division.

ANNA VARYANIK is a legal affairs officer in the WTO Accessions Division.

TATIANA YANGUAS ACOSTA is legal counsel at the Advisory Centre on WTO Law (ACWL).

YING YAN is a statistician in the Economic Research and Statistics Division at the WTO.

FANGYING ZHENG is a law specialist at Benchmark Chambers International.
At the launch of the first volume of our collection on accessions in September 2015, I said that our work in this area was a major success story for the organization. That remains the case today. Since then we have welcomed another three new members to the WTO, taking the membership to 164. As of early 2017 there were twenty-one ongoing WTO accessions, including eight least-developed countries. In total, fifty-seven applicants have expressed their interest in joining the WTO through the Article XII process since its establishment in 1995.

Empirical evidence suggests that the WTO accession process, which normally entails a range of domestic reforms, has had an overall positive impact on the economic performance of the participants. Looking at the remaining accessions, which involve a large number of economies that are dominated by a relatively narrow range of export products, the agenda for structural reforms will be vital for economic diversification, increased competitiveness, private sector development and improvements in the business environment and governance. In this way, the accessions process can make a significant contribution to the overall goal of faster growth, development and job creation.

The 2015 book *WTO Accessions and Trade Multilateralism: Case Studies and Lessons from the WTO at Twenty* (WTO/Cambridge University Press) was focused on the contributions of accessions to the multilateral trading system and the impact of accession on recently acceded WTO members. This follow-up volume *Trade Multilateralism in the Twenty-First Century: Building the Upper Floors of the Trading System Through WTO Accessions* draws on recent accession experiences to distil the impact of accessions on the constantly evolving architecture of the multilateral trading system.

This book pulls together a wide range of topics related to the impact of accessions and it draws on a broad range of contributors – from politicians and chief negotiators to academics and trade practitioners. All of them have been directly involved in the accession process and are
Foreword by R. Azevêdo

uniquely placed to provide new insights on how accessions can help to reshape trade multilateralism for the twenty-first century.

The contributions contained in these pages are directed towards a broad audience of international trade and economic policy-makers, practitioners and scholars in related fields, as well as business people. I am sure that it will be of particular interest to WTO members, observers and governments assessing their prospects of joining the WTO, as well as everybody who is interested in the future of trade and the multilateral trading system.

I congratulate everyone who has been involved in producing this book – particularly the contributors and the editors. It is an excellent contribution to the debate on an important aspect of the work of the WTO.

Roberto Azevêdo
WTO Director-General
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Trade multilateralism has an indispensable human dimension. There have been no WTO negotiations or accessions that have mechanically run to conclusion. This human dimension has found ample manifestation in this book. As its editors, we have enjoyed the enormous privilege of being able to draw on the experience of a broad range of contributors – from presidents, ministers and other high-level officials and chief WTO negotiators, to academics, trade practitioners and experts from international institutions. All of them have been directly involved in the multilateral system, including the accession process. They are uniquely placed to provide new insights on how WTO accessions have contributed to reshaping trade multilateralism for the twenty-first century.

We express our profound appreciation to all contributors to this book and are immensely grateful for their time, energy and dedication to this project. Their contributions assembled in this book suggest a roadmap for updating the multilateral trading system in a time of radical change and uncertainty. The WTO is the primary forum on international cooperation for trade. It is an indispensable organization. Yet it is an organization in a period of transition. Building on the existing foundation, the recent contributions from WTO ministerial conferences in Bali and Nairobi, the coming into force of the Trade Facilitation Agreement, and the WTO leadership have contributed to upgrading the multilateral trading system and building its upper floors. Such upper floors should make the system more flexible and adaptable in the continuously changing international environment.

This book would not have been possible without the inspiration, strong support and thoughtful feedback of the WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, Deputy Director-General David Shark and Senior Advisors Graça Andresen-Guimaraes and David Tinline. We are very grateful to Anthony Martin and Helen Swain for their editorial guidance and expertise in refining the manuscript. Research assistance from Petra Beslać
and Vicky Chemutai and technical support from Souda Tandara-Stenier are thankfully acknowledged. Last but not least, we are grateful to Finola O’Sullivan at Cambridge University Press for her continuous support in moving the book all the way from the start to the finish line.

Alexei Kireyev
Chiedu Osakwe
ABBREVIATIONS

AGST agricultural supporting table
AMS Aggregate Measurement of Support
AoA Agreement on Agriculture
ASYCUDA Automated System for Customs Data
BIT bilateral investment treaty
CAREC Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation
CBL Central Bank of Liberia
CET common external tariff
CIS Commonwealth of Independent States
CITES Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CoA Committee on Agriculture
COMESA Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
CONAPEX National Council for Export Promotion
CU customs union
DG Trade Directorate-General for Trade
DSU Dispute Settlement Understanding
EAEU Eurasian Economic Union
ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States
ECOTA Economic Cooperation Organization Trade Agreement
EIF Enhanced Integrated Framework
EMS Equivalent Measurement of Support
EMT economic management team
EU European Union
FDI foreign direct investment
FPCCI Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FTA free trade agreement
GATS General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
# Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>gross domestic product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GI</td>
<td>geographical indication</td>
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<td>GPA</td>
<td>Agreement on Government Procurement</td>
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<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative</td>
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<td>IAPE</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Affairs &amp; Engagement</td>
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<td>IGPAC</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Policy Advisory Committee on Trade</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>IIA</td>
<td>international investment agreement</td>
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<td>IP</td>
<td>intellectual property</td>
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<td>ISDS</td>
<td>Investor-State Dispute Settlement Mechanism</td>
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<td>ITAC</td>
<td>Industry Trade Advisory Committees</td>
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<td>ITC</td>
<td>International Trade Centre</td>
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<td>LAC</td>
<td>Labor Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations and Trade Policy</td>
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<td>LAP</td>
<td>legislative action plan</td>
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<td>LDC</td>
<td>least-developed country</td>
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<td>LIC</td>
<td>low-income country</td>
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<td>LPAP</td>
<td>Liberian WTO Post-Accession Plan</td>
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<td>MC8</td>
<td>Eighth WTO Ministerial Conference</td>
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<td>MC10</td>
<td>Tenth WTO Ministerial Conference</td>
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<td>MCI</td>
<td>Monthly Calculation Index</td>
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<td>MEPs</td>
<td>Members of the European Parliament</td>
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<td>MFN</td>
<td>most-favoured nation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFTR</td>
<td>Memorandum on Foreign Trade Regime</td>
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<td>MRTA</td>
<td>mega-regional trade agreement</td>
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<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>NBT</td>
<td>National Board of Trade of Sweden</td>
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<td>NPC</td>
<td>neutral private company</td>
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<td>N3P</td>
<td>neutral third party</td>
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<td>NT</td>
<td>national treatment</td>
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<td>NTM</td>
<td>non-tariff measure</td>
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<td>NTP</td>
<td>National Trade Policy of Liberia</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>PASF</td>
<td>Post-Accession Support Forum</td>
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<td>WTO Post-Accession Platform</td>
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<td>PTA</td>
<td>preferential trade agreements</td>
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<td>RTA</td>
<td>regional trade agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>S&amp;D</td>
<td>special and differential treatment</td>
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SAARC South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADC Southern African Development Community
SAFTA South Asian Free Trade Area
SCM Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures
SEZ special economic zone
SIDA Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SMEs small and medium-sized enterprises
SOE state-owned enterprise
SPS sanitary and phytosanitary measures
SSG special agricultural safeguard
STE state trading enterprise
TACA Trade Advisory Committee on Africa
TA/CB technical assistance and capacity-building
TBT technical barriers to trade
TCA Agreement on Trade in Civil Aircraft
TEPAC Trade Advisory Committee on Trade and Environment Policy
TFA Trade Facilitation Agreement
TiSA Trade in Services Agreement
TPP Trans-Pacific Partnership
TPR WTO trade policy review
TRIMs Trade-Related Investment Measures
TRIPS Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
TRQ tariff rate quota
TTIP Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UN United Nations
UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP United Nations Development Programme
USTR United States Trade Representative
WEF World Economic Forum
WGI Worldwide Governance Indicators
WIPO World Intellectual Property Organization
WPR working party report
WTO World Trade Organization
WTO Agreement Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization
DISCLAIMER

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