

CONSENT AND TRADE

In a time of changing trade norms, when free trade seems to be giving way to new kinds of nationalism, some fundamental questions about trade are still not being asked. Is trade consensual or coercive? Is "free trade" as currently practiced really free? If not, what difference can trade law make in addressing economically oppressive practices that nationalistic trade policies cannot? In this book Frank I. Garcia offers an examination of trade law's roots in consensual exchange, highlighting the central role of consent in differentiating trade from legally facilitated coercion, exploitation or predation. The book revisits the premise of consensual exchange that underlies the rhetoric of "free trade," and then examines the social and political conditions that are a necessary part of a more genuine trade law system, in service of the idea that recovering consent in trade law can promote human flourishing on a global scale.

FRANK J. GARCIA is Professor of Law and Dean's Global Fund Scholar at the Boston College Law School, Massachusetts. A Fulbright Scholar, he has lectured widely on globalization and international economic law in Europe, South America and the Asia/Pacific region. Professor Garcia has held various leadership positions within the American Society of International Law, and currently sits on the editorial board of the *Journal of International Economic Law*, where he is the chief book review editor. He is the author, most recently, of *Global Justice and International Economic Law: Three Takes*, published by Cambridge University Press (2013).



Consent and Trade

TRADING FREELY IN A GLOBAL MARKET

Frank J. Garcia

Boston College Law School





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108473255

DOI: 10.1017/9781108569255

© Frank J. Garcia 2019

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 2019

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Garcia, Frank J., author.

Title: Consent and trade: trading freely in a global market / Frank J. Garcia,

Boston College, Massachusetts.

Description: United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 2019.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018029218 | ISBN 9781108473255 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781108461092 (pbk.)

Subjects: LCSH: Free trade. | Commercial policy. | Commercial treaties. | International trade.

Classification: LCC HF1713 .G37 2019 | DDC 382/.71–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018029218

ISBN 978-1-108-47325-5 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.



For Joseph Vining, James J. White and James Boyd White, for teaching us what a warm, intelligent, vigorous love of the Law looks like, and for all my teachers.



Where there is voluntary agreement, there is justice.

Plato, Symposium

...justice will take us millions of intricate moves

William Stafford, "Thinking for Berky"



CONTENTS

Ack	knowledgments	age ix
	Introduction	1
1	Consent and Trade	16
2	Consent, Oppression and Contemporary Trade Agreements	52
3	(Re)Building Trade Agreements	108
4	Consensual Trade and the Twenty-First-Century Global Economy	168
	Conclusion	209
Ind	ex	219

vii



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been twelve years in the making, and over those twelve years I have been privileged to present these ideas in workshops at a number of law, philosophy and political science faculties and conferences around the world. Among them I would like to thank Sorbonne University, Nanterre University, Warwick University, Monash University, Boston University, the Graduate Institute of Geneva, Durham University, the University of Cambridge, the University of Richmond, the University of the Andes (Bogotá, Colombia), Harvard University and my own Boston College.

This kind of research does not happen without patient and consistent support from one's home institution. I would like to thank the two most recent deans of the Boston College Law School, John Garvey and Vincent Rougeau, for their ongoing support from the Law School Fund. Nor would it see the light of day but for the support of editors like the Press's John Berger for interesting and unusual work – this is certainly the latter, and I hope the former as well.

I feel very fortunate to have many generous friends and colleagues who have read all or part of the manuscript at various stages in its formation and helped refine these ideas. Among them are Paulo Barrozo, Betty and David Buchsbaum, Jeffrey Dunoff Jim Henle, Joseph Killough, David Lefkowitz, Pietro Maffetone, Vlad Perju, Diane Ring, Asif Qureshi, Mattias Risse, Gary Whited and Katie Young. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Sonia Rolland and Fiona Smith for reading through the entire manuscript at the end, with their customary insight and acumen.

Over these twelve years I have also been supported by a small army of research assistants, who have invested of themselves and made my project theirs. I would like to thank Ritika Bhakhri, Alex Galliani,

ix



 \mathbf{X}

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47325-5 — Consent and Trade Frank J. Garcia Frontmatter More Information

Acknowledgments

Frances Ha, Kirrin Hough, Jennifer Kay, Thomas Lampert, Khoa Nguyen, Aaron Staudinger, Erika Steinbauer and Michael Tomasini – and apologies if I have missed any of you; of all people, you know how my memory and record keeping are! Many among this group have been trained by Xin "Sherry" Chen, our wonderful international research librarian, who has also helped me countless times find the sources I have needed to land this plane.

As with my last book, a substantial portion of the thinking and writing for this book took place while seated in the warm and friendly environs of the Petit Passage Cafe, East Ferry, Nova Scotia, my summer "office." My heartfelt thanks to Brenda, Debbie, Vicki and the gang for the bottomless cup of coffee, the equally bottomless reservoir of good cheer even on foggy days and the great pie.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the ongoing intelligent, perceptive and creative support I have received from my partner Kim Garcia, in all aspects of this project as in literally everything else. She has been and continues to be my most important teacher, and in that sense this book is also dedicated to her.