## THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION AND REGIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS: An Analysis of the Relevant Rules of the WTO

by

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Certifi	icate		vi
Ackno	wledge	ements	vii
Abstra	act		viii
Chapter 1		Introduction	I
Chapter 2		Regionalism Versus Multilateralism	10
	2.1	The Rise of Protectionism: 1914 – 1918 (the Interwar Years)	10
	2.2.	The Resurrection of Multilateralism	15
	2.3	The Demise of the ITO and birth of GATT	20
	2.3.1	Competing Philosophies Between the Negotiating Parties	21
	2.3.2	The International Environment.	23
	2.3.3	Institutional Framework	24
	2.4	Origins of Article XXIV of the GATT	25
Chapter 3		Normative and Empirical Justifications for Regional Trade Agreements	31
	3.1	Trade and Investment Creation and Diversion	32
	3.1.1	Trade Creation and Trade Diversion	33
		3.1.1.1 Limitations of Viner's theory	37
	3.1.2	Investment Creation and Investment Diversion	40
	3.2	Traditional (Static) Reasons	44
	3.2.1	Efficiency Considerations	44
	3.2.2	Trade Expansion	45
	3.2.3	Means of Attracting Foreign Direct Investment	46
	3.2.4	Political Considerations – Confidence Building	47
	3.2.5	Easy Accession and Administration	48
	3.3	Non-Traditional benefits of Regional Trade Agreements	49
	3.3.1	Credibility of Domestic Reforms	50
	3.3.2	Locking in Domestic Reforms	51
	3.3.3	Increased Negotiating Leverage in the WTO and other fora	52
Chapter 4		Relevant Multilateral Rules on Regional Trade Agreements	56
	4.1	Article XXIV of the GATT 1994	57

4.2	Examination of the Provisions of Articles XXIV:4-5						
	of the GAT	Т 1994	59				
4.2.1	The scope c	of Article XXIV:4 and its relationship					
	with other p	provisions in Article XXIV of the GATT 1994	59				
4.2.2	The scope of	The scope of Article XXIV:5					
	4.2.2.1 The	4.2.2.1 The meaning of the phrase "as between					
		the territories of contracting parties"	69				
	4.2.2.2 The	4.2.2.2 The meaning of the phrase as "duties and other					
		regulations of commerce"	72				
	4.2.2.2.1	Quantitative Restrictions	72				
	4.2.2.2.2	Rules of Origin	79				
	4.2.2.2.3	Variable Levies	86				
	4.2.2.2.4	Customs User Fees	87				
	4.2.2.2.5	Duty Remission Schemes	88				
	4.2.2.3 Sco	pe of the requirement relating to the					
		obligation that duties and other regulations of comme	erce				
		"shall not on the whole be higher or					
		more restrictive than the general incidence of					
		the duties and regulations applicable in the constituer	nt				
		territories"	89				
	4.2.2.3.1	Meaning of "on the whole	91				
	4.2.2.3.2	Meaning of "general incidence of the duties and					
		regulations of commerce"	91				
	4.2.2.3.3	Meaning of "applicable in the constituent					
		territories"	98				
	4.2.2.4	Meaning of the terms "interim agreement",					
		"reasonable length of time" and "plan and					
		schedule"	103				
	4.2.2.4.1	What constitutes an interim agreement	103				
	4.2.2.4.2	What information should a plan and schedule					
		contain?	105				
	4.2.2.4.3	Meaning of the phrase "within a reasonable					
		period of time"	107				

Chapter 5	Relevant Mu	Itilateral Rules on Regional Trade Agreements	111	
5.1	Scope of Article XXIV:6 of the GATT 1994			
5.2	Scope of Art	icle XXIV:7 of the GATT 1994	115	
5.2.1	When should	I notification be made	116	
5.2.2	What kind of	f recommendations could be made by the		
	General Cou	ncil	120	
5.3	The scope of	f Article XXIV:8 of the GATT 1994	121	
5.3.1	The Quantitative Approach			
5.3.2	The Qualitative Approach			
5.3.3	Other interpr	Other interpretative problems with Article XXIV:8		
	5.3.3.1	Unilateral trade references	133	
	5.3.3.2	The meaning of the phrase "duties and other		
		restrictive regulations of commerce"	136	
	5.3.3.2.1	The meaning of duties	136	
	5.3.3.2.2	The meaning of "other restrictive regulations		
		of commerce	137	
	5.3.3.2.2.1	Regulation on preferred source	139	
	5.3.3.2.2.2	Export licensing schemes	139	
	5.3.3.2.2.3	Quantitative restrictions	140	
	5.3.3.3	The exceptions clause in Article XXIV:8	140	
	5.3.3.3.1	Is the list of articles exhaustive?	141	
	5.3.3.3.2	List of exceptions and the non-discrimination		
		principle	143	
	5.3.3.4	The scope of Article XXIV:8 (a)(ii) – are parties		
		to customs unions obliged to apply		
		substantially the same duties and other		
		regulations of commerce?	147	
5.4	Agreements	notified pursuant to the Enabling Clause	151	
5.4.1	Requirements under the Enabling Clause			
5.5	Agreements notified pursuant to Article XXV of the			
	GATT 1994	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	156	
5.6	Agreements	notified pursuant to Article V of the GATS	158	
5.6.1	Requirement	ts under Article V of the GATS	159	

Chapter 6	Evaluation of the Consistency of Regional Trade Agreements	162	
6.1	The examination process under the GATT		
6.2	The examination process under the WTO	164	
6.2.1	Institutional improvements	165	
6.2.2	Operational improvements	165	
	6.2.2.1 Timely provision of information and WTO		
	standard guidelines	166	
	6.2.2.2 Guidelines for the examination process	168	
6.2.3	Critique of the guidelines	169	
6.2.4	Panel of experts	71	
6.3	Regional Trade Agreements and Dispute Settlement	173	
6.3.1	Lack of Recommendations – implicit acceptance of		
	agreement	175	
6.3.2	Lack of Recommendations – rejection of the agreement	177	
6.4	Review of GATT/WTO Jurisprudence	180	
6.4.1	European Community – Tariff Treatment on imports of citrus		
	products from certain countries in the Mediterranean		
	region (L/5776)	181	
6.4.2	EEC - Member States' Import Regimes for		
	Bananas, DS32/R	185	
6.4.3	India - Quantitative Restrictions on Imports of Agricultural,		
	Textile and Industrial Products, WT/DS90/R and		
	WT/DS90/AB/R	189	
6.4.4	Turkey – Restrictions on Imports of Textile and Clothing		
	Products, WT/DS34/R and WT/DS34/AB/R	192	
6.5	Should panels decide on the overall consistency of regional		
	trade agreements with the provisions of Article XXIV	196	
6.5.1	Concurrent jurisdiction	198	
Chapter 7	Conclusion	200	
7.1	Recommendations relating to the substantive		
	rules of the WTO	204	
7.1.1	Article XXIV:4	204	
7.1.2	Article XXIV:5	205	

7.1.3 Article XXIV:6..... 207

7.1.4	Article XXIV:7	208
7.1.5	Article XXIV:8	208
7.1.6	The examination process, regional trade agreements and dis	pute
	settlement	209
7.1.7	Final thoughts	211
Annexes		212
-	Provisions of Article XXIV of the GATT 1994	213
-	Provisions of the Understanding on the	
	Interpretation of Article XXIV of the GATT 1994	216
-	Regional Trade Agreements currently in force	
	and those under negotiation	220
-	Decision of the General Council establishing	
	the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements	237
-	Standard Format for information on Regional	
	Trade Agreements	239
-	Procedures on reporting on Regional	
	Trade Agreements	244
-	Guidelines on Procedures to improve and	
	facilitate the examination process	246
Bibliograph	у	251

#### CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP / ORIGINALITY

I certify that this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Candidate

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#### ABSTRACT

The proliferation of regional trade agreements in recent years raises the question as to whether they are building blocks or stumbling blocks for the multilateral trading system. Studies carried out by academics, the WTO and other reputable bodies have mostly indicated that they have in the past contributed to the efforts of the WTO in liberalising world trade by eliminating barriers to trade among the parties to the agreement and also by reducing barriers to the trade of third countries resulting in an increase not only of intra-trade between the parties, but also trade between the established regional trading bloc and the outside world. The WTO recognises the important contribution that could be made by regional trading arrangements to the multilateral trading system and has consistently stated that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive and could be complementary if regional trade agreements operate in full openness and comply with WTO rules.

Under the rules of the WTO, Members wishing to form free trade areas and customs unions have to comply with a number of requirements including liberalising substantially all their trade and ensuring that the general incidence of tariffs and regulations of commerce is not higher after the formation of the regional trading arrangement. The rules have been designed in such a way as to protect the interests of third countries. In fact, as stated in Article XXIV:4, "the purpose of a customs union or a free-trade area should be to facilitate trade between the constituent territories and not to raise barriers to the trade of other...[Members] with such territories."

To ensure that regional trade arrangements comply with the relevant disciplines of the WTO, Members of the WTO are obliged to notify any trade agreement that they enter into for examination by the WTO. To date, over 100 agreements have been examined, but it is only in one case that there was a unanimous verdict. In the rest of the cases, opinions were sharply divided with parties to the examined agreements insisting on conformity, while third countries expressed a contrary opinion. The paralysis in the decision-making process could be attributed to the lack of clarity in the WTO rules and the consensus principle which enables the parties to the agreement to frustrate the examination process. If the WTO should be able to monitor effectively existing regional trade arrangements and the proposed ones which are very ambitious in terms of the subject areas covered and the diverse membership, it is imperative for the rules of the WTO to be clarified and strengthened and also the decision-making process of the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements fundamentally reformed to enable it to make decisions.