

**"RELEVANCY OF WTO IN CHANGING WORLD SITUATIONS"**

**A DISSERTATION TO BE SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF  
LAWS**

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I wish him/her success in life.

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapters	Title	Page No.
	<i>Certificate</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>Declaration</i>	<i>ii</i>
	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>iii</i>
	<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>v</i>
	<i>Table of Cases</i>	<i>viii</i>
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	PRE-WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM	21
III	WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM	36
IV	EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM	60
V	EMERGING PROBLEMS	76
VI	CONCLUSION	85
VII	SUGGESTIONS	95
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	97
	ANNEXURES	

## **DETAILED CHAPTERS**

### **CHAPTER - I INTRODUCTION**

	Page No.
1.1 Significance of the Study	4
1.2 Trade Dispute- An Overview	6
1.4 Research Problem	8
1.5 Literature Review	9
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study	14
1.7 Hypotheses.	15
1.8 Research Questions	16
1.9 Objectives of the Study	17
1.10 Research Methodology	18

### **CHAPTER - II**

#### **PRE-WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM**

2.1 Evolution of the Dispute Settlement Mechanism.	20
2.2 Procedure Followed in GATT Dispute Settlement.	22
2.2.1 Member States Alone Can Initiate a Dispute.	24
2.2.2 Measures	24
2.2.3 Jurisdiction	24
2.2.4 Change of Measures during the Proceedings	25
2.3 Remedies under GATT.	27
2.3.1 Withdrawal of Inconsistent Measures	28
2.3.2 Compensation.	29

2.3.3	Retaliation.	30
2.3.4	Multilateral Surveillance of Implementation	32
2.4	Effectiveness of the GATT Dispute Settlement System.	33

## **CHAPTER - III**

### **WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM**

3.1	Objectives and features of the WTO Dispute Settlement System	37
3.2	The Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) and its Interpretation.	39
3.2.1	Scope, Administration and Interpretation	40
3.2.2	<i>Doctrine of Stare Decisis</i>	40
3.3	WTO Bodies involved in the Dispute Settlement	41
3.3.1	The Dispute Settlement Body (DSB).	41
3.3.2	Panels.	42
3.3.3	Appellate Body.	43
3.3.4	Arbitrators	44
3.3.5	Independent Experts	44
3.3.6	WTO Secretariat and Appellate Body Secretariat.	45
3.4	Legal Basis for a Dispute.	47
3.4.2	Complaints under GATS	48
3.4.3	Complaints under TRIPS	48
3.4.4	Jurisdiction of the DSB.	48
3.5	Stages in a Trade Dispute	51
3.5.1	Consultations	52
3.5.2	The Panel.	53
3.5.3	Appellate Review	54

3.5.4	Implementation and Surveillance	55
3.6	Alternative Dispute Resolution in WTO	56
3.6.1	Mutually Agreed Solutions	56
3.6.2	Mediation, Conciliation and Good Offices	57
3.6.3	Arbitration	59

## **CHAPTER - IV**

### **EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM**

4.1	Remedies under WTO	60
4.1.1	Withdrawal of Inconsistent Measures	
4.1.2	Compensation	
4.1.3	Retaliation	
4.1.4	Multilateral Surveillance of Implementation	
4.2	Legal Effect of DSB Rulings	66
4.2.1	In the Context of a Particular Dispute	
4.2.2	Rule of <i>Stare decisis</i>	
4.3	Effectiveness in Settlement of Disputes	69
4.4	Effectiveness in Fighting Unilateralism	71
4.5	Effectiveness in Assuring a Level Playing Field for Developing Countries	73
4.6	Effectiveness in reconciling Trade concerns with Non-Trade concerns	74
4.7	Judicial Overreach of the Dispute Settlement Body	75



**CHAPTER - V**  
**EMERGING PROBLEMS**

5.1	WTO and Environment.	76
5.2	WTO and Labour Standards.	81
5.3	WTO and Competition Policy.	82

**CHAPTER - VI**  
**CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS**

	CONCLUSION	85
6.1.1	Strengths	
6.1.2	Weaknesses	
6.2	Verification of Hypotheses	
6.3	Suggestions	95

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Appellate Body
ACWL	Advisory Centre on WTO Law
ADA	Anti- Dumping Agreement
AJIL	American Journal of International Law
AJITL	American Journal of International Trade Law
AoA	Agreement on Agriculture
Art.	Article
ASCM	Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures
ATC	Agreement on Textiles and Clothing
BISD	Basic Instruments and Selected Documents
BoP	Balance of Payment
CENTAD	Centre for Trade and Development
Col. J. Tran. L	Columbia Journal of Transnational Law
Corn. Int'l. LJ	Cornell International Law Journal
DDA	Doha Development Agenda
DSB	Dispute Settlement Body
DSR	Dispute Settlement Reports
DSS	Dispute Settlement System
DSU	Dispute Settlement Understanding
EC	European Communities
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FIRA	Foreign Investment Review Act
Ford. Int'l. LJ	Fordham International Law Journal

GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
Harv. Int'l. LJ	Harvard International Law Journal
Harv. L. Rev.	Harvard Law Review
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICLQ	International and Comparative Law Quarterly
IEL	International Economic Law
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITO	International Trade Organisation
JIEL	Journal of International Economic Law
JILI	Journal of Indian Law Institute
JIPR	Journal of Intellectual Property Rights
JWT	Journal of World Trade
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
Minn.J.Gl.T	Minnesota Journal of Global Trade
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NTB	Non- Tariff Barrier
QRs	Quantitative Restrictions
SPS	Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures
TBT	Technical Barriers to Trade
TPRM	Trade Policy Review Mechanism
TRIPS	Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
TRIMS	Trade Related Investment Measures

UK	United Kingdom
UNCITRAL	United Nations Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
US	United States
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WTR	World Trade Review
WTO Agreement	Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organisation
WT/DS/AB/R	World Trade / Dispute Settlement / Appellate Body/Report
WT/DS/ARB	World Trade / Dispute Settlement / Award of the Arbitrator
WT/DS/R	World Trade/Dispute Settlement / Panel Report

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## CHAPTER – I

### INTRODUCTION

Trade relations between sovereign nations are subject to disputes. This common phenomenon is as old as international trade transactions themselves. The disputes arise due to various reasons but the greed and selfishness of nations are the most prominent among these. While big and powerful nations derive benefits in several ways from international trade, small and weaker nations aspire to get better benefits by establishing trade relationships with other countries, both weak and strong ones. In this process of cross border trade flows, several issues arise. Protection of domestic industries, concerns of patriotism, excess resource drain, disparity in legal frameworks and domestic trade policies are some of the most common issues leading to disputes. The WTO, being a trade facilitator for the Member Countries, attempts to reduce these trade frictions and thereby strives to bring in an international trade framework which may enable an 'unrestricted international trade regime'. The 'rules based system' of the WTO has chalked out well defined 'rules and principles' for the countries to deliberate and exchange trade facilities which may ultimately lead to removal of trade restrictions and a better international trading environment. Given the objectives and principles, various Organs of the WTO perform harmoniously to facilitate deliberations among its Member Countries and bring about a mutually beneficial trading system for the nations across the globe. Despite these efforts, several disputing issues exist among the trading nations. There is a well structured system developed and maintained by the WTO for handling these disputes. The set of laws governing the disputes settlement of the WTO are contained in the

'Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes' (also referred to as Dispute Settlement Understanding DSU) provided by Annex 2 of the Agreement establishing WTO. The General Council acts as the Dispute Settlement Body in handling the disputes brought pursuant to the WTO for litigation. The procedures of dispute settlement under the WTO envisage a semi-automatic system as once the Panels are established, the cases will be processed further unless stopped by the parties to the disputes jointly.

This provides for the aggrieved parties to obtain sufficient remedies through the process of litigation. Since inception (in January 1995) the Organization has been striving to achieve its

well defined objectives for establishing better trade relations among the Member Nations. An initial review of available literature indicated that the functioning of the WTO DSB for first 10 years created mixed outlooks among the beneficiaries, scholars and other stakeholders of the WTO. Scholte has remarked, "... we may loosely distinguish three types of civic organizations in terms of their general approach to the WTO. One group, whom we might call 'conformers', accepts the established discourses of trade theory and broadly endorses the existing aims and activities of the WTO. A second group, whom we might call 'reformers', accepts the need for a global trade regime, but seeks to change reigning theories, policies and/or operating procedures. A third category of civic associations, whom we might call 'radicals', seeks to reduce the WTO's competences and powers or even to abolish the institution altogether. (Scholte, 1998) Several aspects of the Organization were studied by scholars around the world. Academic researches on the disputes handling of the WTO are mostly conducted with following approaches. Majority of these studies (see Kelermem, 2001; Magder, 2006; Latif, 2007; Halfom, 2010) were regarding comparisons of a few cases with respect to the set parameters or certain Agreements (see Robert, 2005). Another approach is the general enquiry on the systems and procedures of the WTO Dispute Settlement (see Busch, 2000). While some of them tried to analyze the political nature of decision making (see Lamoszka, 2003; WemhuaJi & Huang, 2011), some others tried to study certain specific aspects of the process of Dispute Settlement (see Eckersley, 2007; Charmovitz, 2001). A few studies were related to the reforms required in the Panel Process (see Shirzad, 2000). There are some studies which attempted to enquire into the efficiency of Panels in the process of adjudication (see McRae, 2007). Considering this wide range of opinions, it was felt that a detailed study of the functioning of the WTO has to be conducted to assess the efficiency of the institution. The dispute settlement mechanism is a key element of the WTO and could be a good indicator of the functioning of the institution. Hence this study concentrates on an enquiry into the details of disputes handled by the WTO Dispute Settlement Body (DSB). A macroeconomic and general trade policy level study was designed with a major objective to understand the efficacy of functioning of the WTO with respect to the Dispute Settlement mechanism

and also the implication of WTO determinations on the trade policies of Member Countries. The study offers observations on the efficiency of Panels (Both Original and Appellate) in offering adjudications and will

try to establish a correlation between the dispute settlements and trade policy formulations of the member countries. Records show that there are 447 dispute cases filed by various countries from January 1995 till 30 August 2012 with WTO. Review of available literature indicated that these cases pertain to various subject matters and WTO Agreements; were contested by countries with different economic status across various continents and the like. The study has been commenced in the year 2008 and database was framed in January 2009. Till then 390 cases were brought to the WTO DSB. Hence data base for the study was determined as 390 cases and the related aspects of these cases. The present study covers three major aspects: a) the system and procedures of the WTO and the Dispute Settlement, b) various characteristics of the disputes brought to the WTO DSB and the method of settling them and c) the way in which the WTO DSB adjudications impact the policy formulations of Member Countries. These aspects are scrutinized by fragmenting them into different variables. The first aspect, the system and procedures, is studied by including the variables like: the cases passing through various stages of disputes settlement, Consultations, Panel Process, Appellate Panel Process and Compliance/Retaliation; the elements of time in dispute settlement; patterns of adjudication; cases for which the losing defendant requested for a Reasonable Period of Time (RPT) and the process of arbitration. The characteristics of disputes and settlements are studied by observing the variables like: status of economic development of the parties to the disputes, the region wise origin of disputes, subject matters under disputes, the most disputed Agreements and related Provisions, the patterns of implementation, and records of cases lost by various countries. The third aspect of policy implications are studied by examination of cases which led to implementation and the consequent policy formulations/ reformulations on the part of the implementing nations. The type of research employed here is descriptive design adopting the technique of case study method of analysis. The study analyzes the present scenario of the functioning of the WTO and is not primarily focusing at making future predictions or projections. As the status of development of Member Countries forms major source of discussion about the WTO, data has been fundamentally organized based on the disaggregation of cases in terms of status of economic development.

Any study relating to the WTO will include mostly the aspects which are already considered for the earlier studies by authors as their subjects. Hence no study can be independent of the aspects mentioned by the



preceding studies. The dimensions of analysis and the length of inclusion of data are the major differentiations which can be adopted by the succeeding scholars. Updates, new developments and new relative thinking are the options available for the researchers to improve the quality of research knowledge which is created by the earlier researchers of this field. This study is aimed at offering the following additions to the existing body of knowledge. a) The study includes all the disputes/cases till the date of commencement of the study (31 January 2009) including updates on these cases with the progress of time (till July 2012). This will provide a wider data span when compared with studies like Davey, 2005 a. b) The study offers both macroeconomic level findings as well as observations on certain specific aspects viz the efficiency of Panel Process and the Trade Policy Implications. This will provide a detailed range of findings on the WTO as an organization. c) Several variables; including the different stages of dispute settlement, Sectoral origin of Disputes, Regions of dispute origin and Agreements under dispute; are included in a single study which is not quite commonly spotted in this area of study. d) Most of the studies consider a few cases for detailed analysis, or large number of cases for limited parameters. The present study has an exhaustive coverage on all available cases at the commencement of the study (Jan 2009) for a host of parameters. e) Relation between enforceability of Panel Reports and effectiveness in implementation is also studied at some length.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The World Trade Organisation secretariat listings till June 2012 show that 434 cases have been brought before the Dispute Settlement Body. <sup>1</sup> This is a remarkable

increase over the rate of cases brought under the erstwhile General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). <sup>2</sup> Various conclusions can be drawn from the statistics.

Perhaps the numbers represent a great deal of confidence by the nation-state Members of the World Trade Organisation in the Dispute Settlement Body or perhaps they are testing it, trying to bring out cases or perhaps the provisions of the World Trade Organisation Agreements have sufficient ambiguity that they engender more cases. Probably and most likely it is a combination of all these

factors. One of the more optimistic indices of the figures is the relatively large number of trade

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<sup>1</sup> WTO Cases, *available at*: [www.wto.org/dispute](http://www.wto.org/dispute) settlement (visited on June 30, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Prior to the establishment of WTO in 1995, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had a Dispute Settlement mechanism.

disputes that are settled. This could be an indication that the Dispute Settlement Body is enhancing and inducing settlements. Another optimistic indication is the general spirit of compliance with the decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body. Another interesting fact is that large number of cases has been filed by developing countries. They have brought a number of cases even against some of the big industrial countries with rather satisfying wins. Of course, there are grumblings and complaints about the rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body by the developing countries accusing it of being favourable to the developed countries and its decisions are difficult to enforce against them. An attempted case study of disputes brought before the Dispute Settlement Body in the post World Trade Organisation period raises the crucial question: whether the fruits of trade liberalisation is enjoyed by the developing countries or the system of unilateral trade sanctions which existed prior to the formation of the World Trade Organisation (such as United States trade sanctions on India, Japan and few other countries under Section 301 of the United States Trade Act, 1974) seems to continue under alternative legal regimes. It remains to be seen whether developing countries have benefited from a unified dispute settlement regime. The Dispute Settlement Body is designed to provide a single unified settlement mechanism to all the World Trade Organisation Agreements.<sup>3</sup> However, there remain some potential disparities. Many of the separate documents entitled –agreements including the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and certain other texts such as the –subsidies code<sup>4</sup> and the –textiles text<sup>5</sup>, have clauses in them relating to dispute settlement. Thus the goal of unified dispute settlement mechanism may not be cent percent achieved through Article 1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. It provides that the Dispute Settlement Understanding rules and procedures shall apply to all disputes concerning –covered agreements. So, presumably this prevails over most of the specific dispute settlement procedures. But actual practice will determine to what degree this may be a problem. The significance of the study lies in the impact assessment of the Dispute Settlement Body's decisions on International trade disputes, the reasons for the lack of confidence in its decisions by the member states of the World Trade Organisation, the spirit of

compliance with its decisions and the friction between developed and

<sup>3</sup> Article 1.1 of the DSU states that *-the rules and procedures of this Understanding shall apply to disputes brought under 'covered agreements'.*

<sup>4</sup> *Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures.*

<sup>5</sup> *Agreement on Textile and Clothing* (Now terminated).

developing countries in international trade. It is equally significant to understand the inherent shortcomings of the Dispute Settlement Body in effective settlement of an International trade dispute overlapping with environmental concerns, labour issues and competition policy. This is evident in the Tuna-Dolphin dispute<sup>6</sup>, the Shrimp-Turtle dispute<sup>7</sup> and in Japan- Measures affecting consumer photographic films and paper case.<sup>8</sup> This study will be a valuable addition to the existing body of knowledge on the subject and will incite thought and discussion among stakeholders.

### **TRADE DISPUTE- AN OVERVIEW**

A dispute arises when one country adopts a trade policy measure or makes certain trade restrictions that fellow World Trade Organisation Members consider to be infringement of World Trade Organisation Agreements or failure to fulfil the obligations. A third country can also impinge as a party in a dispute. Settling disputes is the responsibility of the Dispute Settlement Body. It begins with consultations amongst the disputant parties, failing which the complainant files a request for constitution of a Panel to give a ruling on its complaint. If it is not satisfied with the panel ruling, a right to file an appeal before the Appellate Body is provided, ending with the adoption of the Appellate Body report by the Dispute Settlement Body, seeking a resolution of the dispute in question. Dispute Settlement Body has the sole authority to establish Panels of experts to consider a case, accept or reject the panel's report or Appellate Body report. It monitors the implementation of rulings and has the power to authorise retaliation when a country does not comply with the ruling. The losing country is directed to bring its trade policy in line with the ruling or recommendations of the Dispute Settlement Body failing which it has to face sanctions such as compensation, penalty or even trade sanctions. The Dispute Settlement Understanding stresses that prompt compliance with the rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body is essential in order to ensure effective resolution of disputes to the benefit of all the Members.<sup>9</sup> The losing country must state the intention to comply with the rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body within 30 days. If complying with the ruling of Dispute Settlement Body immediately proves

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<sup>6</sup> *United States- Restrictions on Import of Tuna, Mexico*, Panel Report, (1991), BISD 395/155, DS21/R

<sup>7</sup> *United States- Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*- WT/DS58/AB/R, DSR 1998: VII, 2755

<sup>8</sup> Panel Report, WT/DS/44/R, DSR 1998: IV, 1179.

<sup>9</sup> Article 21.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

impractical, the member will be given a reasonable period of time to do so. If it fails to act even within this period, it has to enter into negotiations with the complaining country or countries in order to determine mutually acceptable compensation. If no satisfactory compensation is agreed the Dispute Settlement Body shall impose sanctions. In principle, the sanction should be imposed in the same sector in which the dispute arose. If the Dispute Settlement Body feels that if this is not practical or if it would not be effective, then sanctions would be imposed in a different sector in the same agreement. Even then if it is impractical or ineffective, then the Dispute Settlement Body can take actions under another agreement. The main objective is to minimize the chances of action spilling over into unrelated sectors while at the same time allowing the sanctions to be effective. In any case, the Dispute Settlement Body monitors how adopted rulings are implemented. All outstanding cases remain in its agenda until the issue is fully and finally settled.

### **RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Though the dispute settlement process is well defined yet problems persist. There is considerable controversy about the legal effect of a ruling by the Dispute Settlement Body. The specific question is: whether the international law obligation arising out of the Dispute Settlement Body's decisions should be carried out even if it is inconsistent with the national laws and practice. Various provisions of the Dispute Settlement Understanding, decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body and national courts point out that the Dispute Settlement Body's decisions establish an international law obligation upon the members to change its law and practice to make it consistent with the rules of the World Trade Organisation. This raises important questions about the relationship between International law and domestic laws. The Dispute Settlement Body has increasingly confronted these questions and the effectiveness of its decisions are challenged when confronted with domestic laws concerning economic and trade regulations that are allegedly inconsistent with international law. **The United Kingdom-Import restrictions on Cotton Textiles<sup>10</sup>** and **Japan- Measures on Import of Silk yarn<sup>11</sup>** illustrate the difficulties in balancing the interests of developed and developing countries. The apparent reluctance of the developed countries to implement provisions

designed to assist

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<sup>10</sup> GATT Panel Report, *United Kingdom- Import Restrictions on Cotton Textiles*, L/3812, BISD 20S/237.

<sup>11</sup> GATT Panel Report, *Japan- Measures on Imports of Silk Yarn*, L/4637, BISD25S/107.



developing country trade is further illustrated in the EC- Import of Cotton type Bed Linen from India.<sup>12</sup> The effectiveness of the Dispute Settlement Body's decision, in

stark contrast to most national judicial decisions, depends heavily on voluntary compliance by the member countries. Voluntary compliance with its rulings is grounded in the perception that its decisions are fair, unbiased and rationally articulated. Otherwise Dispute Settlement Body's inappropriate judicial activism could well alienate Members thus threatening the stability of the World Trade Organisation itself.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The significance of the dispute settlement system in promotion and liberalisation of international trade is illustrated by John H. Jackson<sup>13</sup> who describes that one of the pronounced and popular dispute settlement mechanisms is provided in the Dispute Settlement Understanding which is part of the World Trade Organisation agreements. He argues that the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organisation is far more effective than the other international institutions such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the International Criminal Court (ICC) and other international tribunals. He points out the lacuna in the previous General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade regime and explains that it was a political body with bilateral and multilateral consultations as the only way of resolving disputes. However, the study barely outlines the evolution of the dispute resolution mechanism, but gives important references to relevant GATT/ WTO documents. Another significant literature by Peter Gallagher<sup>14</sup> provides a similar insight into nuances of International trade and acts as a guide to dispute settlement system under World Trade Organisation but has failed to critically examine the effectiveness of the system. A more recent study by Fabien Bemssom and Racem Mehdi<sup>15</sup> on the broader theme of dispute settlement under World Trade Organisation points out the disparity in Dispute Settlement

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<sup>12</sup> Appellate Body Report, *European Communities – Anti-Dumping Duties on Imports of Cotton-Type Bed Linen from India*, WT/DS141/AB/R, DSR 2001:V, 2049

<sup>13</sup> John H. Jackson, *The Jurisprudence of GATT and the WTO – Insights on Treaty Law and Economic*

*Relations* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Peter Gallagher, *Guide to Dispute Settlement* (Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Fabien Besson and Racem Mehdi, *Is WTO Dispute Settlement System Biased Against Developing Countries? An Empirical Analysis*, available at:

<http://ecomod.net/sites/default/files/documentconference/ecomod2004/199.pdf> (Accessed on September 5, 2011).

Body's decision. It is an empirical study on the trends in resolving trade disputes, problem of bias towards developed countries and World Trade Organisation's incapability in addressing environmental issues from 1995 to 2010. These consist of the general reading on the study. A considerable volume of literature is available on the various aspects of the Dispute Settlement Body and may be examined as follows. The impact of strong industrial lobbies and other influential groups, leading a country to impose barriers to its trade, thereby distorting international trade and inflicting economic growth, is a significant trend in international trade. As Rufus Yerxa and Bruce Wilson<sup>16</sup> points out, the GATT/WTO was designed to address these protectionist measures by providing a forum for states to reduce barriers to trade. However, they are sceptical about the Dispute Settlement Body's impartiality in disputes where developing countries are pitted against developed countries. This trend towards protectionism can be traced to the voluntary export restraint agreements between US and Japan which is well documented by them and illustrates the political and economic aspects of the trade disputes. Marc L. Busch and Eric Reimhardt<sup>17</sup> argues that there is no conformity in applying the law by the Dispute Settlement Body. Transatlantic trade conflicts between the United States and European Union has no bearings on the disputes with developing countries even when the Dispute Settlement Body is seized of an identical matter, they argue. As Palle Krishna Rao<sup>18</sup> points out, some cases take longer for a successful resolution and combined with the high legal costs, the whole process is tilted in favour of the rich countries. However none of the above mentioned studies has examined about the legal effectiveness of the dispute settlement regime of the WTO or compliance quotient of the Dispute Settlement Body's rulings. A considerable volume of literature is available on the contributions of the Appellate Body (AB) of the World Trade Organisation. Mitsuo Matsushita<sup>19</sup> examines the Appellate Body jurisprudence on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement and questions the implementation of the Appellate Body's decision when it is in contradiction with municipal law.

<sup>16</sup> Rufus Yerxa and Bruce Wilson (eds.), *Key Issues in WTO Dispute Settlement System- The first ten*

years (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005).

<sup>17</sup> Marc L. Busch and Eric Reimhardt, *Transatlantic Trade Conflicts and GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement*, (Robert Schuman Centre, Florence, Italy, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Palle Krishna Rao, *WTO Text and Cases* (Excel Books, New Delhi, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> Federico Ortino and Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann (eds.), *The WTO Dispute Settlement System 1995-2003* 455-474 (Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 2004).

John Lockhart<sup>20</sup> assesses the success of the Appellate Body in the light of case laws built upon ‘careful balancing of free trade with other societal values’. Peter Van Dem Bossche<sup>21</sup> lauds the effort of the Appellate Body in free and fair settlement of cases thereby strengthening the World Trade Organisation itself. However, all the studies have failed to provide yardstick with which the success or failure is measured. The available literature on the compliance of the World Trade Organisation rulings is limited. A comprehensive study of the problems with the compliance structure of the World Trade Organisation by Gary N. Horlick<sup>22</sup>, points out at lack of incentives for proper compliance and lack of viable alternatives to trade sanctions. He argues that the member states lack vision and highlights the need for further streamlining the Dispute Settlement Understanding process. Sherzod Shadikhodjaev<sup>23</sup> argues in favour of effective retaliation proceedings against the countries which lose a case in World Trade Organisation, yet failing to comply with the decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body. However, he feels that inappropriate judicial activism may marginalise the World Trade Organisation. There are scholars who doubt the resurfacing of alternative dispute settlement regimes. M.D.Nair<sup>24</sup> questions the effectiveness of the Dispute Settlement System of the World Trade Organisation when it comes to Intellectual Property Rights disputes especially when the ruling goes against a developed Member Country. It is argued by him that DSB is not addressing the disputes under TRIPS agreement effectively. Federico Ortino and Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann<sup>25</sup> describes the need for improvement and clarifications of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. They underline the importance of international organisation for rule of law and peaceful settlement of international disputes and foresee that the World Trade Organisation will become a World Court with compulsory worldwide jurisdiction for the peaceful settlement of certain international disputes. They laud the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade

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<sup>20</sup> Giorgio Sacerdoti, Alan Yamovich, *et.al* (eds.), *The WTO at Ten: The Contribution of the Dispute Settlement System* 285-288 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 289-325

<sup>22</sup> Petros C. Mavroidis and Allam O. Skyes (eds.), *The WTO and International Trade Law/ Dispute Settlement* 326-335 (Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, Cheltenham, UK, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Sherzod Shadikhodjaev, *Retaliation in the WTO Dispute Settlement System* (Kluwer Law International, Alphen Aam Dem Rijn, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> M.D. Nair, TRIPS and its Impact on Developing Countries, *Journal of Intellectual Property Rights*, 14 (2) (2009) 166.

<sup>25</sup> Federico Ortino and Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, *The WTO Dispute Settlement System 1995-2003* (Kluwer Law International, The Hague, 2004).

Organisation as a unique achievement in international law. However, the study halts at the pre-Doha period. The available literature also concerns the proposal for improving the working procedure of World Trade Organisation's dispute settlement Panels. William J. Davey<sup>26</sup> suggests few measures to improve the panel proceedings.

He proposes a permanent panel instead of Ad hoc panels. Unfortunately all the studies have failed to critically evaluate the legal effectiveness of rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body of the WTO and have also failed to examine the benefits or drawbacks of the unified dispute settlement regime. However, the available literature on emerging problems post World Trade Organisation is extremely limited as all studies halt at the settlement of trade disputes only with regards to covered agreements. It is argued from some quarters that the Dispute Settlement Understanding is due for a review which will empower the Dispute Settlement Body to exercise jurisdiction in areas hitherto unknown<sup>27</sup>. Robert E. Baldwin<sup>28</sup> projects

that the future of World Trade Organisation is with many challenges post Doha round of negotiations. He outlines the challenges confronting the World Trade Organisation but falls short of providing practical solutions. A. K. Krishan Koul<sup>29</sup>

enumerates the challenges posed to the World Trade Organisation in the form of competition policy, labour standards and environmental issues but has left a gap in documenting the compliance report in spite of the above said challenges and the study has also failed to find a solution for the above mentioned challenges. One of the earliest studies on the broader theme of the relationship between economic growth and international trade is undertaken by Alfred Maizels<sup>30</sup>, which is an empirical study on the trends in world trade, consumption and dispute resolution. This study serves as an introductory reading to the world trade with special reference to dispute resolution in various jurisdictions. Another study by M. B. Rao and Mamujala Guru<sup>31</sup> deals with the formation of GATT dispute settlement rules and

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 19-30.

<sup>27</sup> Centre for Trade and Development, *Working Paper No. 5 on the Review of the Dispute Settlement Understanding* (CENTAD, New Delhi, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Mike Moore (ed.), *World Trade Organisation: Doha and Beyond* 46-67 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> Autar Krishem Koul, *GATT/ WTO: Law, Ecomormics amd Politics* (Satyarm Books, New Delhi, 2005).

<sup>30</sup> Alfred Maizel, *Industrial Growth and World Trade: An Ermpirical Study om the Trends im Productions, Comsumptiom amd Trade im Mamufactures from 1899-1959* (Cambridge Umiversity Press, Lomdom, 1971).

<sup>31</sup> M. B. Rao amd Mamjula Guru, *WTO Dispute Settlerment amd Developing Countries* (Lexis Nexis



explains how the practices built up in the GATT rules has led to the Dispute Settlement Understanding of the World Trade Organisation. Another significant reading is the treatise by Raj Bhala<sup>32</sup> on GATT law which describes the dispute

settlement procedures prior to World Trade Organisation with special emphasis on General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) articles XXII and XXIII. He also underlines the various stages in a pre-WTO dispute settlement. The study concludes with the formation of Dispute Settlement Understanding holding that it presents a significant victory for the advocates of a unified dispute settlement regime where regional reflexes appear most enhanced. The GATT/WTO jurisprudence on dispute settlement is a rich source for understanding the nuances of international trade, implementation of decisions and compliance report. The United Kingdom-Import restrictions on Cotton Textiles<sup>33</sup> and Japan- Measures on Import of Silk yarn<sup>34</sup> illustrate the difficulties in balancing the interests of developed and developing countries. The apparent reluctance of the developed countries to implement provisions designed to assist developing country trade is further illustrated in the EC- Import of Cotton type Bed Linen from India.<sup>35</sup> EC-Banana cases I and II<sup>36</sup> has highlighted the problems of non-compliance, 'due process of law', 'good faith' and also the relevance of 'res judicata' in Dispute Settlement Body's proceedings. In spite of these observations on non-compliance, there is no literature available to test the compliance rate of the rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body. This Study is an attempt to fill in the gaps in the existing body of knowledge.

### **SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Under the erstwhile GATT dispute settlement system about 250 cases were brought for resolution over a period of several decades. But under the World Trade Organisation dispute settlement system 434 complaints were filed since January 1,

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Butterworths, New Delhi, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> Raj Bhala, *Modern GATT Law: A Treatise on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (Sweet and Maxwell, London, 2005).

<sup>33</sup> GATT Panel Report, *United Kingdom- Import Restrictions on Cotton Textiles*, L/3812, BISD 20S/237.

<sup>34</sup> GATT Panel Report, *Japan- Measures on Imports of Silk Yarn*, L/4637, BISD 25S/107.

<sup>35</sup> Appellate Body Report, *European Communities – Anti-Dumping Duties on Imports of Cotton-Type*

*Bed Linen from India*, WT/DS141/AB/R, DSR 2001:V, 2049.

<sup>36</sup> GATT Panel Report, *EEC – Member States' Import Regimes for Bananas*, DS32/R, unadopted and GATT Panel Report, *EEC – Import Regime for Bananas*, DS38/R, unadopted.

1995<sup>37</sup> and there can be no doubt that the system would be put to greater use in the future and hence the requirement of clarity.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, this study has to put in place several limitations regarding the areas of examination. This study deals with the effectiveness of the dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation only with regard to developing countries. Moreover, this study deals with violation complaints alone and there are no or very limited discussion on non-violation complaints. Also, this study focuses on the effectiveness of the dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation from the legal perspective alone although there are several other dimensions. Other dimensions such as economic, political, social and ethical dimensions are utilised as supporting information and are not discussed intensively. However, for better understanding, the study also takes in its fold the working of the dispute settlement system of the previous GATT regime. The Dispute Settlement Understanding with which we are concerned in this study eventually is a codification of the practice built up under General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1947 over nearly half a century, with few changes considered necessary, to improve the dispute settlement process. The cases decided under the erstwhile GATT regime and the present World Trade Organisation regime are compared wherever possible and the pitfalls in the old system are highlighted. The cases decided by the World Trade Organisation till June 2012 is considered for this Study.

### **HYPOTHESES**

The following hypotheses are formulated for this study:

1. The dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation is ineffective in settling international trade disputes since it fails to ensure a level playing field for the developing member countries and also fails to combat unilateral actions by the developed member countries.
2. The dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation is inadequate in addressing non-trade concerns such as environment and labour in trade disputes.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

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<sup>37</sup> WTO Cases, *available at*: <http://www.wto.org/dispute/settlement> (visited on June 30, 2012).

<sup>38</sup> M.B.Rao and Mamjula Guru, *WTO Dispute Settlement and Developing Countries* xx (Lexis Nexis Butterworths, New Delhi, 2004).

To test the hypotheses, the study proposes to examine the following issues:

- (a) Whether the compliance of Dispute Settlement Body's rulings is better than the erstwhile GATT rulings?
- (b) Whether the Dispute Settlement Understanding is adequate enough to handle all types of trade disputes or it needs a review?
- (c) Whether the unified dispute settlement regime of the World Trade Organisation is beneficial or otherwise to the developing countries in conducting international trade?
- (d) Whether the developing countries utilise the World Trade Organisation's dispute settlement system effectively?
- (e) Whether the system exceeded its mandate in the garb of judicial activism?

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

- (i) To study the decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body and its legal effectiveness in settling disputes between member countries especially the developing countries,
- (ii) To examine the lacuna in the previous GATT dispute settlement regime,
- (iii) To understand the relevant legal issues in the World Trade Organisation negotiations with particular emphasis on dispute settlement,
- (iv) To find out the shortcomings of the Dispute Settlement Body and suggest remedial measures.

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The methodology adopted for this study is doctrinal and analytical. Overall, the study is conducted as follows: Firstly, the study begins with finding the legal issues or problems. Secondly, following the establishment of the legal issues, various sources (primary and secondary) are collected. Primary sources consists of, inter alia, the relevant legal texts of the World Trade Organisation agreement and covered agreements, GATT / WTO documents, GATT / WTO Dispute Settlement Reports (WTO Panel and the Appellate Body reports), the Arbitration decisions, the negotiating history of the Dispute Settlement Understanding, relevant documents and briefs prepared by the member states of the WTO and the policy papers published by the government of the member states. Secondary sources include books, articles, Institutional working papers, discussion papers, edited collections, unpublished theses, research papers and relevant internet sources. Thirdly, after the collection of the data, the

assessments (interpretation and analysis of the sources) begin. The study

employs a normative (literature/text analysis) method. The study initially applies the historical method to trace the emergence of the dispute settlement system through the legal texts, documents and other available secondary sources. It also adopts comparative method to study the dispute settlement regime that was in existence prior to the formation of the WTO. Finally, the premise on which the study is carried out is analytical and applied research since the benefits reaped by the member states, especially the developing countries, of the WTO (such as improved standard of living, sustainable development and economic upliftment) through the decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body is analysed.

## CHAPTER - 2

### PRE - WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

WTO law is widely recognised as a part of public international law.<sup>39</sup> Especially, the dispute settlement procedure under the WTO has a common mechanism with the one under public international law. In this backdrop it is important to discuss the pre- WTO dispute settlement system and its effectiveness in order to gain a broader view of the remedies available in international trade disputes and evaluate the effectiveness of the present WTO dispute settlement system. This discussion may also be helpful for understanding the historical background of the WTO dispute settlement system.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE SETTLEMENT MECHANISM.

In light of the view that problems with economic policy were one of the main causes for the II World War, several international measures were undertaken to liberalise world trade. The Bretton Woods Institutions<sup>40</sup> were setup. However, a third institution called the International Trade Organisation (ITO) could not be set up due to the refusal of the US Congress to ratify the treaty establishing the ITO. Meanwhile, some other developed countries negotiated about the tariff barriers in trade, trade preferences between countries and other trade restrictions. The reduction in tariff rates, which were in the form of schedules, together with provisions dealing with trade concessions and restrictions were combined into an instrument termed

‘The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade’ (GATT). The GATT was signed by all the twenty three original members known as ‘Contracting Parties’ and came into effect on 1st January 1948.

The main activities of GATT can be summarised as follows:

- a) Tariff bargaining.
- b) Bargaining on non-tariff barriers.
- c) Elimination of quantitative restrictions and
- d) Settlement of disputes between contracting parties.

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<sup>39</sup> David Palmetier and Petros C. Mavroidis, *The WTO Legal System: Source of Law*, (1998) 92 *AJIL*398 at p.413, John H. Jackson, *The World Trading System: Law and Policy of*



*International Economic Relations* 25 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1997).

<sup>40</sup> International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Even though it was provisional, the GATT remained the only multilateral instrument governing international trade from 1948 until the WTO was established in 1995. As a result of eight rounds of trade negotiations<sup>41</sup> and the ever expanding group of contracting parties, trade tariffs have reduced and the rules to govern international trade have been formulated.<sup>42</sup> The sixth round of trade negotiations known as

'Tokyo Round' for the first time evolved a dispute settlement mechanism under GATT. In this sense, GATT was influenced by the Draft Charter of the ITO in many respects. Few remedies such as 'consultation' procedure for the 'satisfactory adjustment of the matter' and the concept of 'nullification or impairment',

'appropriateness' and 'suspension' emerged during the negotiations for drafting the Charter.<sup>43</sup> Of course, this is not to suggest that the dispute settlement procedures and

rules under GATT were identical to those found within the Draft Charter. The Draft Charter's rules were more elaborate and provided for its own dispute settlement procedures. Further, the Draft Charter permitted referrals of questions to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for advisory opinions, an option that is not included in GATT.<sup>44</sup> GATT only incorporated two rules from the Draft Charter, which were 'consultations' under Article XXII and the concept of 'nullification or impairment' under Article XXIII. These differences aside, the Draft Charter generally has been considered as interpretative material for GATT since GATT was originally anticipated to be adopted into the institutional setting of the ITO. Although the Draft Charter differs from GATT in parts, it had a profound impact on the parties seeking to establish procedures for dispute settlement and for remedies under GATT.

### **PROCEDURE FOLLOWED IN GATT DISPUTE SETTLEMENT.**

How did the GATT dispute settlement actually 'work' under Article XXII and XXIII? The Contracting Parties followed a ten step process as outlined below. They

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<sup>41</sup> 1947-Geneva, 1949- Ammery, 1951- Torquay, 1956- Geneva, 1960-61- Geneva (Dillon Round), 1964- 67- Geneva (Kennedy Round), 1973-79- Tokyo and 1986-94-Uruguay Rounds.

<sup>42</sup> Rao, M.B and Mamjula Guru, *WTO Dispute Settlement and Developing Countries 2*, Lexis Nexis Butterworths, New Delhi, 2004).

<sup>43</sup> Report of the Second Session of the preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, 53, U.N. Doc. E/PC/T/186 (Sept. 10, 1947).

<sup>44</sup> Seymour J. Rubin, *The Judicial Review Problem in the International Trade Organization*, 63 Harv. L. Rev 78 (1949).

did not necessarily go through all the steps in every case because settlement could be negotiated at any point<sup>45</sup>

1st – Informal bilateral consultations: One contracting party, the complainant, calls upon another contracting party, the respondent, for bilateral consultations. Article XXII: 1 obligates the respondent to look sympathetically upon the request, and afford opportunities for consultations.

2nd - Informal multilateral consultations: Pursuant to Article XXII: 2, the complaining contracting party calls for multilateral consultations. It hopes the addition of other interested parties not only bring pressure to bear on the respondent but also suggest creative solutions.

3rd-More formal bilateral consultations: The complaining party triggers more formal dispute resolution procedures of Article XXIII. Paragraph 1 of that Article calls for more bilateral consultations. In most cases, the claim involves violation nullification or impairment (Article XXIII: 1(a)). In rare instances, the claim involves non-violation nullification or impairment (Article XXIII: 1(b)).

4th- Request for panel: Invoking Article XXIII: 2, the complainant request for formation of a panel. Early in GATT history, complaints were heard by the contracting parties. Soon, however, it became customary to refer to cases to a subset of the membership, i.e. a working party that included the complainant and respondent, along with a few other contracting parties. By the mid- to late 1950's, the practice of using panels of 3-5 experts was established, and the practice was codified in the 1979 Tokyo Round Understanding on Dispute Settlement.

5th- Panel formation. Assuming no blockage by one or more contracting parties, a panel is formed pursuant to Article XXIII: 2 by consensus of the GATT Council.

6th – Oral and written submissions. The panel receives written and oral submissions from the complaining and respondent parties. These proceedings are conducted in camera.

7th – Panel deliberations and report: The panel deliberates and prepares report, again in camera. The panel operates by majority.

8th – Submission of report and adoption: The panel presents its report to the GATT Council. Assuming no blockage by one or more contracting parties,

the GATT

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<sup>45</sup> Raj Bhala, *Modern GATT Law* 1157 (Sweet and Maxwell, London, 2005).

Council adopts a report by consensus. Only if a report is adopted do the recommendations in it take effect.

9th – Compliance: The losing contracting party is supposed to comply with the recommendations of an adopted report. If the case involves violation nullification or impairment, then the key recommendation is removal of the offending measure. If the case involved non-violation nullification or impairment, then the key recommendation is restoration of the competitive relationship that is upset owing to the measure in question.

10th – Compensation or retaliation, if necessary: If the losing contracting party refuses to comply with the recommendations in the panel report, then it can pay compensation to the winning party. Failing an agreement on compensation, the winning party may seek a consensus from the GATT Council for authorisation to retaliate. Retaliation may take the form of suspending or withdrawing GATT obligations owed to the losing party. The level of retaliation must be proportional to the benefits nullified or impaired. Thus the level must equal the trade damage caused by the respondent to the complainant as a result of the measure at issue.

### **Member States Alone Can Initiate a Dispute.**

Under the GATT dispute settlement system only contracting parties can raise a dispute. The GATT only deals with claims against members including their colonies represented by the member. This means non-members and non-state entities cannot approach the GATT dispute settlement system.

### **MEASURES.**

Action can be taken only against 'measures' adopted by contracting parties which are in violation of GATT. It is only the measure that can be challenged and not the market structure that may or may not result from the application of the measure.<sup>46</sup>

The term 'measure' is a wide one encompassing legislations, regulations, administrative guidelines and administrative behaviour. Though the above said decision was made by Dispute Settlement Body of the WTO, the GATT dispute settlement system too had the same principle.

### **Jurisdiction.**

<sup>46</sup> Panel Report: *Japan-Measures Affecting Consumer Photographic Film and Paper*, WT/DS44/R, DSR1998: IV, 1179.

Disputes arising out of GATT or any other multilateral agreement which invokes GATT dispute settlement procedure can be raised under this system. It is relevant at this point to note that the Tokyo Round of negotiations led to the adoption of a number of side agreements termed 'Covered Agreements' such as:

- (i) Agreement on Implementation of Article VI (Anti-Dumping Code).
- (ii) Agreement on Articles VI, XVI and XXIII (Subsidies Code).
- (iii) Agreement on Import Licensing Procedures.
- (iv) Agreement on Trade in Civil Aircraft.
- (v) Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade.
- (vi) Customs Valuation Code.
- (vii) Agreement on Government Procurement.

The dispute settlement process has to be invoked in disputes in respect of GATT and the above covered agreements. In *Canada-Administration of the Foreign Investment Review Act*<sup>47</sup>, the GATT Council confirmed that the panel could be limited in its activities and findings to be within the four corners of GATT. As covered agreements also contain rules on dispute settlement, e.g., in relation to customs matters, balance of payment measures and textiles issues, etc. and in each case there are specialist committees that are given some authoritative power, the question is whether that power should be read to exclude the dispute settlement process. It is however the accepted practice not to exclude the dispute settlement process. In *India-Quantitative Restrictions case*<sup>48</sup>, both the Panel and the Appellate Body found that such (specialist) committees should not be given exclusive jurisdiction so as to exclude the dispute settlement process. Though this is a case under the WTO Dispute Settlement System, the principle involved is the same. Similarly, disputes between members can only be adjudicated under the dispute settlement system. GATT contracting parties, however, have brought disputes on behalf of non-member territories for which they had international responsibility at the relevant time. For example, UK initiated dispute settlement proceedings against Norway on behalf of Hong Kong, while the Netherlands did so against the US on behalf of the Netherlands Antilles.<sup>49</sup> We may, in this context, refer to

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<sup>47</sup> BISD 30S/140 (1984).

<sup>48</sup> *India-Quantitative Restrictions on Imports of Agricultural, Textile and Industrial Products*,



WT/DS90/AB/R, DSR 1999: V, 1799.

<sup>49</sup> *Norway- Restrictions on Imports of Cotton Textiles*, BISD 27S/119, (1980) and *US – Suspension of Obligations*, Working Party Report, *Netherlands Action under Article XXIII:2 to Suspend*

Turkey Restrictions on Imports of Textile and Clothing Products.<sup>50</sup> In that case brought by India against Turkey, the defendant pleaded that the measures at issue were taken pursuant to the customs union of Turkey with the European Union (EU), while India's case was that there was no rule that would prevent a party to initiate action against another party and it was open to proceed against Turkey only as the disputed measure was taken by Turkey and EU could join as a third party, if it so chooses. The Panel held that if a decision could be reached without examination of the position of third parties, the DSB could proceed and exercise its jurisdiction between the parties. Again, though the case was under WTO the principle involved is the same as that of GATT.

### **CHANGE OF MEASURES DURING THE PROCEEDINGS.**

Normally when a trade measure is inconsistent with GATT and that measure is challenged under the GATT dispute settlement system, the member states are requested to maintain their status quo. But when the matter is pending adjudication and member state in dispute changes its trade measure, then the question that arises is whether the GATT dispute settlement process will adjudicate on the trade measure existing at the time of the initiation of dispute or will it consider the modified trade measures. Few cases decided by the GATT dispute mechanism reveals that it generally does not examine the new measure and limit its adjudication to the original inconsistent trade measure. In US-Gasoline case<sup>51</sup> when the inconsistent measure was challenged and when the matter was pending adjudication before a panel, the US withdrew the trade measure. The panel chose not to proceed with the case as it became infructuous. In the matter of US-Section 337 of the Tariff Act, 1930<sup>52</sup> the law was amended after the panel was established. The Panel, however, adjudicated on the version of the law at the time it was established. Similarly, in the case of US- Measure Affecting the Imports of Woven Wool Shirts and Blouses from India<sup>53</sup>, when the import restrictions that was the object of the dispute was withdrawn after the panel submitted its interim report but before the final report was issued, the panel decided to continue the matter. The GATT panel observed, -In the absence of an

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*Obligations to the United States*, BISD 1S/62 (1952).

<sup>50</sup> WT/DS 34/AB/R, DSR 1999: VI, 2345.

<sup>51</sup> GATT Panel Report, *US - Taxes on Petroleum and Certain Imported Substances*, BISD 34S/136

(1987).

<sup>52</sup> BISD 36S/345 (1989).

<sup>53</sup> WT/DS 33/AB/R, DSR 1997: I, 323.

agreement between the parties to terminate the proceedings, we think it appropriate to issue our final report regarding the matter set out in the terms of reference of this panel in order to comply with our mandate notwithstanding the withdrawal of the US restraint.<sup>54</sup> These rulings indicate that the GATT dispute settlement mechanism wanted to establish precedents.

### **REMEDIES UNDER GATT.**

Settlement of disputes was originally based on Article XXII (Consultation) and XXIII (Nullification or Impairment) of the GATT but, unfortunately, they did not contain any procedures. Much later, these articles were supplemented by the Understanding on Notification, Consultation, Dispute Settlement and Surveillance, 1979 and its annex entitled, 'agreed description of the customary practice of GATT in the field of dispute settlement' (Article XXIII:2). We shall now briefly consider these two articles. Article XXII provides for 'consultation' between the contracting parties with respect to any matter affecting the operation of the agreement. It requires the contracting parties to act jointly at the request of the party on any matter that was not resolved through earlier consultation.

Article XXIII(1) inter alia provides that if any contracting party considers that any benefit is being 'nullified or impaired' by another contracting party, it can make written representation to the other party and if that does not result in any satisfactory adjustment, it can refer to the contracting parties (acting collectively) to investigate and make recommendations thereon. The key concept is that of 'nullification or impairment' of any benefit. This Article envisages three types of complaints: violation complaints, non-violation complaints and situation complaints.

Article XXIII (2) contains three kinds of actions by the contracting parties: recommendations, rulings and authorisation to suspend obligations. It may be noticed that Articles XXII and XXIII do not mention the term 'dispute settlement'. Article XXII only calls for bilateral consultations with respect to any matter affecting the operation of this agreement (GATT) and for subsequent multilateral consultations where satisfactory solution has not been possible through earlier bilateral consultations. Article XXIII provides for making representations to the other party failing which, the matter may be

referred to the contracting parties (acting as a body), who after investigations may make appropriate recommendations or give

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* 356. (The GATT panel interim report was passed and subsequently WTO came into effect. Therefore, the final report was passed by WTO panel and upheld by the Appellate Body).

a ruling on the matter. If the contracting parties find the matter serious enough, i.e., if the other party has not acted on its recommendations, or ruling, it may authorise suspension of any concession or other obligation under the agreement. As a supplement to Articles XXII and XXIII, paragraph 4 of the annex to the '1979 Understanding' established a fairly precise procedure with respect to remedies. It provides that the first objective of the contracting parties is to secure the withdrawal of the inconsistent measure and that compensation should be restored to as a temporary measure only in instances when compliance is impracticable. Further, retaliation is allowed as a last resort subject to the authorisation of the contracting parties.

### **2.2.1 WITHDRAWAL OF INCONSISTENT MEASURES.**

Parties to a dispute normally seek a mutually satisfactory and acceptable solution through consultation.<sup>55</sup> However, when a mutually agreed solution is not achieved,

the first objective of the contracting parties is to secure the withdrawal of the measures concerned if these are found to be inconsistent with the GATT. In *Uruguayam Recourse to Article XXIII*, the panel noted that where a measure concerned was in contradiction with the GATT, in all cases would recommend that the measure in question be removed.<sup>56</sup> Thus, when a panel finds a violation of

GATT, it recommends for the cessation and non-repetition of the violation, which seems to be in accordance with the primary remedy under public international law. In *Norway-Tromsheim Toll Equipment* case, the panel found Norway to be in violation of its GATT obligations when it subsidised a Norwegian company that was constructing a toll ring system in the city of Tromsheim.<sup>57</sup> It asked Norway to

acknowledge the illegality of the subsidies and to provide guarantees for non-repetition. However, the panel did not force Norway to make any revocations or reimbursements, nor did it require Norway to provide any reparations for the harm suffered by the complaining party, the US. Although it mentioned that one way for Norway to bring the Tromsheim procurement into line with its obligations under the GATT would be annulling the contract and re-commencing the procurement process, it concluded that such recommendations would be beyond the customary practice in

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<sup>55</sup> See GATT Art. XXII:2.

<sup>56</sup> GATT Panel Report, *Uruguayam Recourse to Article XXIII*, BISD, 11/95 (1963).

<sup>57</sup> GATT Panel Report, *Norway- Procurement of Toll Collection Equiprment for the City of Tromdheirm*, BSID 40S/ 319 (1993).

dispute settlement and that they would be disproportionate in this case. In the Gasoline case<sup>58</sup> brought against the US by Canada, EEC and Mexico challenging the

US taxes on imported petroleum favouring the domestic petroleum market, the GATT panel directed the US to withdraw the inconsistent trade measure as it was violative of Article III: 2<sup>59</sup> of GATT. The panel observed that Article III obliges the

contracting parties to establish competitive conditions for imported products in relation to like domestic products. Since the US measure was inconsistent with Article III: 2 of GATT, the panel ordered for withdrawal of the US measure. Similarly, in Tuna-Import case<sup>60</sup> brought by Canada against the US alleging that

importing of tuna and tuna products from Canada was discriminatory and inconsistent with the GATT Articles I, XI and XIII and not justified under Article

XX. The GATT panel found that the US import prohibition was inconsistent with Article XI: 1 and not justifiable under Article XI: 2 because, the measure applied to species for which the catch had thus far not been restricted in the US. As regards violation of Article XX(g), the panel noted that the US had not provided evidence that domestic consumption of tuna and tuna products had been restricted and that the US prohibition had not been made effective in conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consumption.

### **COMPENSATION.**

There is no specific provision on compensation under the GATT. Only the annex to the '1979 Understanding' provides for the provision of compensation. Paragraph 4 of the annex provides that 'the alternative of providing compensation for damage suffered should be resorted to only if the immediate withdrawal of the measures was impracticable and only as a temporary measure pending the withdrawal of the measures which were inconsistent with the Agreement. The important implication here is that compensation is a remedy that is available only for as long as the inconsistent measures have not been withdrawn. Thus, only a member state's failure to comply with panel recommendations would lead to the provision of compensation. Although the term 'compensation' has not



been defined, it is considered in practice to be the granting of concessions in the form of greater market

<sup>58</sup> *US- Taxes on Petroleum and Certain Imported Substances*, GATT Panel Report, BISD 34S/136, (1987).

<sup>59</sup> National Treatment Principle.

<sup>60</sup> GATT Panel Report, *US-Prohibition of Imports of Tuna and Tuna Products from Canada* BISD 29S/91 (1982).

access, i.e., tariff reduction, by the violating party. It is, to a certain extent, to return the disputing contracting parties to a mutual balance of tariff concessions.<sup>61</sup> It is left

to the contracting parties to determine compensatory concessions. Thus, it is a matter agreed upon by the parties concerned and the panels do not adjudicate on specific matters of compensation. In practice, the GATT panels declined to recommend or suggest compensation. In EEC- Dessert Apples, Chile argued that it was entitled to compensation due to the distortion of the competitive relationship on the basis of losses and lost opportunities to Chilean exporters.<sup>62</sup> Although the panel recognised the possibility of compensation by recalling Para 4 of Annex to the 1979 Understanding, it noted that there was no provision in GATT requiring the parties to provide compensation. As such, it declined to suggest compensation.

### **RETALIATION.**

Retaliation was to be taken as a last resort in the form of suspension of concessions or other obligations at the discretion of the other parties in certain predefined circumstances. The contracting parties may authorise retaliation when a violating party does not comply with a panel recommendation within a reasonable period of time. The purpose of retaliation was to maintain a mutual balance of concessions and obligations. Thus, it was to offset the reduction in benefits resulting from non-compliance. This notion was based on the reciprocity principle, one of the fundamental principles of GATT, in order to liberalise trade. In addition, another purpose was to prevent contracting parties from unilateral actions which were often unnecessary and excessive. Hence, the objective was to provide multilaterally authorised retaliation.<sup>63</sup> There was only one instance where retaliation was authorised under GATT. In Netherlands- Measures of Suspension<sup>64</sup>, the GATT

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<sup>61</sup> Compensation seems to accord in part with the notion of reparation under public international law. The purpose of reparation is to eliminate the consequences of the illegal act and restore the situation to the *status quo ante*. It is well pronounced in Chorzow factory case that reparation must, as far as possible, wipe out all the consequences of the illegal act and re-establish the situation which would, in all probability, have existed if that act had not been committed. Factory at Chorzow (Germany v. Poland) Merits, 1928 P.C.I.J. (ser. A) No. 17, at p.47. Compensation in GATT, as noted previously, is prospective restoration of the *status quo ante*; it does not compensate for damages caused by the breach.

<sup>62</sup> GATT Panel Report, *European Economic Community – Restrictions on Imports of Dessert Apples – Complaint by Chile*, BISD 36S/93 (1989).

<sup>63</sup> Ernst – Ulrich Petersmann (1997), *The GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement System: International Law, International Organizations and Dispute Settlement*, London: Cambridge University Press at p.82.

<sup>64</sup> GATT Working Party Resolution against U.S. authorising Netherlands to retaliate, L/280, dated 11.11.1954.

authorised the Netherlands to retaliate against the US but the Netherlands did not retaliate. Originally, Netherlands brought a dispute to the GATT against the US for making certain imports restrictions on dairy products from Netherlands. The GATT panel ruled in favour of Netherlands and held that the US restrictions were inconsistent with GATT and ordered for the removal of the restrictions.<sup>65</sup> However,

the US did not remove its import restrictions and therefore refused to comply with the GATT panel ruling. The GATT contracting parties authorised Netherlands to suspend its obligation under GATT and permitted it to impose restriction on the import of wheat flour from the US. However a compromise was arrived at and the Netherlands did not retaliate. In order for the contracting parties to authorise retaliation, two essential requirements must be met. These requirements are explicitly set forth in Article XXIII: 2. Under Article XXIII: 2, retaliation is permissible only –if the contracting parties consider that the circumstances are serious enough to justify such action and –authorise a contracting party or parties to suspend the application to any other contracting party or parties of such concessions or other obligations under this agreement as they determine to be appropriate in the circumstances. To put it simply, retaliation is authorised only (1) if the circumstances were –serious enough and (2) to the extent it is –appropriate in the circumstances. The –serious enough requirement consists of two elements. First, the circumstances are –serious enough when the party concerned has exhausted all other appropriate remedies and thus, retaliation is the only means to prevent nullification or restore the status quo ante. Second, the –serious enough requirement is limited to cases where a benefit is being nullified or impaired. The –appropriate standard comprises of three elements. First, –whether, in the circumstances, the proposed measure was appropriate in character, second,

–whether the extent of retaliation was reasonable in light of the impairment suffered and third, –whether retaliation have an inducement effect for compliance. Overall, retaliation meets the appropriateness standard when (1) it is appropriate in character,

(2) the level of retaliation is reasonable enough for the impairment suffered,

having regard to the value and quantum of trade affected and the broader economic elements, and (3) it achieves the eventual solution in accordance with the purpose of GATT.

<sup>65</sup> GATT Panel Report, *United States- Import Restrictions on Dairy Products from Netherlands*, BISD 31S/57 (1954).

## **MULTILATERAL SURVEILLANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION.**

Paragraph 22 of the 1979 Understanding<sup>66</sup> provides that the 'Council on Surveillance' working under GATT shall keep under surveillance any matter on which they have made recommendations or given rulings. It further provides that if the GATT recommendations are not implemented within a reasonable period of time, the victorious State may ask the GATT to make suitable efforts with a view to finding an appropriate solution. The Council shall periodically review the action taken pursuant to such recommendations. The contracting party, to which such a recommendation has been addressed, shall report, within a reasonable specified period of time, on action taken or on its reasons for not implementing the recommendation or ruling by the contracting parties.<sup>67</sup> In addition, unless the Council decides otherwise, the issue of implementation of the recommendations or rulings shall be on the agenda until the issue is solved. At least ten days prior to such Council meeting, the contracting party concerned shall provide the Council with a status report, in writing, of its [implementation] progress.<sup>68</sup> The purpose of surveillance is to secure the withdrawal of the measures concerned, if they are found to be inconsistent with GATT.

## **EFFECTIVENESS OF THE GATT DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM.**

Though the system in actual practice seems to have functioned well in the first decade of its working and forty four cases seem to have been resolved during the period 1949-1976, the number of cases instituted declined to almost to one case per year in the later years. Several reasons were offered: a feeling developed among some contracting parties that no GATT provision should be strictly enforced. In lieu of such enforcement, it was argued that trade disputes should be settled by negotiations and that the provisions of the General Agreement should not necessarily be

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<sup>66</sup> *Understanding on Notification, Consultation, Dispute Settlement and Surveillance*, L/4907, GATT BISD, 1979.

<sup>67</sup> Paragraph (viii) of the 1982 Declaration on Dispute Settlement in furtherance of Paragraph 22 of the 1979 Understanding.

<sup>68</sup> Annex to the 1979 Understanding, Para I.1 of the 1989 Decision on Improvements to the GATT Dispute Settlement Rules and Procedures.

determinative of the outcome of negotiations.<sup>69</sup> During this period, it was perceived to be ineffective, a conclusion drawn mainly by the outcome of the DISC case. In the DISC case<sup>70</sup>, the EC alleged that US tax legislation amounted to an export subsidy. The US counter-claimed that several EC member states' tax systems also operated likewise, as export subsidies. In 1976, the GATT panel upheld both claims. The panel report was not adopted by the GATT Council until 1981 and that too subject to qualifications. While the EC tax system remained in place, the US DISC legislation was effectively replaced in 1984, by a new legislation. This 1984 legislation and tax rebates to Foreign Sales Corporations was hotly debated resulting finally in the Dispute Settlement Body's ruling against the US, threatening retaliatory action against the US to the tune of \$4 billion.<sup>71</sup> In the third phase (till replacement by the WTO system), the GATT dispute settlement system resembled a quasi-judicial system in important aspects by neutral decision makers determining whether any party to the dispute violated the agreement. Even then, the recommendation generally was to terminate the violation and bring the impugned law in accordance with GATT law. It is said that the GATT dispute system in the first decade was more legalistic while during the second phase, it resembled the consensus/ negotiation model because of pressures building up from the US, the formation of European Economic Community (EEC) and the emergence of Japan as an economic force. The third phase saw the birth of a quasi-judicial system, giving rise to rule oriented decisions. Further the formation of panels, from establishment of working parties to the formation of panels consisting of independent experts, and use by panels of customary law methods of treaty interpretation, the increased recourse to lawyers (as compared to diplomats earlier), and the 'quasi-automatic' adoption of most panel reports, have helped the GATT system. The system was further strengthened by the progressive codification and improvement of rules and procedures adopted in 1958, 1966, 1979, 1982, 1984, 1989 and finally in 1994 at the time of formation of the WTO. These rules progressively improved the system by laying down time limits and deadlines for various dispute settlement phases. Further, the provisions in the 1989

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<sup>69</sup> William J. Davey, *Dispute Settlement in GATT*, Vol. II, *Fordham International Law Journal* 63 (1976).



<sup>70</sup> GATT Panel Report, *United States- Tax Legislation on Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC)*, BISD 23S/98 (1981).

<sup>71</sup> William J. Davey, *Dispute Settlement in GATT*, Vol. II, *Fordham International Law Journal* 64 (1976).

rules have introduced adoption of arbitration within GATT as an alternate method of dispute settlement. All these helped in judicialisation of the GATT dispute settlement procedures. However there was also mounting criticism of the dispute settlement system. The procedure was riddled with loopholes and remedies available were too few and far- fetching. The EC and USA, the two major players in GATT, showed disrespect to the system and increasingly failed to comply with adverse rulings. However, the core problem proved to be the practice of decision making by 'consensus' that allowed losing contracting parties to block the adoption of panel reports. This caused considerable delay and thwarted the very aim of the dispute settlement procedure.

### **CHAPTER - 3**

#### **WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM**

As discussed in the previous chapter, the GATT dispute settlement system suffered from various lacunae in enforcement of its decisions. Delay in forming panels, blocking the decision of the panel from adoption by the GATT Council, lack of time frame to decide a case, lack of compliance and lack of enforcement measures when the losing party fails to comply with the ruling of the GATT panel virtually made the GATT dispute settlement ineffective. These serious lapses were discussed extensively in the Uruguay Round by the Member States and they decided to create a stronger, more binding dispute settlement system as and when the WTO comes into existence. The Member states were convinced that the WTO's carefully negotiated trading rules should be respected and enforced. With the establishment of the World Trade Organisation on 1st January, 1995, a new dispute settlement system replaced the GATT dispute settlement system. Though the present WTO dispute settlement system is based on the previous GATT regime, it constitutes a major improvement over the previous GATT dispute settlement system. The disputes which are brought before the World Trade Organisation cover a wide range of economic activities. The WTO dispute settlement system plays an important role in clarifying and enforcing the legal obligations contained in the WTO Agreement. While the dispute settlement system is not the only activity taking place in the WTO, it has become an important part of the

practical reality of the organisation. WTO dispute settlement has also

become an important tool in the management by WTO Members of their international economic relations at large.<sup>72</sup>

**Objectives and features of the WTO Dispute Settlement System.** The main objective of the WTO dispute settlement system is to provide security and predictability to the multilateral trading system. This is reflected in the 'Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes' or the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU). The DSU aims to provide a fast, efficient, dependable and rule-oriented system to resolve disputes about the application of the provisions of the WTO Agreement. Another objective of the WTO dispute settlement system is to provide a mechanism through which WTO Members can ensure that their rights and obligations under the WTO Agreement can be enforced and preserved. The scope of the rights and obligations is to be correctly interpreted without prejudice to the Members. The WTO dispute settlement system aims to provide correct interpretation of the customary rules of treaty interpretation which is now codified under the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. Another primary objective of the system is to settle disputes preferably through a mutually agreed solution that is consistent with the WTO Agreement. Article 3.7 of the DSU states that adjudication is to be used only when the parties cannot work out a mutually agreed solution. By requiring formal consultations as the first stage of any dispute, the DSU provides a framework in which the parties to a dispute must always at least attempt to negotiate a settlement.<sup>73</sup> Even when the case has progressed to the stage of adjudication, a bilateral settlement always remains possible and the parties are always encouraged making efforts in that direction.<sup>74</sup> The most important feature of the WTO dispute settlement system is prompt settlement of disputes. Accordingly, the DSU sets out in considerable detail the procedures and corresponding deadlines to be followed in resolving disputes. The detailed procedures are designed to achieve efficiency. The time-frames might appear to be long but one must take into account that disputes in the WTO are usually very complex in both factual and legal terms. Parties generally submit a considerable amount of data and documentation relating to the challenged measure, and they also put forward very detailed legal

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<sup>72</sup> Legal Affairs Division, *A Handbook on the WTO Dispute Settlement System* ix (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 6

<sup>74</sup> Articles 3.7 and 11 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

arguments. The parties need time to prepare these factual and legal arguments and to respond to the arguments put forward by the opponent. The panel (and the Appellate Body) assigned to deal with the matter needs to consider all the evidence and arguments, possibly hear experts, and provide detailed reasoning in support of its conclusions. Considering all these aspects, the dispute settlement system of the WTO functions relatively fast and, in any event, much faster than many domestic judicial systems or other international systems of adjudication. Another feature of this system is that, it has exclusive jurisdiction over WTO-related disputes. DSU not only excludes unilateral action, it also precludes the use of other fora for the resolution of a WTO-related dispute.<sup>75</sup> Another feature is the dispute settlement system is its compulsory nature. All WTO Members are subject to it and as a result, every Member enjoys assured access to the system and no respondent Member can escape that jurisdiction.

### **The Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) and its Interpretation.**

In this backdrop it is imperative to examine the 'Understanding on Rules and Procedures governing the Settlement of Disputes', commonly referred to as the Dispute Settlement Understanding and abbreviated as DSU. The Dispute Settlement Understanding, which constitutes Annex 2 of the WTO Agreement, sets out the procedures and rules of the present dispute settlement system. It should however be noted that, to a larger degree, the current dispute settlement system is the result of the evolution of rules, procedures and practices developed over almost half a century under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 1947. The Dispute Settlement Understanding consists of 27 Articles with 4 Annexes. Articles 1 to 3 deal with the scope, application, establishment of the Dispute Settlement Body and the rules of interpretation. Articles 4 to 16 deal with panel proceedings, while Articles 17 to 20 deal with Appellate proceedings and recommendations. Articles 21 to 23 deal with enforcement provisions. Article 25 exclusively deals with 'Arbitration' as an alternative means of settling disputes. The main objective of the World Trade Organisation's dispute settlement system is to provide security and predictability to the multilateral trading system.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Article 23 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>76</sup> Article 3.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

### **Scope, Administration and Interpretation.**

Article 1 of the DSU specifies the coverage and application of the understanding. It states that the rules and procedures apply to disputes in respect of all agreements (called covered agreements) listed in Appendix 1 of the DSU. This Appendix contains the Agreement establishing the WTO and Annex 1A, 1B, 1C Annex 2 and Annex 4 thereof. However, the DSU clarifies that the rules and procedures shall apply subject to additional rules and procedures on dispute settlement contained in the covered agreements listed in Appendix 2 thereto. Appendix 2 lists a number of special rules and procedures contained in specified covered agreements that apply when the provisions of those agreements are in issue.



### **Doctrine of Stare Decisis.**

The Dispute Settlement Body of the WTO seems to have adopted the practice of the International Court of Justice with regard to the doctrine of stare decisis. The ICJ has confirmed the binding force of its judgments in any particular case only to the parties to that dispute. Article 59 of the statute of the ICJ states: 'The decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case'. Similarly, there is no formal doctrine of precedent in the WTO dispute settlement system. The Appellate Body in *Japan- Taxes on Alcoholic Beverages Case*<sup>77</sup> stated that previous panel or Appellate Body Reports are binding only with respect to the dispute they settle and there is no doctrine of stare decisis in the WTO. However, it should be noted that previous decisions of the WTO Dispute Settlement Body create a reasonable and legitimate expectation among other WTO Members that a similar dispute in the future would be decided in a similar manner. This would also be consistent with the stated purpose of the dispute settlement system being –a central element in providing security and predictability to the multilateral trading system.<sup>78</sup>

### **WTO Bodies involved in the Dispute Settlement Process.**

The following bodies are involved in the WTO dispute settlement process:

- (1) The Dispute Settlement Body (DSB).
- (2) Panels.
- (3) Appellate Body.
- (4) Arbitrators.
- (5) Independent Experts.
- (6) WTO Secretariat and Appellate Body Secretariat.

Among the above said WTO bodies, the DSB is a political institution, whereas the panel, Appellate Body and arbitrators are independent quasi-judicial institutions.

### **The Dispute Settlement Body (DSB).**

The DSB is composed of representatives of all WTO Members. These are governmental representatives, mostly diplomats who represent their countries. As civil servants, they receive instructions from their respective countries and act accordingly. As such, the DSB is a political body. The DSB

is entrusted with the

<sup>77</sup> DSR 1996: I, 97.

<sup>78</sup> Article 3.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

responsibility of overseeing the entire dispute settlement process. The DSB has the authority to establish panels, adopt panel and Appellate Body reports, maintain surveillance of implementation of rulings and recommendations and authorize the suspension of obligations under the covered agreements<sup>79</sup>, the DSB is responsible for the referral of a dispute to adjudication (establishing a panel); for making the adjudicative decision binding (adopting the reports); generally, for supervising the implementation of the ruling; and for authorizing retaliation when a Member does not comply with the ruling. The DSB meets as often as is necessary to adhere to the time-frames provided for in the DSU.<sup>80</sup> In practice, the DSB usually has one regular meeting per month. When a Member so requests, the Director-General convenes additional meetings. The staffs of the WTO Secretariat provide administrative support<sup>81</sup> for the DSB. The general rule is for the DSB to take decisions by consensus.<sup>82</sup> Footnote 1 to Article 2.4 of the DSU defines consensus as being achieved if no WTO Member, present at the meeting when the decision is taken, formally objects to the proposed decision. This means that the chairperson does not actively ask every delegation whether it supports the proposed decision, nor is there a vote. On the contrary, the chairperson merely asks, for example, whether the decision can be adopted and if no one raises their voice in opposition, the chairperson will announce that the decision has been taken or adopted. In other words, a delegation wishing to block a decision is obliged to be present and alert at the meeting, and when the moment comes, it must raise its flag and voice opposition. Any Member that does so, even alone, is able to prevent the decision. However, when the DSB establishes panels, when it adopts panel and Appellate Body reports and when it authorizes retaliation, the DSB must approve the decision unless there is a consensus against it.<sup>83</sup> This special decision-making procedure is commonly referred to as "negative" or "reverse" consensus. At the three mentioned important stages of the dispute settlement process (establishment, adoption and retaliation), the DSB must automatically decide to take the action ahead, unless there is a consensus not to do so.

### **Panels.**

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<sup>79</sup> Article 2.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>80</sup> Article 2.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>81</sup> Article 27.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>82</sup> Article 2.4 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>83</sup> Article 6.1, Article 16.4, Article 17.14 and Article 22.6 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

Panels are the quasi-judicial bodies, in a way tribunals, in charge of adjudicating disputes between Members in the first instance. They are normally composed of three experts selected on an ad hoc basis. This means that there is no permanent panel at the WTO; rather, a different panel is composed for each dispute. Anyone who is well qualified and independent can serve as panelist. Article 8.1 of the DSU mentions as examples, persons who have served on or presented a case to a panel, served as a representative of a Member or of a contracting party to GATT 1947 or as a representative to the Council or Committee of any covered agreement or its predecessor agreement, or who have worked in the Secretariat, taught or published on international trade law or policy, or served as a senior trade policy official of a Member. The WTO Secretariat maintains an indicative list of names of governmental and non-governmental persons, from which panelists may be drawn. There is no institutional continuity of personnel between the different ad hoc panels. Whoever is appointed as a panelist serves independently and in an individual capacity and not as a government representative or as a representative of any organisation.<sup>84</sup> The panel composed for a specific dispute must review the factual and legal aspects of the case and submit a report to the DSB in which it expresses its conclusions as to whether the claims of the complainant are well founded and the measures and actions being challenged are WTO-inconsistent. If the panel finds that the claims are indeed well founded and that there have been breaches by Member of WTO obligations, it makes a recommendation for implementation by the respondent.<sup>85</sup>

### **Appellate Body.**

Unlike panels, the Appellate Body is a permanent body of seven members entrusted with the task of reviewing the legal aspects of the reports issued by panels. The Appellate Body is thus the second and final stage in the adjudicatory part of the dispute settlement system. As it did not exist in the old dispute settlement system under GATT 1947, the addition of this second adjudicatory stage was one of the major innovations of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. The Appellate review carried out by the Appellate Body now has the function of correcting possible legal errors committed by panels. In doing so, the Appellate Body also provides consistency of decisions, which is in line with the central goal of the dispute settlement system to provide security

and predictability to the multilateral

<sup>84</sup> Article 8.9 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>85</sup> Articles 11 and 19 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

trading system.<sup>86</sup> If a party files an appeal against a panel report, the Appellate Body reviews the challenged legal issues and may uphold, reverse or modify the panel's findings.<sup>87</sup> The Dispute Settlement Body appoints the members by consensus<sup>88</sup>, for a four-year term and can reappoint a person once.<sup>89</sup> An Appellate Body member can, therefore, serve a maximum of eight years. Appellate Body members must be persons of recognized authority, with demonstrated expertise in law, international trade and the subject matter of the covered agreements generally, and they must not be affiliated with any government.<sup>90</sup> Most Appellate Body members have so far been university professors, practising lawyers, past government officials or senior judges. The seven Appellate Body members must be broadly representative of the membership of the WTO<sup>91</sup>, although they do not act as representatives of their own countries but rather they represent the WTO membership as a whole.

### **Arbitrators.**

In addition to panels and the Appellate Body, arbitrators, either as individuals or as groups, can be called to adjudicate certain questions at several stages of the dispute settlement process. Arbitration is available as an alternative to dispute resolution by panels and Appellate Body<sup>92</sup>, although it is a possibility that has so far very rarely been used. Arbitration results are not appealable but can be enforced through the Dispute Settlement Understanding. Much more frequent are two other forms of arbitration foreseen in the DSU for specific situations and questions in the process of implementation, i.e. after the DSB has adopted a panel (and, if applicable, an Appellate Body) report, and the losing party is bound to implement the Dispute Settlement Body's rulings and recommendations. The first such situation, which an arbitrator may be called to decide on, is the establishment of the<sup>93</sup> -reasonable period of time granted to the respondent for implementation.<sup>94</sup> His second situation is where a party subject to retaliation may also request arbitration if it objects to the level or the nature of the suspension of obligations proposed.<sup>95</sup> These two forms of

<sup>86</sup> Article 3.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>87</sup> Article 17.13 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>88</sup> Article 2.4 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>89</sup> Article 17.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>90</sup> Article 17.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>91</sup> Article 17.3 of the DS Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>92</sup> Article 25 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>93</sup> Articles 21 and 22 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>94</sup> Article 21.3(c) of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>95</sup> Article 22.6 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.



arbitration are thus limited to clarifying very specific questions in the process of implementation and they result in decisions that are binding for the parties.

### **Independent Experts.**

Disputes often involve complex factual questions of a technical or scientific nature. Because panelists are experts in international trade but not necessarily in those scientific fields, the DSU gives panels the right to seek information and technical advice from experts. They may seek information from any relevant source, but before seeking information from any individual or body within the jurisdiction of a Member, the panel must inform that Member.<sup>96</sup> In addition to the general rule of

Article 13 of the DSU, the following provisions in the covered agreements explicitly authorize or require panels to seek the opinions of experts when they deal with questions falling under these agreements:

- Article 11.2 of the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures;
- Articles 14.2, 14.3 and Annex 2 of the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade;
- Articles 19.3, 19.4 and Annex 2 of the Agreement on Implementation of Article VII of GATT 1994;
- Articles 4.5 and 24.3 of the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM Agreement).

Where a panel considers it necessary to consult experts in order to discharge its duty to make an objective assessment of the facts, it may consult either individual experts or appoint an expert review group to prepare an advisory report.<sup>97</sup> Expert review groups perform their duties under the panel's authority and report to the panel. Expert review groups only have an advisory role. The ultimate decision on the legal questions and the establishment of the facts on the basis of the expert opinions remains the domain of the panel. Participation in expert review groups is restricted to persons of professional standing and experience in the field in question. Citizens of parties to the dispute cannot serve on an expert review group without the joint agreement of the parties to the dispute, except in exceptional circumstances when the panel considers that the need for specialized scientific expertise cannot otherwise be fulfilled. Government officials of parties to the dispute may not serve on an expert review group. Members of expert review groups serve in their individual

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capacity and not as government representatives, nor as representatives of any organization.

<sup>96</sup> Article 13.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>97</sup> Article 13.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

Governments or organizations must not give them instructions with regard to matters before an expert review group.

### **WTO and Appellate Body Secretariats.**

The WTO Secretariat is responsible for the administrative aspects of the dispute settlement procedures, as well as assisting panels on the legal and procedural aspects of the dispute at issue.<sup>98</sup> This means, on the one hand, dealing with the panels

logistical arrangements, i.e. organizing the panelists travel to Geneva where panel meetings take place, preparing the letters inviting the parties to the meetings with the panels, receiving the submissions and forwarding them to the panelists etc. On the other hand, assisting panels also means providing them with legal support by advising on the legal issues arising in a dispute, including the jurisprudence of past panels and the Appellate Body. Because panels are not permanent bodies, the Secretariat serves as the institutional memory to provide some continuity and consistency between panels, which is necessary to achieve the DSU's objective of providing security and predictability to the multilateral trading system.<sup>99</sup> The

Appellate Body Secretariat provides legal assistance and administrative support to the Appellate Body.<sup>100</sup> To ensure the independence of the Appellate Body, this

Secretariat is only linked to the WTO Secretariat administratively, but is otherwise separate. The Appellate Body Secretariat is housed together with the WTO Secretariat at the WTO head quarters in Geneva, where both the panels and the Appellate Body hold their meetings.

### **Legal Basis for a Dispute.**

Article 1.1 of the DSU stipulates that its rules and procedures apply to –disputes brought pursuant to the consultation and dispute settlement provisions of the .....

‘Covered Agreements’ II. The basis or cause of action for a WTO dispute must, therefore, be found in the –covered agreements listed in Appendix 1 to the DSU, namely, in the provisions on –consultation and dispute settlement contained in those WTO agreements. In other words, it is not the DSU, but rather the WTO agreements that contain the substantive rights and obligations of WTO Members, which determine the possible grounds for a

dispute.

These provisions on –consultation and dispute settlement are:

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<sup>98</sup> Article 27.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>99</sup> Article 3.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>100</sup> Article 17.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

- Articles XXII and XXIII of GATT 1994;
- Article 19 of the Agreement on Agriculture;
- Article 11 of the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures;
- Article 8.10 of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing;
- Article 14 of the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade;
- Article 8 of the Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures;
- Article 17 of the Agreement on Implementation of Article VI of GATT 1994;(Anti-Dumping Agreement)
- Article 19 of the Agreement on Implementation of Article VII of GATT 1994;(Customs Valuation Agreement)
- Articles 7 and 8 of the Agreement on Pre-shipment Inspection;
- Articles 7 and 8 of the Agreement on Rules of Origin;
- Articles 6 of the Agreement on Import Licensing Procedures;
- Articles 4 and 30 of the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures;
- Article 14 of the Agreement on Safeguards;
- Articles XXII and XXIII of the General Agreement on Trade in Services;
- Article 64 of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights.

Obviously, a dispute can be, and often is, brought under more than one covered agreement. In such a case, the question of the proper legal basis has to be assessed separately for the claims made under different agreements.

### **Complaints under GATS.**

The dispute settlement provisions of the GATS (which is contained in Annex 1B of the WTO Agreement) are contained in Articles XXII and XXIII of that Agreement. The GATS only provides for two types of complaints, the violation complaint and the non-violation complaint. There is no situation complaint and the GATT 1994 clause referring to the scenario that –the attainment of any objective of the Agreement is being impeded– also does not exist. As regards the violation complaint, Article XXIII: 1 of the GATS provides that a WTO Member that considers that another Member has failed to carry out its obligations under the GATS, may have recourse to the DSU. The GATS thus abandoned the notion of nullification or impairment as a requirement in addition to the failure to carry out obligations.

Consequently, Article 3.8 of the DSU is of no relevance to complaints brought under the GATS. The non-violation complaint of GATS resembles that of GATT 1994 because a Member can allege nullification or impairment of a benefit it could reasonably expect to accrue to it under a specific commitment of another Member in the absence of a conflict with the provisions of GATS (Article XXIII:3).

### **Complaints under TRIPS.**

Article 64.1, the TRIPS Agreement (which is contained in Annex 1C of the WTO Agreement) contains a reference to Articles XXII and XXIII of GATT 1994. On that basis, one would say that all the above as explained in the context of GATT 1994 also applies to disputes under the TRIPS Agreement. In other words, there are three different types of complaints that could be brought under the TRIPS Agreement. However, Article 64.2 of the TRIPS Agreement excluded non-violation and situation complaints for the first five years from the entry into force of the WTO Agreement. Article 64.3 mandated the Council for TRIPS to examine the scope and modalities for non-violation and situation complaints during<sup>101</sup> the five-year moratorium and to submit recommendations to the Ministerial Conference for approval by consensus. However, till now no recommendations have been made.

### **Jurisdiction of the Dispute Settlement Body.**

The WTO dispute settlement system has jurisdiction over any dispute between WTO Members arising under any of the covered agreements.<sup>102</sup> Article 6.2 of the DSU obliges the complainant to identify the specific measures imposed by the respondent which affects the complainant before requesting for the establishment of a panel to adjudicate. Here the measures refers to both positive act (e.g. a law, regulation or decision impeding the export of goods to other WTO Members) and negative act (e.g. inaction or failure to make a law, regulation or decision when the WTO agreements specifically warrant for it). Even the Appellate Body in Guatemala-Cement I case<sup>103</sup> has held that a measure may be any act of a Member, whether or not legally binding, including a government's non-binding administrative guidance and also an omission or a failure<sup>104</sup> to act on the part of a Member. As a general

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<sup>101</sup> Article 3.8 of the DSU.

<sup>102</sup> Article 1.1 of the DSU.

<sup>103</sup> DSR 1998: IX, 3797.

<sup>104</sup> GATT Panel Report, *Japam- Semi-Conductors*, BISD 35S/116, GATT Panel Report, *EECDessertApples*, BISD 36S/93, GATT Panel Report, Panel Report, *Argemima- Hides and Leather*, DSR 2001: V, 1779.

rule, only government measures can be the object of WTO complaints. The WTO Agreement is an international agreement binding the WTO Members under public international law. The obligations contained in the WTO Agreement, as such, therefore bind only the signatory States. It follows that nongovernmental, private actors cannot infringe these obligations. However, there can be instances in which certain private behaviour has strong ties to some governmental action. Whether this permits the attribution of the private behaviour to the Member in question and therefore is actionable under the WTO will obviously depend on the particularities of each case. A purely private activity without government involvement would therefore not satisfy that requirement.<sup>105</sup> However, in practice, things are not always so clearcut, and there have been several trade disputes involving private actions having some governmental connection or endorsement. The panel in Japan- Film Case defined "sufficient government involvement" as the decisive criterion as to whether a private action may be deemed to be a governmental measure<sup>106</sup>. WTO complaints are often filed against specific administrative measures taken by authorities of a Member pursuant to domestic laws, for example, antidumping duties imposed by an anti-dumping authority following an investigation of certain imports. However, the underlying law itself may also violate a WTO legal obligation or otherwise nullify or impair benefits under the covered agreements. Article XVI: 4 of the WTO Agreement make clear that Members must ensure the conformity of their laws, regulations and administrative procedures with their obligations under the WTO Agreement, including its Annexes. Accordingly, Members frequently invoke the dispute settlement system against a law as such without waiting for the application of that law. Successfully challenging the law as such gives the advantage that the respondent's implementation, ideally the withdrawal or modification of the inconsistent measure<sup>107</sup>, would equally address the law as such and not be limited to an isolated case of application of such law.



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<sup>105</sup> Panel Report, *Japan- Measures Affecting Consumer Photographic Film and Paper*, DSR 1998: IV, 1179.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* 1183.

<sup>107</sup> Article 3.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

## **Stages in a Trade Dispute.**

There are two main ways to settle a dispute once a complaint has been filed in the WTO: (i) the parties find a mutually agreed solution, particularly during the phase of bilateral consultations; and (ii) through adjudication, including the subsequent implementation of the panel and Appellate Body reports, which are binding upon the parties once adopted by the DSB. There are three main stages to the WTO dispute settlement process: (i) consultations between the parties; (ii) adjudication by panels and, if applicable, by the Appellate Body; and (iii) the implementation of the ruling, which includes the possibility of countermeasures in the event of failure by the losing party to implement the ruling.

### **Consultations.**

The preferred objective of the DSU is for the Members concerned to settle the dispute between themselves in a manner that is consistent with the WTO agreements.<sup>108</sup> Accordingly, bilateral consultations between the parties are the first stage of formal dispute settlement.<sup>109</sup> They give the parties an opportunity to discuss the matter and to find a satisfactory solution without resorting to litigation.<sup>110</sup> Only after such mandatory consultations have failed to produce a satisfactory solution within 60 days may the complainant request adjudication by a panel.<sup>111</sup> The parties to a dispute can depart from the requirement of consultations through mutual agreement under Article 25.2 of the DSU if they resort to arbitration as an alternative means of dispute settlement. Even when consultations have failed to resolve the dispute, it always remains possible for the parties to find a mutually agreed solution at any later stage of the proceedings. A majority of disputes so far in the WTO have not proceeded beyond consultations, either because a satisfactory settlement was found, or because the complainant decided for other reasons not to pursue the matter further. This shows that consultations are often an effective means of dispute resolution in the WTO. Consultations are the key non-judicial/diplomatic feature of the dispute settlement system of the WTO. Consultations also allow the parties to clarify the facts of the matter and the claims of the complainant, possibly dispelling

misunderstandings as to the actual nature of the measure at issue. In this sense,

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<sup>108</sup> Article 3.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>109</sup> Article 4 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>110</sup> Article 4.5 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>111</sup> Article 4.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

consultations serve either to lay foundation for a settlement or for further proceedings under the DSU. The request for consultations formally initiates a dispute in the WTO and triggers the application of the DSU. It is necessary for the complainant to go through the consultation procedure set forth in the DSU as a prerequisite for further proceedings in the WTO. The complaining Member addresses the request for consultations to the responding Member, but must also notify the request to the DSB and to relevant Councils and Committees overseeing the agreement(s) in question.<sup>112</sup> The request for consultations informs the entire Membership of the WTO and the public at large of the initiation of a WTO dispute. A request for consultations must be submitted in writing and must give the reasons for the request. This includes identifying the measures at issue and indicating the legal basis for the complaint.<sup>113</sup> The respondent (i.e. the Member to whom the request for consultations is addressed), is obliged to accord sympathetic consideration to, and afford adequate opportunity for, consultations.<sup>114</sup> Unless otherwise agreed, the respondent must reply period of no more than 30 days after the date of receipt of the request for consultations. If the respondent fails to meet any of these deadlines, the complainant may immediately proceed to the adjudicative stage of dispute settlement and request the establishment of a panel.<sup>115</sup> If the respondent engages in consultations, the complainant can proceed to the request for establishment of a panel at the earliest 60 days after the date of receipt of the request for consultations, provided that no satisfactory solution has emerged from the consultations. However, the consultation stage can also be concluded earlier if the parties jointly consider that consultations have failed to settle the dispute.<sup>116</sup> In cases of urgency, including those that concern perishable goods, Members must enter into consultations within a period of no more than ten days after the date of receipt of the request. If the consultations fail to settle the dispute within a period of 20 days after the date of receipt of the request, the complaining party may request the establishment of a panel.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Article 4.4 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>113</sup> Article 4.4 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>114</sup> Article 4.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>115</sup> Article 4.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>116</sup> Article 4.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>117</sup> Article 4.8 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

### **The Panel.**

If the consultations have failed to settle the dispute, the complaining party may request the establishment of a panel to adjudicate the dispute. As mentioned earlier, the complainant may do so any time 60 days after the date of receipt by the respondent of the request for consultations, but also earlier if the respondent either did not respect the deadlines for responding to the request for consultations or if the consulting parties jointly consider that consultations have failed to settle the dispute.<sup>118</sup> Where consultations do not yield a satisfactory result for the complainant, the procedure starting with the panel stage offers the complainant the possibility to uphold its rights or protect its benefits under the WTO Agreement. This procedure is equally important for the respondent as an opportunity to defend itself because it may disagree with the complainant on either the facts or the correct interpretation of obligations or benefits under the WTO Agreement. The adjudicative stage of dispute settlement is intended to resolve a legal dispute, and both parties must accept any rulings as binding. The content of the request for establishment of the panel is crucial. Under Article 7.1 of the DSU, such request determines the standard terms of reference for the panel's examination of the matter. In other words, the request for the establishment of a panel defines and limits the scope of the dispute and thereby the extent of the panel's jurisdiction. Only the measure or measures identified in the request become the object of the panel's review and the panel will review the dispute only in the light of the provisions cited in the complainant's request. The complaining and the responding Members are the parties to the disputes. Other Members have the opportunity to be heard by panels and to make written submissions as third parties, even if they have not participated in the consultations. In order to participate in the panel procedure, these Members must have a substantial interest in the matter before the panel and they must notify their interest to the DSB.<sup>119</sup> There are no permanent panels nor permanent panellists in the WTO. Instead, panels must be composed ad hoc for each individual dispute, with the selection of three or five members, pursuant to procedures laid down in the DSU.<sup>120</sup>

Traditionally, many panellists are trade delegates of WTO Members or capital-based

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<sup>118</sup> Article 4.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>119</sup> Article 10.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>120</sup> Article 8 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

trade officials, but former secretariat officials, retired government officials and academics also regularly serve on panels.

### **Appellate Review.**

If the panel report is appealed, the dispute is referred to the Appellate Body. Article 16.4 of the DSU implies that the panel report must be appealed before it is adopted by the DSB. It also makes clear that only the parties to the dispute, not the third parties, can appeal the panel report. However, third parties may also participate in the appeal as a so-called –third participant. Appeals are limited to legal questions. They may address only issues of law covered in the panel report and legal interpretations developed by the panel.<sup>121</sup> Article 17.1 of the DSU provides that three of the seven

Appellate Body members are to serve on each appeal. The three Appellate Body members who have been selected to serve on a particular appeal elect one of them to be presiding member of that division. The presiding member coordinates the overall conduct of the appellate proceeding, chairs the oral hearing and meetings related to that appeal and coordinates the drafting of the Appellate Body report. After the oral hearing, the bench exchanges views on the issues raised in the appeal with the four other Appellate Body members not on the bench. This exchange of views is intended to give effect to the principle of collegiality in the Appellate Body and serves to ensure consistency and coherence in the jurisprudence of the Appellate Body. Divergent or inconsistent lines of jurisprudence that might otherwise arise would detract from the security and predictability of the multilateral trading system, which is one of the main objectives of the dispute settlement system.<sup>122</sup> Following the exchange of views with the other Appellate Body members, the bench concludes its deliberations and drafts the Appellate Body report. With regard to the content of an Appellate Body report, the DSU prescribes that the Appellate Body must address each of the legal issues and panel interpretations that have been appealed.<sup>123</sup> The Appellate Body may uphold, modify or reverse the legal findings and conclusions of the panel.<sup>124</sup> However, where certain legal findings of the panel are no longer relevant because they are related to or based on a legal interpretation reversed or modified by the bench, the Appellate Body sometimes declares such panel findings



<sup>121</sup> Article 17.6 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>122</sup> Article 3.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>123</sup> Articles 17.6 and 17.12 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>124</sup> Article 17.13 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

as null and having no legal effect. It is pertinent to note that the Appellate Body has no power to remand the case to the panel for a fresh hearing. This remanding authority or order for de novo proceedings does not exist in the WTO legal system. An Appellate Body report has two sections: the descriptive part and the findings section. The descriptive part contains the factual and procedural background of the dispute and summarizes the arguments of the participants and third participants. In the findings section, the Appellate Body addresses in detail the issues raised on appeal, elaborates its conclusions and reasoning in support of such conclusions, and states whether the appealed panel findings and conclusions are upheld, modified or reversed. It also contains additional relevant conclusions, for instance if the respondent has been found in violation of another WTO provision than the one the panel addressed. Article 17.14 of the DSU also specifically provides that the parties to the dispute must accept the Appellate Body report unconditionally, i.e. accept it as resolution of their dispute without further appeal. Although Article 17.14 does not mention the panel report, it is understood that the Appellate Body report must be adopted together with the panel report because one can understand the overall ruling only by reading both reports together.

### **Implementation and Surveillance.**

With the adoption of the panel or Appellate Body report, there will be a recommendation and ruling by the DSB directed towards the losing party to bring itself into compliance with WTO law or to find a mutually satisfactory solution. Article 21.1 of the DSU adds that prompt compliance with the recommendations or rulings of the DSB is essential in order to ensure the effective resolution of disputes. The DSB is the WTO body responsible for supervising the implementation of panel and Appellate Body reports.<sup>125</sup> It is entrusted with the surveillance of the implementation of the panel or Appellate Body report. The surveillance ends once the ruling passed by the panel or Appellate Body is complied with fully.

### **Alternative Dispute Resolution in WTO.**

It is important to stress that panels and the Appellate Body are not always involved in a WTO dispute and there are various other ways to solve disputes within the framework of the WTO. The parties can settle their dispute with a mutually agreed

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<sup>125</sup> Article 2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

solution or through arbitration. However, it should be stated that these forms of dispute settlement are provided in the DSU itself.

### **Mutually Agreed Solutions.**

The DSU expresses a preference for the parties to settle their disputes through mutually agreed solutions.<sup>126</sup> However, unlike many other judicial systems, the DSU

does not allow the parties to settle their dispute on whatever terms they wish. Solutions mutually acceptable to the parties to the dispute must also be consistent with the WTO Agreement and must not nullify or impair benefits accruing under the agreement to any other Member.<sup>127</sup> Implicit in these rules is an acknowledgment of

the danger that the parties to a dispute might be tempted to settle on terms that are detrimental to a third Member not involved in the dispute, or in a way that is not entirely consistent with WTO law. Mutually agreed solutions must therefore be notified to the DSB with sufficient information for other Members. Bilateral consultations, which are required to take place at the beginning of any dispute, are intended to provide a setting in which the parties to a dispute should attempt to negotiate a mutually agreed solution. However, even when the consultations failed to bring about a settlement and the dispute has progressed to the stage of adjudication, the parties are encouraged to continue their efforts to find a mutually agreed solution. Panels should consult regularly with the parties and give them adequate opportunity to develop a mutually satisfactory solution.<sup>128</sup> Where the parties have found a settlement of the matter, the panel issues a report in which it briefly describes the case and reports that the parties have reached a mutually agreed solution.<sup>129</sup> At the stage of appellate review, the appellant may withdraw the appeal at any time. One possible reason to do so would be that the parties have found a mutually agreed solution.

### **Mediation, Conciliation and Good Offices.**

Sometimes, the involvement of an outside, independent person unrelated to the parties of a dispute can help the parties find a mutually agreed solution. To allow such assistance, the DSU provides for good offices, conciliation

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<sup>126</sup> Article 3.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>127</sup> Article 3.5 and 3.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>128</sup> Article 11 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>129</sup> Article 12.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

and mediation on a voluntary basis if the parties to the dispute agree.<sup>130</sup> Good offices normally consist primarily of providing logistical support to help the parties negotiate in a productive atmosphere. Conciliation additionally involves the direct participation of an outside person in the discussions and negotiations between the parties. In a mediation process, the mediator does not only participate in and contribute to the discussions and negotiations, but may also propose a solution to the parties. The parties would not be obliged to accept this proposal. Good offices, conciliation and mediation may begin at any time<sup>131</sup>, but not prior to a request for consultations because that request is necessary to trigger the application of the procedures of the DSU, including Article 5<sup>132</sup>. However, these procedures can be terminated at any time<sup>133</sup> the proceedings of good offices, conciliation and mediation are strictly confidential, and do not diminish the position of either party in any following dispute settlement procedure.<sup>134</sup> This is important because, during such negotiations, a party may offer a compromise solution, admit certain facts or divulge to the mediator the outer limit of the terms on which it would be prepared to settle. If no mutually agreed solution emerges from the negotiations and the dispute goes to adjudication, this constructive kind of flexibility and openness must not be detrimental to the parties. As regards the independent person to be involved, the DSU states that the Director-General of the WTO may offer good offices, conciliation or mediation with a view to assisting Members to settle their dispute.<sup>135</sup> The process of good offices, conciliation or mediation should not result in legal conclusions, but assist in reaching a mutually agreed solution. The Director-General may involve secretariat staff to support the process, but these staff members must be insulated from subsequent dispute settlement procedures. The DSU specially foresees good offices, conciliation and mediation for disputes involving a least-developed country Member. Where the consultations have not resulted in a satisfactory solution and the least-developed country Member so requests, the Director-General or the Chairman of the DSB must offer their good offices, conciliation and mediation. Here as well,

<sup>130</sup> Article 5.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>131</sup> Article 5.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>132</sup> Article 1.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>133</sup> Article 5.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>134</sup> Article 5.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. <sup>135</sup> Article 5.6 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

the aim is to assist the parties to settle the dispute before the establishment of a panel.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Article 24.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.



### **Arbitration.**

As an alternative to adjudication by panels and the Appellate Body, the parties to a dispute can resort to arbitration.<sup>137</sup> The parties must agree on the arbitration as well

as the procedures to be followed.<sup>138</sup> The parties to the dispute are thus free to depart from the standard procedures of the DSU and to agree on the rules and procedures they deem appropriate for the arbitration, including the selection of the arbitrators. The parties must also clearly define the issues in dispute. Before the beginning of the arbitration, the parties must notify their agreement to resort to arbitration to all WTO Members. Other Members may become party to arbitration only with the agreement of the parties engaged in the arbitration. The parties to the arbitration must agree to abide by the arbitration award, which, once issued, must be notified to the DSB and the relevant Councils and Committees overseeing the agreement(s) in question.<sup>139</sup>

The provisions of Articles 21 and 22 of the DSU on remedies and on the surveillance of implementation of a decision apply to the arbitration award.<sup>140</sup>

Where the parties

resorted to arbitration under Article 25 of the DSU, they agreed that the award of the arbitrators would be final, recourse to Article 21 and 22 of the DSU is available to implement and enforce the conclusions of these arbitration awards.

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<sup>137</sup> Article 25.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>138</sup> Article 25.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>139</sup> Articles 25.2 and 25.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>140</sup> Article 25.4 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

## **CHAPTER - 4**

### **EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WTO DISPUTE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM**

Unlike the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was purely an agreement, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was established as an integrated organisation. It covers a much wider range of trade, including Goods, Services and Intellectual Property. Many aspects of the WTO dispute settlement procedure were newly introduced, while some parts were inherited from its predecessor, GATT. The members of the WTO have affirmed, under Article 3.1 of the DSU, their adherence to the principles for the management of disputes heretofore applied under Articles XXII and XXIII of GATT 1947. The establishment of the Appellate Body, a standing body that hears appeals from panel decisions, has strengthened the dispute settlement process of the WTO. The review at an appellate stage has led to more –judicial-like settlement of disputes. The problems of delay and blockage existed under GATT were resolved. In the event of non-compliance, a violating WTO member has no right to veto either the adoption of the panel or Appellate Body reports and their legal rulings or the authorization of retaliation. Moreover, the DSU has specified a strict time frame for every procedural stage in order to promote prompt resolution of disputes. In sum, the dispute settlement procedure is automatically applied, without the possibility of blockage by its members, pursuant to strict time limits and through an articulated process, including appellate review. Thus, although it takes over the GATT remedies, in many respects, it is different from the GATT dispute settlement procedure. This has resulted in the strengthened enforceability of WTO obligations.

## **Remedies under WTO.**

The remedies under the WTO dispute settlement procedure are clearly defined under Article 3.7 of the DSU. At the pre-litigation stage, a solution mutually satisfactory to the parties to a dispute, that is consistent with WTO obligations, is preferred. However, in the absence of such a solution, if litigation ensues, the first objective of the dispute settlement mechanism is to secure the withdrawal of the measures concerned if these are found to be inconsistent with WTO obligations. And if the immediate withdrawal of such measures is impracticable, compensation may be provided. As a last resort, a complaining member may request authorisation of retaliation in the form of suspension of concessions or other obligations under WTO obligations.

### **Withdrawal of Inconsistent Measures.**

The dispute settlement process normally results in the adoption of panel or Appellate Body rulings, which take the form of reports.<sup>141</sup> If a panel or the Appellate Body finds that the measure concerned is inconsistent with WTO obligations, it recommends that the violating member should bring its measure into conformity with the WTO agreement.<sup>142</sup> A panel or the Appellate Body may also suggest ways in which the member concerned could implement the recommendations.<sup>143</sup> Thus, the primary remedy for a breach of WTO obligations is the implementation of a panel or Appellate Body recommendation, which is the withdrawal of inconsistent measures. The DSU calls for "prompt compliance" in order to ensure effective resolution of disputes to the benefit of all members.<sup>144</sup> In order to achieve prompt compliance, a violating member has to begin to implement the recommendations right after the adoption of a panel or Appellate Body report. However, if it is "impracticable to comply immediately with recommendations and rulings," the member concerned is

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<sup>141</sup> The report of a panel and the Appellate Body needs to be adopted by the DSB in order to obtain its legal status. The DSB administers the dispute settlement rules and procedures. It is composed of representatives of all WTO members.

<sup>142</sup> Article 19.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>143</sup> Although there are cases where the panels and Appellate Body have made suggestions, they generally decline to do so, so as to give discretion to members in how they bring their measures into conformity with WTO obligations. e.g., Panel Report, *United States- Final Dumping Determination on Softwood Lumber from Canada*, and Panel Report, *United*

*States- Anti-Dumping Duty on Dynamic Random Access Memory Semiconductors (DRAMs) of One Megabit or above from Korea, WT/DS99/R.*  
<sup>144</sup> Article 21.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

given a reasonable period of time to comply with its WTO obligations.<sup>145</sup> In other words, a reasonable period of time is not always available unconditionally. It is provided only when prompt compliance is impracticable. The reasonable period of time is normally determined by agreement of the parties to a dispute. If the parties cannot agree on the period, it is determined through binding arbitration within 90 days after the date of adoption of a report. The reasonable period of time to implement recommendations should not exceed 15 months from the date of adoption of a report.<sup>146</sup> In an arbitration proceeding, it is beyond the scope of the arbitrator's mandate to suggest ways or means of implementation. Their task is only to determine a reasonable period of time within which implementation must be completed.<sup>147</sup> During the course of a reasonable period of time, a violating member does not have to provide relief for the past effect of its inconsistent measure. In a case, the panel rejected a request for retroactive relief by recognizing that a Member's obligation under the DSU is to provide prospective relief in the form of withdrawing a measure inconsistent with a WTO agreement, or bringing that measure into conformity with the agreement by the end of the reasonable period of time.<sup>148</sup> When there is disagreement as to the consistency of measures taken to comply with the recommendations, such a dispute can be decided through recourse to the original panel. This is often called compliance review. The compliance review panel is to

circulate its report within 90 days after the date of referral. Compliance review is not limited to the issue of whether a violating member has implemented the recommendations. It also reviews whether the adopted compliance measure is consistent with WTO obligations. Increasingly, WTO members have sought recourse through these compliance review procedures, which may be an undesirable trend. This implies that violating members are making only minor changes to the measures found to be inconsistent with WTO agreements.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Article 21.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>146</sup> Art. 21.3(c) of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>147</sup> Award of the Arbitrator, *European Communities- Measures Concerning Meat and Meat Products (Hormones)*, Arbitration under Article 21.3(c) of the Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes, WT/DS26/15 & WT/DS48/13.

<sup>148</sup> Panel Report, *United States- Section 129(c)(1) of the Uruguay Round Agreements Act*, WT/DS221/R.

<sup>149</sup> William J. Davey, *The WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism* (I.11 Pub.Law & Legal Theory Research Paper Series No.03-08, 2003) available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=4199943>.

## **Compensation.**

If compliance has not been achieved within a reasonable period of time, the violating member can offer compensation as a temporary measure.<sup>150</sup>

Compensation is

intended to ease the adverse effect of an inconsistent measure pending its full elimination. Thus, a complaining member cannot simply request compensation upon the determination of inconsistency of a measure. Only failure to comply with the recommendations and rulings can give rise to the remedy of compensation. The parties to a dispute may enter into negotiations –no later than the expiry of the reasonable period of time, –with a view to developing mutually acceptable compensation.<sup>151</sup>

Compensation normally involves a lifting of trade barriers such as tariff reductions or increases in import quotas by a violating member. However, compensation is hardly ever offered because of its voluntary nature. Moreover, since it has to conform to the requirements of the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) clause, a violating member may effectively have to provide compensation to all its trading partners. Thus, there is reluctance for the violating member to offer compensation. These conditions make compensation less attractive in terms of its implementation.<sup>152</sup> Up to the present, there have been only four cases where compensation was offered as a mutually acceptable solution. Three of them were provided in the form of trade compensation. In Japan- taxes on Alcoholic Beverages Arbitration Award<sup>153</sup> Japan provided compensation in the form of tariff reductions with regard to certain products from the complaining members, the US, Canada and the EC. The compensation was provided because Japan delayed implementation of non-discriminatory taxation with respect to a certain type of Sochu (an alcoholic beverage) for five years, which was greatly beyond the reasonable time period of 15 months. In Turkey- Textile Imports case<sup>154</sup>, after the reasonable period of time had expired, Turkey agreed to provide compensation to India by removing quantitative restrictions on textile imports and carrying out tariff reductions on certain chemicals from India. The compensation remained effective until Turkey's compliance with the



<sup>150</sup> Art.22.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>151</sup> Art.22.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>152</sup> Under MFN treatment, a member has to treat all its trading partners equally in respect of such matters as tariff levels.

<sup>153</sup> WT/DS8/15, WT/DS10/15 & WT/DS11/13, DSR 1997: I, 3.

<sup>154</sup> *Turkey- Restrictions on Imports of Textile and Clothing Products*, WT/DS34/AB/R, DSR 1999: VI, 2363.

recommendations and rulings of the DSB. In US- Lime Pipe Safeguard Case<sup>155</sup>, Korea and the US agreed to increase the in-quota volume of imports from Korea as a temporary measure pending the quota's termination, if the safeguard measure had not been removed by the expiration of the reasonable period of time. Although monetary compensation is neither explicitly provided nor prohibited in the WTO, there was one case in which monetary payment was provided temporarily. In US- Copyright Act case<sup>156</sup>, Section 110(5) of the US Copyright Act was found to be in violation of the Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Section 110(5) exempted small bars, restaurants, and other public places from paying royalty fees for playing music. The panel found that the US Copyright Act was inconsistent with certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement and recommended that the US bring its Act into conformity with the WTO agreement. When the US had not implemented the panel's recommendation, the EC requested the authorization to suspend concessions pursuant to Article 22.2 of the DSU. However, the US and the EC sought an arbitral award under Article 25 of the DSU to determine the appropriate monetary compensation for a three-year period as a mutually satisfactory temporary arrangement. Distinctively, the case was first brought to arbitration under Article 25 of the DSU, whereas such determinations are normally conducted by arbitration proceedings arising under Article 22.6. It determined the level of nullification or impairment of benefits, which amounted to \$US 1,219,900 per year.

### **Retaliation.**

If no satisfactory compensation can be agreed upon within 20 days after the date of expiry of the reasonable period of time, a complaining member may request authorization from the DSB to suspend concessions or other obligations under WTO agreements.<sup>157</sup> Upon receipt of such a request, the DSB shall grant authorization within 30 days of the expiry of the reasonable period of time. All other possible remedies under the DSU must be exhausted in order to request retaliation. Like compensation, retaliation is implemented in a temporary manner only when the inconsistent measure has not been removed within

a reasonable period of time.

<sup>155</sup> *United States- Definitive Safeguard Measures on Imports of Circular Welded Carbon Quality  
Lime Pipe from Korea*, WT/DS202/AB/R, DSR 2002: IV, 1403.

<sup>156</sup> Award of the Arbitrator, *United States-Section 110(5) of the US Copyright Act*,  
WT/DS160/ARB25/1, DSR 2001: II, 667.

<sup>157</sup> Art.22 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

Retaliation is implemented in the form of suspension of concessions or other obligations. Thus, contrary to compensation, retaliation normally implies raising trade barriers by the complaining member. In addition, unlike compensation where a violating member has to compensate all its trading members under Most Favoured Nation (MFN) treatment, it affects only the members involved in the dispute. Once the measure found to be inconsistent with the WTO agreement has been removed, retaliation is terminated. In order to suspend concessions or other obligations, a complaining member has to follow the principles and procedures set out in Article 22.3 of the DSU. Accordingly, there are three types of retaliation to be considered in sequence. First, a complaining member should seek to retaliate with respect to the same sector(s) where a panel or the Appellate Body has found a violation or other nullification or impairment. This is often called parallel retaliation. In EC- Bananas III dispute<sup>158</sup>, the arbitrators have confirmed this principle by noting that it remains the preferred option for the complaining member to request retaliation under one of the same agreements where a violation was found.<sup>159</sup> If a complaining member considers that it is not practicable or effective to retaliate in the same sector(s), it may seek to retaliate in other sectors under the same agreement. This is often called cross-sector retaliation. If a complaining member considers that it is not practicable or effective to retaliate in other sectors under the same agreement, and that the circumstances are serious enough, it may seek to retaliate under another agreement. This is often called cross-agreement retaliation. For the purpose of principles and procedures set out in this Article, agreement means the agreements listed in Annex 1A of the WTO Agreement, the Plurilateral Trade Agreements, the GATS, and the TRIPS Agreement. Thus, the obligations under the Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, the DSU, and the Trade Policy Review Mechanism are not subject to retaliation. The DSU does not provide any guidelines for the interpretation of the phrases: Retaliation is not practicable or effective and circumstances are serious enough. Thus, the decisions of arbitrators are the only sources for their interpretation. In order to cross-retaliate in other sectors under the same agreement or in another agreement, a complaining member has to prove why parallel retaliation is not practicable or effective. The

arbitrators

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<sup>158</sup> *European communities- Regime for the Importation, sales and Distribution of Bananas*, Arbitration decision, WT/DS27/ARB/ECU, DSR 2000: V, 2237.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.* 2239

in US- Gambling Case <sup>160</sup> noted that when a complaining member considers the practicability and effectiveness of retaliation within the same sector of the agreement where a violation has been found, it does not need to find both requirements. Thus, a complaining member may consider whether it is either "not practicable" or "not effective". The term "practicable" relates to "actual availability and feasibility" and "effective" connotes "having an effect or result".<sup>161</sup> Thus the thrust of this criterion is to ensure the impact of retaliation is strong enough to induce compliance by the member that failed to bring its measures in to conformity with the WTO agreement.

### **Multilateral Surveillance of Implementation.**

The DSB shall keep under surveillance the implementation of adopted reports. The issue of implementation shall be placed on the agenda of the DSB meeting after six months following the date of establishment of the reasonable period of time and shall remain on the DSB's agenda until compliance has been achieved.<sup>162</sup> At least 10 days

prior to each DSB meeting, the member concerned shall provide the DSB with a status report in writing of its progress in the implementation of adopted reports. In accordance with Article 22.6 of the DSU, the DSB shall also continue to keep under surveillance the implementation of adopted reports where such compensation and suspension of concessions or other<sup>163</sup> obligations are in place.

If compliance is found, then, the provision of compensation or the implementation of retaliation will be terminated. With regard to the termination of retaliation, the

Appellate Body in EC-Hormones dispute<sup>164</sup> stated that compliance review under Article 21.5 is appropriate and that the violating member has to "make some showing that it has removed the measure found to be inconsistent" with the DSB recommendations and rulings.<sup>165</sup>

- <sup>160</sup> *United States- Measures Affecting the Cross-Border Supply of Gambling and Betting Services*, Arbitration decision, WT/DS285/ARB.
- <sup>161</sup> *United States- Subsidies on Upland Cotton*, Arbitration decision, WT/DS267/ARB/1.
- <sup>162</sup> Article 22.6 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.
- <sup>163</sup> Article 22.8 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.
- <sup>164</sup> Appellate Body Report, *Canada – Continued Suspension of Obligations in the EC- Hormones Dispute*, WT/DS321/AB/R.
- <sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

### **Legal Effect of DSB Rulings.**

The rulings of the panel and/or the Appellate Body are binding upon the parties to the dispute. The losing Country has to bring its measure into conformity with WTO law. Doctrine of stare decisis has no application in WTO law. Legal effect of the DSB Rulings can be studied as under:

#### **In the Context of a Particular Dispute.**

After the DSB adopts a report of a panel or the Appellate Body, the conclusions and recommendations contained in that report become binding upon the parties to the dispute. The DSU states that when the parties cannot find a mutually agreeable solution. The first objective is normally to secure the withdrawal of the measure found to be inconsistent with the WTO Agreement.<sup>166</sup> In a violation complaint if the panel or the Appellate Body finds that the allegations made by the complainant is true, then it directs the respondent state(s) to bring its measure into conformity with WTO law. Article 21.1 of the DSU adds that prompt compliance with the recommendations or rulings of the DSB is essential in order to ensure the effective resolution of disputes. The DSU clearly stipulates that compensation and suspension of concessions (countermeasures) are only temporary alternatives that fall short of resolving the dispute. The only permanent remedy is for the losing party is to bring its measure into conformity with the relevant covered agreements, as provided in Article 19 of the DSU. Panels and the Appellate Body only apply WTO law as it is contained in the covered agreements. They cannot add to or diminish the rights and obligations provided in the WTO agreements. A panel's or Appellate Body's conclusion that a certain measure is inconsistent with WTO law therefore merely reflects and declares the legal situation which exists by virtue of the WTO Agreement, independently of the dispute settlement ruling. Because the provisions of the covered agreements constitute binding legal obligations with which all Members must comply, such provisions already contain no obligation to refrain from any inconsistent action. The (adopted) report of a panel or the Appellate Body, therefore, constitutes an obligation for the losing party to put to an end the WTO inconsistency. The DSU makes clear that a Member that does not bring its WTO- inconsistent measure into conformity with the WTO Agreement risks consequences: it either has to



provide compensation with the agreement of the complainant, or it

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<sup>166</sup> Article 3.7 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

may face retaliatory countermeasures. The DSU specifically states that there is no obligation to withdraw the WTO-consistent measure in the event of a successful non-violation complaint.<sup>167</sup> This suggests there is such an obligation in the event of

a successful violation complaint. For these reasons, the recommendation contained in an adopted panel (and Appellate Body) report- if it concludes that there is a WTO violation- for the respondent to bring its measure into conformity with the WTO Agreement is binding upon the respondent. An adopted panel and Appellate Body report is also binding on the complainant. This is relevant especially in those cases where the complainant does not prevail with all its claims of violation or of non-violation nullification or impairment. Article 23.2(a) of the DSU prohibits the complainant from determining unilaterally that a violation of the WTO Agreement or that nullification or impairment of a benefit has occurred if this is inconsistent with the findings contained in the panel or Appellate Body report adopted by the DSB. A qualification to the above applies when a successful violation complaint relates to a measure taken by regional or local governments or authorities within the territory of a Member. Such measures are attributable to the Member in question and can be the object of a dispute. The difference between such measures and those taken by the authorities belonging to that Member's central government is that the central government, which represents the Member at the WTO (including in the dispute settlement proceedings), might not be able to secure the withdrawal of the measure. The domestic law of that Member, for instance the Constitution, might limit the central government's powers over the regional or local levels of government. Even if a government is unable to remedy a WTO violation because an independent judicial body committed it, the Member in question is fully responsible for this violation in WTO dispute settlement. It is a general principle of international law that it is not possible to invoke domestic law as justification for the failure to carry out international obligations.

### **Rule of Stare decisis.**

The rule of stare decisis has no application in WTO law. A dispute relates to a specific matter and takes place between two or more specific Members of the WTO. The report of a panel or the Appellate Body also relates to that specific matter

in the dispute between these Members. Even if adopted, the reports of panels and the

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<sup>167</sup> Article 26.1(b) of the DSU.

Appellate Body are not binding precedents for other disputes between the same parties on other matters or different parties on the same matter, even though the same questions of WTO law might arise. As in other areas of international law, there is no rule of stare decisis in WTO dispute settlement according to which previous rulings bind panels and the Appellate Body in subsequent cases. This means that a panel is not obliged to follow previous Appellate Body reports even if they have developed a certain interpretation of exactly the provisions which are now at issue before the panel. Nor is the Appellate Body obliged to maintain the legal interpretations it has developed in past cases. However, the reasoning given in the previous decisions and interpretation of the WTO law may be followed by the panels and Appellate Body in subsequent cases. This is also in line with a key objective of the dispute settlement system which is to enhance the security and predictability of the multilateral trading system.<sup>168</sup> It was held in *Japan-Alcoholic Beverages II* case<sup>169</sup>, the WTO panel and Appellate Body reports adopted by the DSB –create legitimate expectations among WTO Members and therefore should be taken into account where they are relevant to any dispute.<sup>170</sup> In the same case, it was also held that although the panel reports which are not adopted by the DSB have no formal legal status in the WTO system, the reasoning contained in an unadopted panel report can nevertheless provide useful guidance to a panel or Appellate Body in a subsequent case involving the same legal question.<sup>171</sup>

### **Effectiveness in Settlement of Disputes.**

As on June 2012 more than 400 complaints have been filed at the WTO. Several countries often complain about the same trade measure of a particular country. The WTO treats each of these complaints as distinct though the substance of the complaint is the same.<sup>172</sup> This means there is multiplicity of cases regarding same subject matter. The track record of dispute resolution depends upon the outcome of the case under two categories viz; (1) the parties have implemented the WTO rulings and (2) the parties have settled the dispute between themselves with or without WTO adjudication. While the first category is easy to find out the second category is

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<sup>168</sup> Article 3.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>169</sup> DSR 1996: I, 97.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid* 108.

<sup>171</sup> *Id.*

<sup>172</sup> For instance, in the *EC- Bananas III* dispute (DSR 1997: II, 591) many Countries brought separate complaints.

somewhat difficult. One can rely upon the parties' notification to the WTO as to whether or not they have reached a mutually agreed solution. Even the cases dismissed could be treated as a successful resolution from a legal point of view. All the above type of cases whether adjudicated or arbitrated can be treated as "settled". The other type of cases is treated as "pending cases". There are two classes of pending cases. One is the class of cases that are still going through the adjudication procedures or have gone through adjudication and are in the implementation stage. The second class of pending cases comprises of those cases on which consultations have been held without reaching concrete agreement. As regards the first class of pending cases, the WTO allows a "reasonable period of time" for implementation which ranges from several months to a maximum of fifteen months. A number of cases are at this stage. As regards the second class of pending cases they are not yet settled because no agreement has been reached. However, it is quite possible that some of the cases might have actually been settled but the parties have not notified the WTO of that fact. So the number of cases in this category is difficult to identify and interpret. Finally, there are a few cases for which the final result is not known. A comparison with the track record of the erstwhile GATT may be useful. 207 cases that were filed at GATT from 1948 to 1989 (data for the cases from 1990 through 1994 are missing), there were 88 rulings, of which 68 were violation findings. Of the 68 violation rulings, 45 led to fully satisfactory outcomes and 15 led to partly satisfactory outcomes. Of 64 cases that were settled or conceded without GATT rulings, 37 led to fully satisfactory outcomes and 25 reached partly satisfactory outcomes. Therefore, by the most conservative measure, the overall success rate of the GATT dispute system was 102 of 207 cases, or 49 percent.<sup>173</sup> Therefore, the performance of the first few years of the WTO dispute settlement is comparable to, or above, the success rate of the GATT system, but the rate has been below that of GATT since 1998. It has to be admitted that the number and nature of disputes filed are different and that no totally comparable analysis can be made. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the conventional wisdom that the WTO is extremely "effective" in resolving disputes should be questioned.<sup>174</sup> Another empirical study<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Robert E. Hudec, *Enforcing International Trade Law* 293 Table 11.13 (Butterworth Legal Publishers, Austin, Texas, 1993).

<sup>174</sup> Keisuke Iida, -Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effectivell, 10 *Global Governamce* 207 (2004) at p.214.

<sup>175</sup> Marc L. Busch and Eric Reimhardt, *Tramsatlantic Trade Conflicts amd GATT/WTO Dispute*

has also reached the same conclusion independently. One possible explanation for the decline in the effectiveness of the WTO dispute system since 1998 is the complication of U.S. - European Union relations. The WTO ruled on two of the most difficult cases in 1997 - EC- Bananas case no.III<sup>176</sup> and EC-Beef Hormones dispute<sup>177</sup>—and on finding the European Union's compliance insufficient in the banana dispute and nonexistent in the beef dispute, the United States resorted to sanctions in 1999 in both cases. This soured U.S.-European Union relations considerably. The subsequent case brought by the European Union against the United States over Foreign Sales Corporations<sup>178</sup>, is widely reputed to have been a retaliatory suit. It seems the WTO has failed to stop trade wars between nations. As already mentioned, so far the United States has resorted to sanctions in at least two disputes against the European Union—the bananas and beef hormones. If one can consider these cases as trade wars, the WTO has certainly not stopped trade wars. On a concluding note it can be argued that WTO is ineffective in settling trade disputes.

### **Effectiveness in fighting Unilateralism.**

As understood from the previous chapters, another important purpose for which the WTO dispute settlement system was fortified when compared to the erstwhile GATT dispute settlement system was to fight against unilateral sanctions by individual member states. Prior to 1995, when the WTO emerged, there was more than one way to resolve trade disputes. In the 1980's many developed countries, the United States in particular, turned increasingly to unilateral measures authorised under section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act, 1974. The United States increasingly defied GATT rulings, using its power to block adoption of panel rulings while the United States wanted a stronger dispute settlement system during the Uruguay Round negotiations, the Europeans and the Japanese wanted the annulment of section 301 in exchange.<sup>180</sup> The most important factor in this regard is the perception of the firms. If they feel that they can more effectively achieve their purposes of market opening abroad through section 301 rather than through the WTO, they will continue to file complaints. On



*Settlement*, (Robert Schuman Centre, Florence, Italy, 2002).

<sup>176</sup> Appellate Body Report, *European Communities-Regime for the Importation, Sale and Distribution of Bananas*, WT/DS/27/AB/R, DSR 1999:II,591

<sup>177</sup> Appellate Body Report, *EC-Measures Concerning Meat and Meat Products (Hormones)*, WT/DS26/AB/R, WT/DS48/AB/R, DSR 1998:I,135

<sup>178</sup> *US- FSC*, WT/DS108/AB/R, DSR 2000: III, 1619.

<sup>179</sup> Robert.E.Hudec, *Enforcing International Trade Law* 293 (Butterworth Legal Publishers, Austin, Texas,1993).

<sup>180</sup> Keisuke Iida, -Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effectivell, 10 *Global Governance* 207(2004) at 215.

the other hand, if they find that the WTO is more likely to resolve their disputes in their favour, if the U.S. government is more reluctant to receive their complaints under section 301, or if they find that the WTO disputes are cheaper than using section 301, they will increasingly route their complaints through their governments to the WTO. One of the desiderata for the firms is the propensity of their government to resort to the WTO rather than to unilateral measures.<sup>181</sup> One of the first disputes fought at the WTO was the auto talks between the United States and Japan.<sup>182</sup> The United States was frustrated with Japanese recalcitrance in the negotiations and threatened to impose retaliatory duties on luxury cars from Japan. In turn, Japan filed a complaint regarding this unilateral measure at the WTO. At the last minute the United States decided not to retaliate unilaterally. A similar process was repeated in a film dispute<sup>183</sup>, when Kodak initially filed a complaint against Japan under section 301. However, during the investigation the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) decided to route this dispute through the WTO, fearing that Japan would repeat its tactic during the auto talks and would file a WTO complaint against any retaliation under section 301. Because of this learning process, the USTR started routing most section 301 cases through the WTO, causing section 301 to become moribund as a unilateral measure. Of the twenty-seven section 301 cases that were initiated between January 1995 and August 2002, seventeen cases were adjudicated at the WTO and the rest settled bilaterally without WTO intervention.<sup>184</sup> More important, since the Kodak case, the United States has not resorted to retaliation under section 301 without first going through the WTO. It can be safely concluded that the WTO has been effective enough to combat unilateral actions.

**Effectiveness in Assuring a Level Playing Field for Developing Countries.**

Developing countries have a legitimate grievance about the trade practices of developed countries. So when a developed country follows certain measures which are inconsistent with the WTO agreements, the developing country which is affected by that trade measure has to approach the WTO. This is often not possible because conducting a case in the DSB of the WTO is not cheap. So states cannot afford to

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *US- Section 301 Trade Act*, Panel report, WT/DS152/R, DSR 2000: II, 815.

<sup>183</sup> Panel Report, *Japan- Measures affecting Consumer Photographic Film and Paper*, WT/DS44/R, DSR 1998: IV, 1179.

<sup>184</sup> -Section 301 Table of cases, available at: <http://www.ustr.gov/html/act301.htm> (visited on July 29, 2014).

conduct the case in WTO. A small firm or the government of a developing country may find it unaffordable. Therefore, it will simply remain silent. In these situations the best possible way out is to negotiate these problems bilaterally. However, as long as the government on the other side knows that the complainant cannot afford to file a WTO dispute, there is less incentive to concede.<sup>185</sup> It is quite possible because of the cost factor, poor developing countries go under represented in the WTO dispute settlement system as plaintiffs and as a consequence their legitimate grievances may not come to the WTO. It goes without saying that these countries are easy targets of the developed countries. Even in the previous GATT regime developing countries accounted for only 44 out of 229 complaints or 19 percent<sup>186</sup> of the total cases brought before the GATT dispute settlement system from 1949 to 1994. However, there has been some improvement in the under representation of developing countries at the WTO. From 1995 to 1999 developing countries filed only forty-one complaints of the 149 disputes. But from 2000, they have been more aggressive. As many as 51 percent of disputes in 2000 and 71 percent of disputes filed in 2001 are by the developing countries.<sup>187</sup> Cost considerations, lack of legal expertise and fear of withdrawal of aid have so far inhibited developing countries from fully taking advantage of the WTO dispute settlement system. However, now after the WTO Ministerial Conference at Seattle, USA and some developing country members of the WTO agreed to establish an 'Advisory Centre on WTO Law' (ACWL) to help themselves and others utilise the WTO dispute system more effectively.

#### **Effectiveness in reconciling Trade concerns with Non-Trade concerns.**

When WTO agreements were negotiated the Member States gave priority to economic concerns. Other considerations, such as environmental concerns, consumer safety concerns, human rights, cultural and other values did not figure prominently in the negotiations. This is understandable because the firms and industries are the stakeholders in the WTO and they are the key force behind the WTO dispute process. Therefore most of the cases are likely to reflect significant trade concerns. In other words, the WTO dispute process will not be very favourable to environmentalists, human rights advocates and other non corporate actors.

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<sup>185</sup> Keisuke Iida, -Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effectivell, 10 *Global Governamce* 207 (2004) at p.216.

<sup>186</sup> Available at: <http://www.wto.org/htrml/gattcases>. (visited om July 31,2013).

<sup>187</sup> Robert E.Hudec, *Enforcing Imermational Trade Law* 295 (Butterworth Legal Publishers, Austim, Texas, 1993).

Unfortunately, the WTO jurisprudence is not rich enough with cases involving non-trade concerns to make definitive judgments. Some high profile cases give mixed answers to this question. There have been two major WTO disputes which highlighted the problem of environmental concern and were severely criticised by environmentalists: the Reformulated Gasoline case<sup>188</sup> and the Shrimp-Turtle case.<sup>189</sup> In the former the defendant's decision to impose differential treatment on foreign unrefined gasoline was ruled to be in violation of the principle of national treatment<sup>190</sup> and in the latter import prohibition by the defendant (USA) of Shrimps from Asia, mostly developing countries, was ruled to be in violation of Article XX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Although the panel report categorically reprimanded the United States for taking a unilateral measure to pursue the environmental protection goal of protecting turtles, the Appellate Body toned down the criticism of the U.S. policy by upholding the principle of environmental protection while still disapproving the specific measure that the United States took. The Asbestos case<sup>191</sup> is another interesting case, pitting Canada, an exporter of asbestos, against France, which banned the importation of asbestos for public health reasons. In a rare decision, accepting the general exception of GATT Article XX (b), the panel and the Appellate Body upheld the French ban.<sup>192</sup>

### **Judicial overreach of the DSB.**

At times the DSB of the WTO is criticised for acting too zealously and overreaching or transgressing its domain. Even in a domestic system with separation of powers, there is some overlap between the legislative organ and the judicial organ. Since a court is required to settle urgent disputes at times, it is obliged to fill the gap when legislation is not sufficiently clear on some points in question. In that instance, the court performs a quasi-legislative function. However, if a court goes too far in encroaching on the legislative territory, there is bound to be a backlash, with a criticism that judges do not have the right to write legislation. A similar problem happens at the WTO. Since the dispute settlement system has been highly automatic in making decisions lately, there is sufficient ground for concern. In many cases<sup>193</sup>,

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<sup>188</sup> DSR 1996: I, 3.

<sup>189</sup> DSR 1998: VII, 2755.

<sup>190</sup> Equal treatment of domestic and foreign goods once the foreign goods have entered the country.

<sup>191</sup> *EC- Asbestos*, Appellate Body Report, WT/DS135/AB/R.

<sup>192</sup> Appellate Body Report, WT/DS135/AB/R (12 March 2001).

<sup>193</sup> *Indonesia-Autos*, DSR 1998: VI, 2201, *India –Quantitative Restrictions*, DSR 1999: IV, 1763,

the panels and the Appellate Body has gone to the extent of adjudicating between two conflicting provisions of the WTO agreements which is clearly a judicial overreach. To avoid this kind of problems, it was suggested that the General Council, the legislative organ of the WTO, issue guidelines to the panels and the Appellate Body regarding the interpretation of the agreements.<sup>194</sup> Inviting criticism

from various quarters, the Appellate Body is beginning to place more emphasis on textual analysis than before. The change can be seen in the Appellate Body's ruling of the panel's decision in the US-Carbon Steel case.<sup>195</sup> However, unless some kind

of political decision is made, this problem is bound to grow in the future despite the WTO's recent exercise of self-restraint. Legalism does not exist in a political vacuum. If legalism goes too far, other dimensions of effectiveness may suffer as a result.<sup>196</sup>

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*Brazil- Aircraft*, DSR 1999: III, 1161.

<sup>194</sup> Chakravarthi Raghavam, *The World Trade Organisation and Its Dispute Settlement System: Tilting the Balance Against the South* 28 (Third World Network, Penang, Malaysia, 2000)



<sup>195</sup> Appellate Body Report, *United States – Countervailing Duties on Certain Corrosion-Resistant Carbon Steel Products from Germany*, WT/DS213/AB/R, DSR 2002:IX, 3779

<sup>196</sup> Keisuke Iida, –Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effectivell, 10 *Global Governance* 207 (2004) at p.222.

## CHAPTER - 5

### EMERGING PROBLEMS

The rapid rise in membership demonstrates that the WTO has become the most successful international organisation dealing with trade and economic relations among nations. The success of the DSB can be measured with the increasing number of cases filed in and settled by it. This success has, however, been accompanied by new challenges and problems. This chapter addresses the emerging problems which if unaddressed may marginalise the WTO.

#### **WTO and Environment.**

Until recently, the law makers pursued their work on trade policy and environment on separate tracks rarely perceiving their bearing are interconnected. Today, environmental protection has become a central issue on the public agenda and trade and environmental policies regularly intersect and increasingly collide.<sup>197</sup> This

reflects the fact that norms and institutions of international trade remain rooted in the pre-environmental era and that there exists no international environmental regime to protect ecological values, to reconcile competing goals and priorities or to co-ordinate policies with institutions such as the GATT.<sup>198</sup>

Environment protection is

one of the main social policies affecting international trade. Trade experts see dangers in protectionism masquerading as environmentalism.<sup>199</sup> The trade and

environment debate can also be seen as a clash of paradigms: the environmentalist's law based worldview versus the trade community's economic perspective. The trade world's economic paradigm puts great emphasis to the proposition that free trade stimulates the opportunity and creates additional resources for environmental protection. Free traders believe that excessive deference to environmental regulations or standards will result in creating barriers in trade, not justified by real environmental results. They also believe that indiscriminate use of trade as leverage will result not in broad conformity to high environmental standards but in international chaos and lost economic opportunities. Economists fundamentally see the trade and environmental issue as a matter of weighing the relative costs and

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<sup>197</sup> Autar Krishem Koul ,*GATT/WTO –Law, Ecomormics and Politics* 547 (Satyarm Books, New Delhi,2005).

<sup>198</sup> Damiel C. Esty, *Greening the GATT, Trade, Enviromrment amd the Future* 3 (Imstitute for Internatiomal Ecomormics, Washingtom DC, 1994).

<sup>199</sup> Johm.H.Jacksom (1992), -*Dolphims amd Harmomes- GATT amd the Enviromrment for Intermatiomal trade after the Uruguay Round*”, 1992 (14) Uiversity of Kamsas Law Journal, pp.429-454.

benefits of trade and environmental policies to maximise social welfare. Economists and free traders also believe that trade policy goals and environmental policy needs, can be made largely compatible by ensuring that environmental resources are properly priced. Many environmentalists recognise the value of cost internalisation and increasingly understand the potential of the polluter pays principle for making trade and environmental policies mutually reinforcing. In fact, as environmental regulations become more incentive-based, the scope for clashes with free trade goals is sharply reduced.

The environmental challenge to free trade boils down to four important propositions:

(a) Without environmental safeguards, trade may cause environmental harm promoting economic growth that results in the unsustainable consumption of natural resources and waste production.

(b) Trade rules and trade liberalisation often entail market access agreements that can be used to override environmental regulations, unless appropriate environmental protections are built into the structure of the trade system.

(c) Trade restrictions should be available as leverage to promote world wide environmental protection, particularly to address global or trans-boundary environmental problems and to reinforce international environmental agreements.

(d) Even if the pollution they caused does not spill over into other nations, countries with lax environmental standards have a competitive advantage in the global marketplace and puts pressure on countries with high environmental standards reduce the rigor of their environmental requirements.<sup>200</sup>

International concern for the environment is of relatively recent origin. Protection of the environment was not a major issue when the GATT, 1947 was drawn up. Not a word was said about the environment in GATT, 1947. Indeed the GATT does not explicitly refer to the term 'environment'. Even the WTO has no specific agreement dealing with trade and environment. However a number of WTO agreements include provisions dealing with environmental concerns. They may be examined/ enumerated as follows:

#### **(a) The preamble of the WTO.**

The preamble states that the Parties to this Agreement, Recognising that

their relations in the field of trade and economic endeavour should be conducted with a

<sup>200</sup> Daniel C. Esty, *Greening the GATT, Trade, Environment and the Future 3* (Institute for International Economics, Washington DC, 1994).

view to raising standards of living, ensuring full employment and a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, and expanding the production of and trade in goods and services, while allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development, seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and to enhance the means for doing it in a manner consistent with their respective needs and concerns at different levels of economic development.

**(b) General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).**

Clauses (b) and (g) of Article XX of the GATT provides for trade restrictions on a non-discriminatory basis on environmental grounds. The relevant portion of Article XX of GATT, 1994 provides for the following: Subject to the requirement that such measures are not applied in a manner which would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination between countries where the same conditions prevail, or a disguised restriction on international trade, nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent the adoption or enforcement by any contracting party of measures:

(b) Necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health;

(g) Relating to the conservation of exhaustible natural resources if such measures are made effective in conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consumption.

(c) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

Article XIV (b) of GATS permits members to take necessary measures to protect human, animal, plant life and health. This provision is very much similar to Article XX (b) of GATT.

(d) Agreement on Trade –Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS).

Article 27.2 of the TRIPS Agreement allows WTO members to exclude from patentability, inventions that endanger human, animal or plant life or health or the environment. Article 27.3 (b) further provides that plants, animals and essential biological processes may also be excluded from patentability, but micro-organisms, microbiological processes and non-biological processes are patentable. It stipulates that new plant varieties need not to be protected by patent but members who choose to exclude them from the patent protection are required to provide for an effective sui generis system i.e.

an effective special form of protection. The system gives

members more flexibility to adapt to particular circumstances arising from the technical characteristics of inventions in the field of plant varieties, such as novelty and disclosure.

(e) Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phyto-Sanitary Measures (SPS Agreement).

Preamble of the SPS Agreement reaffirms that no Member should be prevented from adopting or enforcing measures necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health, subject to the requirement that these measures are not applied in a manner which would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination between Members where the same conditions prevail or a disguised restriction on international trade and desires to improve the human health, animal health and phytosanitary situation in all Members. Article 2.1 provides that Members have the right to take sanitary and phytosanitary measures necessary for the protection of human, animal or plant life or health, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with the provisions of the Agreement. Article 2.2 further provides that Members shall ensure that any sanitary and phytosanitary measure shall be applied only to the extent necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health, is based on scientific principles and is not maintained without sufficient scientific evidence.

(f) Agreement on Technical Barriers of Trade (TBT).

This agreement allows the member countries to use 'technical regulations' and 'standards' like packaging, marking and eco-labelling requirements in order to protect human, animal or plant life or health or the environment.<sup>201</sup> The agreement encourages the use of international standards but also permits countries to set the levels of protection it deems appropriate mainly to protect the environment.

(g) Agreement on Agriculture.

The preamble of the agreement in paragraph <sup>202</sup> mentions about the need for environmental protection. It states that the members of the WTO have committed to the reform programme in agriculture in an equitable way taking into consideration the non-trade concerns including food security and the need to protect the environment. Further, Article 20 of the agreement requires that the negotiations on



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<sup>201</sup> *United States- Prohibition of Imports of Tuna and Tuna Products from Canada*, GATT Panel Report, 1982 (L/5198-29S/91)

<sup>202</sup> *Canada- Measures Affecting Exports of Unprocessed Herring and Salmon*, GATT Panel Report, 1988 (L/6268-35S/98)

the continuation of the reform programme take account of non-trade concerns such as 'environment'. Annex 2 to the Agreement on Agriculture restricts the member states from providing subsidies to support domestic agricultural production. However, clause 12 in the annex exempts certain types of subsidies which provide for a clearly defined environmental or conservation programme in domestic agricultural production.

(h) Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM).

Article 8.2 of the SCM Agreement provides that three categories of subsidies were non-actionable during the first five years of WTO. They are:

- (i) Research and Development Subsidies.
- (ii) Subsidies to disadvantaged regions ;
- and (iii) Environmental subsidies.

Non-actionable subsidies means members cannot take action against another member providing environmental subsidies to its industry. The provisions relating to these non-actionable subsidies expired at the end of 1999. Nevertheless, the environmental subsidies are described below for a proper understanding. WTO members can provide subsidies to firms wishing to protect the environment by upgrading their facilities provided that:

- (i) the scheme is directed to existing facilities, that is, facilities that have been operational for at least two years;
- (ii) it is one-time measure; WTO members are disallowed from resubsidising the same firm;
- (iii) the assistance is limited to 20 percent of the cost of adaptation of existing facilities;
- (iv) costs related to replacing and operating the assisted investment must be fully borne by the subsidised firm;
- (v) it doesn't cover manufacturing cost savings; and
- (vi) it is available to any firm that can adopt the new equipment or production process.

### **WTO and Labour Standards.**

Another controversial issue in the WTO dispute settlement process is that when the DSB is seized of a trade dispute with Labour concerns. This is because of different labour standards adopted by different countries. The developed countries always believed that the developing countries have and maintained poor labour standards. They argue that this gives them a comparative trade advantage in international market due to reduced labour costs and therefore reduced pricing of their products. The reduced labour costs are due to many factors such as child labour, prison labour, bonded labour, more or limited right to collective bargaining, unskilled workers, poor wages, etc. The Havana charter of 1947 which tried to establish the International Trade Organisation (ITO) specifically referred to the labour standards as common interests of member nations for achieving and maintaining fair labour standards related to productivity and improving wages and working conditions of the labour. It also recognised that unfair labour conditions, particularly in export production, creates difficulties in international trade and each member nation should take appropriate and feasible action in eliminating such conditions. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) established in 1919 which is comprised of representatives of various governments, industry and organised labour, operates as a primary multilateral institution addressing labour concerns and till date has passed numerous conventions affecting directly or indirectly the labour, its standards, welfare and other aspects of labour throughout the world. In 1998, the ILO declaration put at the centre stage four labour standards for enforcement by the member nations of the ILO. These four fundamental standards are:

- (a) Freedom of association and effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;
- (b) The elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour;
- (c) The effective abolition of child labour; and
- (d) The elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

### **5.3. WTO and Competition Policy.**

Another emerging problem in the settlement of transnational trade disputes brought before the DSB of the WTO in the uneven application of competition laws on international trade. There is a wide spread recognition

among member states and international organisations that application of competition law across the borders promotes international trade.<sup>31</sup> The issue of competition policy revolves around the

application of WTO principles of National treatment<sup>32</sup>, Most Favoured Nations treatment<sup>33</sup> and transparency and their significance in any competition policy. In the context of globalisation, the importance of the above principles can hardly be doubted, as these principles are the core principles to be focused in any competition policy.<sup>34</sup> Among the WTO agreements only General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)<sup>35</sup> has some reference about competition policy. Article VIII of General Agreement on Trade in Services 1994 (GATS) provides how monopolies and service suppliers have to conform to the member's obligations under Most Favoured Nations Treatment<sup>36</sup> and specific commitments.<sup>37</sup> Every member has to accord unconditional and immediate treatment to the services and service suppliers of all members on a Most Favoured Nation's basis subject to exemptions in financial services, maritime transport services and basic telecommunications.<sup>38</sup> The GATS also provides a mechanism of Council of Trade in Services<sup>39</sup> who can oversee if a monopoly is abusing its power, and can ask the member to whom the monopoly belongs to supply information of such abuse. The monopoly rights granted by a member to a service provider shall have to notify to the Council of Trade in Services after the GATS came into force. There is an internal mechanism in Article VIII of overseeing the abuse of monopoly of service provider in cases where a member may authorise to establish a small number of service suppliers which substantially prevents competition among those suppliers in its territory. The essence of the Article VIII is that monopolies and exclusive service suppliers whether existing or likely to be established should not be allowed to distort trade and should act fairly and as a Most Favoured Nation's basis. Article IX of the General Agreement on Trade in services 1994 (GATS) recognises that members should enter into consultations in the eventuality of an allegation of unfair business practices thereby eliminating the same. The Article imposes responsibility on members to give sympathetic consideration and supply relevant non-confidential information of alleged practice and other information to find a satisfactory resolution of the unfair practice. Article XVI of GATS goes further and provides that for market access, besides providing most-favoured nations treatment, the member is forbidden from imposing limitation on the number of service suppliers whether in the form of

numerical quotas, monopolies, exclusive service suppliers or the requirements of an economic needs test; limitations on the total value of service transactions or the total number of service operations or on the total quantity of service output; limitation on

the total number of service persons that may be employed in a particular service sector and limitations on the participation of foreign capital in terms of maximum percentage limit on foreign share-holding or the total value of individual aggregate foreign investment.

### **Concluding Remarks.**

It is necessary to develop a uniform law of competition and policy at the international level in which the anti-monopolistic practices have to be defined in a clear manner and member nations must not be allowed to experiment or apply different competition law systems. The other areas which need to be legislated internationally are the 'predatory or discriminatory pricing' system, which creates 'trade barriers', 'state subsidies' and the conduct of 'state monopolies'. The consequential effect of restraints include price-fixing, predatory pricing by a monopolist in one country directed at firms in another country or price discrimination between internal and export markets. These clandestine restraints are most obvious sources of trade distortions and need to be harmonised. Anti-dumping laws should be replaced by harmonised standards relating to predatory pricing and the basic argument is that dumping often is the result of market power created by entry barriers that protect domestic industries from external competition. Monopoly profits accumulated by these industries allow them to 'dump' products in other markets to establish market power in those other markets. If entry barriers in international trade are reduced that make dumping possible, dumping is less likely to occur. Furthermore, if International Competition Law among Member States is enforced, any abuse of market power that does occur through predatory or discriminatory pricing can be challenged under the general International Competition Law of the WTO. WTO should develop international standards and rules wherein the transborder cartels are prohibited and provide mechanism for discovery and enforcement against the nationals of the States that have been injured by the cartels. WTO should also prohibit governmental measures which often facilitate cartels and market access restraints either by providing subsidies or otherwise. There is every possibility given the wherewithal of the WTO that competition law can be globalised so that national blinders are removed.

## CONCLUSION

The Dispute Settlement System of the World Trade Organisation is twenty years old now and still young when compared with other international dispute settlement systems. However, it has achieved a great deal in its first two decades. This study has undertaken an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Dispute Settlement System of the World Trade Organisation from the Developing countries' perspective.

### **Evaluation of the WTO Dispute Settlement System**

The main purpose of the system is to settle international trade disputes either through adjudication or arbitration. From 1995 till 2012 Members have filed 434 cases.<sup>203</sup> The number of cases peaked in 1997 with 50 cases, then fell to 40 in 1998 and since then has fluctuated between 23 and 37. The covered agreement most frequently visited by complainants has been the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In a distant second place are the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM Agreement), the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) and the Anti-Dumping Agreement (ADA). So far, the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS Agreement) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) have rarely been invoked as the basis of a dispute. Very often, complainants invoke more than one agreement in their cases. Another interesting statistic is from 1995 to 2003 out of 295 cases, 124 were filed by developing countries (i.e., 42 percent).<sup>204</sup> Since 2004, developing member countries were complainants in nearly two-third of all complaints (69 out of 110). In most of the cases filed, panels were established by the Dispute Settlement Body and the disputes were settled in the 'consultations' stage itself. Some went on till 'panel report' stage while a few cases went to the 'Appellate Body Report' stages which were all adopted by the Dispute Settlement Body.<sup>206</sup> Large number of cases in which the parties invoked the dispute settlement system in the past seventeen and half years (the period of study) of the World Trade Organisation<sup>207</sup> suggests that Members have faith in the system. It appears that the WTO dispute settlement system has

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<sup>203</sup> WTO cases, available at: [www.wto.org/disputesettlement](http://www.wto.org/disputesettlement) (visited on June 30, 2012).



<sup>204</sup> Publication Division, *A Handbook on the WTO Dispute Settlement System* 116 (WTO Secretariat Publication, Geneva, 2011).

<sup>205</sup> *Id.*

<sup>206</sup> DSB adopted 71 panel reports and 47 Appellate Body reports during the period of study.

<sup>207</sup> This is significantly larger than the number of cases brought before erstwhile GATT dispute settlement system during a period of nearly 50 years.

fulfilled its main function: to contribute to the settlement of trade disputes. Moreover, the general perception is that the reports of the 'Panels' and the 'Appellate Body' have served to provide clarification on the rights and obligations contained in the covered agreements. The above statistics may force us to conclude that the operation of the dispute settlement system has been a success but actual practice does not support this perception. The fact that many cases do not go through all stages of the process- as one moves forward in the dispute settlement procedure from consultations to panels and the Appellate Body to compliance reviews and finally to the authorization of suspension- is to some extent a positive sign on the effectiveness of the system. In most cases, it was not necessary to have recourse to retaliation in the dispute settlement system because most cases were resolved at earlier stages. However, seen from the developing countries perspective, the study finds that all is not well with dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation. Some decisions against developed member countries could not be strictly enforced. Compliance with the rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body was non-existent in the EC- Bananas case mo.III<sup>208</sup> and EC-Beef Hormones dispute <sup>209</sup> which suggests that the dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation still does not completely eliminate power-based relationships between countries. Although the World Trade Organisation succeeded in finding a system in which asymmetry in countries size does not affect the outcome of the dispute, it still presents a series of biases which affect developing countries performance.<sup>210</sup>

### **Strengths of the WTO Dispute Settlement System.**

Compared to other multilateral systems of dispute resolution in international law, the WTO dispute settlement system has many strengths to its credit. Its quasi-judicial and quasi-automatic character enables it to handle more difficult cases. These features also provide greater guarantee for Member Countries that wish to defend their rights. If compared with the previous dispute settlement system of GATT, the current system has been far more effective. If we go through Article 8.1 and Article

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<sup>208</sup> Appellate Body Report, *European Communities-Regime for the Importation, Sale and Distribution of Bananas*, WT/DS/27/AB/R, DSR 1999:II,591

<sup>209</sup> Appellate Body Report, *EC-Measures Concerning Meat and Meat Products (Hormones)*,

WT/DS26/AB/R, WT/DS48/AB/R, DSR 1998:I,135

<sup>210</sup> Fabien Besson and Racem Mehdi, *Is WTO Dispute Settlement System Biased Against Developing Countries? An Empirical Analysis*, available at: <http://ecomod.met/sites/default/files/documentcomfere/mce/ecomod2004/199.pdf> (Visited on September 5, 2011).

17.3 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding which deals with composition of panels and Appellate Body respectively we can find that the WTO draws persons from a broader pool of expertise and experience when compared to other international dispute resolution systems. This gives the benefit of a cross-disciplinary perspective, which is particularly useful where the subject matter of the dispute is more about trade and economics than law. As seen from the previous chapters, though the WTO adjudicative bodies are to consider only trade issues, increasingly they are pressurized to consider non-trade issues such as environment, public health, human rights and labour rights intermingled with trade disputes. The Appellate Body has been increasingly called upon to balance the competing demands of these delicate issues. Indeed, the lack of similarly effective system of dispute settlement in these other areas increases the pressure of the Dispute Settlement Body to tackle them.<sup>211</sup> Ironically, the WTO is criticised for lack of consideration of these broader issues in a trade dispute and at the same time if the WTO deals with it, is criticized for exceeding its mandate. The WTO has compulsory jurisdiction over all its members which is not the case in other international dispute resolution mechanisms. This gives the WTO significantly more clout and perhaps may be the single most important factor in why the WTO dispute settlement system is so effective. The Dispute Settlement Understanding never bars a case being brought in public interest, known as *actio popularis*. A Member can bring an action against another Member for a breach of WTO Obligations even where it does not claim to have suffered injury. The mere existence of a breach is sufficient for another Member to have a *locus standi* to bring a dispute based upon it. In practice, however such *actio popularis* actions have not been brought in the WTO. Among all the international adjudicatory bodies only the WTO dispute settlement system includes the element of 'conciliation'. Panel or Appellate Body proceedings can be suspended at the request of the complaining party to enable the parties to explore possibilities for a mutually agreed solution. Conciliation has proved to be a useful alternative method for settling WTO disputes. Until 2012, 56 cases have been settled through conciliation.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Armamda Gorely, Mark Jemmings, *et.al.* (eds.), *Ten Years of WTO Dispute Settlement-Australian*

*Perspectives 89* (Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Trade Publication, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2006).

<sup>212</sup> Available at: [www.wto.org/English/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/disp\\_e.htm](http://www.wto.org/English/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/disp_e.htm).



### 6.1.2. Weaknesses of the WTO dispute settlement system.

Though the WTO dispute settlement system has many strengths to its credit, it suffers from many weaknesses as well. Despite the deadlines, a full dispute settlement procedure still takes a considerable amount of time, during which the complainant suffers continued economic harm if the challenged measure is indeed WTO-inconsistent. No provisional measures (interim relief) are available to protect the economic and trade interests of the successful complainant during the dispute settlement procedure. Moreover, even after prevailing in the dispute, a successful complainant will receive no compensation for the harm suffered during the time given to the respondent to implement the ruling. Nor does the winning party receive any reimbursement from the other side for its legal expenses. In the event of non-implementation, not all members have<sup>213</sup> the same practical ability to resort to the suspension of obligations. Lastly, in a few cases, a suspension of concessions has been ineffective in bringing about implementation. However, these cases are the exception rather than the rule. The doctrine of stare decisis is not part of the WTO jurisprudence. However, there is a view that previous panel and Appellate Body decisions create a reasonable expectation on other WTO Members that a similar dispute in the future would be decided in a similar manner.<sup>214</sup> As stated earlier, the WTO and its forms of dispute settlement can be seen as an emergence of a new co-operative law which no longer follows the classical international law. Perhaps in the use of time we will see a de facto doctrine of stare decisis<sup>215</sup> taking form. This would be consistent with the stated purpose of the dispute settlement system being –a central element in providing security and predictability to the multilateral trading system.<sup>216</sup> Third party intervention in a case is permitted but it is limited to Member States only. Non-state entities cannot be a party to the dispute. Non-state entities such as the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) play a major role in shaping the policy of the government. Seeking only information and technical advice from the NGOs and not permitting them to participate in the cases will weaken the dispute settlement system in the long term. But off late the WTO is taking steps to increase

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<sup>213</sup> *EC- Bananas III*, DSR1999: II, 591 and *EC- Beef Hormones* DSR 1998: I, 135.

<sup>214</sup> David Palmetier and Petros C. Mavroidis, *Dispute Settlement in the World Trade Organisation: Practice and Procedure* 208 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 2003).

<sup>215</sup> K.H.Ladeur, *Public Governamce in the Age of Globalisatiom* 112 (Ashgate Publishers, Lomdom, 2004).

<sup>216</sup> Article 3 of the DSU.



the involvement of NGOs, pursuant to Article V of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO, which provides that:

1. The General Council shall make appropriate arrangements for effective cooperation with other intergovernmental organizations that have responsibilities related to those of the WTO.
2. The General Council may make appropriate arrangements for consultation and cooperation with non-governmental organizations concerned with matters related to those of the WTO.

Article 13 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding gives WTO panels the right to seek information:

1. Each panel shall have the right to seek information and technical advice from any individual or body which it deems appropriate.
2. Panels may seek information from any relevant source and may consult experts to obtain their opinion on certain aspects of the matter.

The Appellate Body in the US-Shrimp Turtle case confirmed that panels can not only seek information but can accept unsolicited information and submissions from sources other than governments involved in the dispute.<sup>217</sup>

The cost of conducting a case in the WTO is exorbitant. The developing countries find it extremely difficult to conduct the cases as it is not affordable to them. Even if they win the case, the cost is not reimbursed to them. Most of the legal system reimburses the cost of the suit to the winning party. Escalating cost of litigation may act as a deterrent in filing cases by the developing countries which may lead to silent sufferings and crumbling economy. With regard to factors that hurt developing countries in dispute settlement, the number of government personnel that can be devoted to disputes is much higher in developed countries. As a result, developed countries have a large contingent of well-trained government lawyers with expertise in WTO law. Furthermore, developed countries have greater financial resources to devote to the case. This includes the resources of the private companies with interests in the dispute, who can hire expensive private lawyers to work on the case, as well as the resources of the government itself to cover various litigation costs. To rectify this anomaly, a new intergovernmental organisation was created by name -The Advisory Centre on WTO Law (ACWL). This was formed

specifically to help developing countries

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<sup>217</sup> *US-Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*, WT/DS58/AB/R.

with disputes and advice them on WTO law. It operates as a law firm representing their governments at discounted rates and also helps to defray the costs of hiring private lawyers where it cannot advise directly. Under the DSU, complainants that have brought a successful case have the right to retaliate with trade sanctions (i.e., suspension of concessions) when the defending party does not implement a ruling properly. Clearly, retaliation by the developed countries is likely to have a greater impact than retaliation by a small country which only has a small amount of imports in absolute terms. This is much less likely to be the case for developing countries. To address this problem it is suggested that the developing countries may be allowed to act as a group in this kind of retaliation so as to have a better chance of finding an effective product or service on which sanctions can be imposed.<sup>218</sup> While there is inherent bias in the DSU rules in the ways noted above, they do offer developing countries some options when pursuing litigation. For example, the inclusion of rules on intellectual property in the WTO gives Members the ability to use intellectual property protection as a retaliatory tool. Allowing violations of music, film or software copy rights is something that developing countries could utilize to penalize the developed world, even where no imported goods are available for targeting.<sup>219</sup> Options such as this one, however, do have their limitations. There is no doubt that, despite its flaws, developing countries are better off under the current system than they were under the GATT dispute settlement system where power and politics dominated.<sup>220</sup>

## **6.2 Verification of Hypothesis.**

Hypothesis 1: The dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation is ineffective in settling international trade disputes since it fails to ensure a level playing field for the developing member countries and also fails to combat unilateral actions by the developed member countries. The above hypothesis is verified with the available data of cases and literature and the following conclusions can be drawn. The Dispute Settlement System of the World Trade Organisation sets up several

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<sup>218</sup> Bryan Mercurio, *Improving Dispute Settlement in the WTO: The DSU Review-Making it work?* 38 *Journal of World Trade* 795(2004).

<sup>219</sup> Such an approach was proposed by Ecuador against the European Communities in the *EC-Bananas case* (WT/DS27/52), by Brazil against the United States in the *US-Cotton Subsidies case* (WT/DS267/21), and by Antigua against the United States in the *US-Gambling Services case*

(WT/DS285/22).

<sup>220</sup> Sirmom Lester, Bryam Mercurio, *et.al. World Trade Law Text, Materials and cormmentary* 788  
(Umi versal Law Publishing Co.Pvt.Ltd, Delhi, 2010).

rules and procedures that have to be followed to secure compliance. Parties are required first to request consultation when a dispute arises (consultation stage). If the consultation fails, the complaining party may request the establishment of a panel (adjudication stage). During this stage, if one of the parties is dissatisfied with the panel's decision, it may Appeal to the Appellate Body. The panel/Appellate Body will issue a report that the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) will adopt. After the adoption of the report, the DSB, a body for supervising the implementation of the report(s), requests the losing party to bring itself into prompt compliance with WTO law or find mutually satisfactory adjustments (implementation stage). If the losing party fails to bring its measure into conformity within a reasonable period of time, the complaining party is entitled to resort to a temporary measure, either compensation or the suspension of the WTO obligations (retaliation) as the last resort (non-implementation stage). The Dispute Settlement Understanding provides two types of remedies for breaching WTO Law: (a) compliance by withdrawal or modification of measures that are inconsistent with WTO Law<sup>221</sup> (permanent remedy) and (b) compensation and suspension of concessions or other obligations commonly referred to as "retaliation"<sup>222</sup> (temporary remedies). As discussed in the earlier chapters, while a permanent remedy (compliance) has a reasonably good record, temporary remedy (retaliation) has an abysmal record. This is because the WTO law has significant flaws. The rationale for this less attractive option lies in the words, "developing mutually acceptable compensation and shall be consistent with covered agreements".<sup>223</sup> Both these phrases suggest that instead of being an automatic obligation of respondent states, compensation is voluntary and should be consistent with the principle of non-discrimination obligations under Article I: 1 of the GATT, 1994. Thus parties often neglect compensation remedy and directly request authorization to retaliate. Although the application of retaliation is under multilateral surveillance of the DSB, the tit-for-tat WTO retaliation tends to undermine the free trade principle of the WTO as well as the security and predictability of the multilateral trading dispute resolution mechanism. Hence, the permanent remedies available in the WTO law are adequate enough but the

temporary remedies are inadequate. The WTO dispute settlement system is better off

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<sup>221</sup> Articles 3.7 and 19.1 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.* Article 22.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.* Article 22.1 and 22.2.

when compared to the previous GATT dispute settlement system. The success rate in settlement of disputes was higher during the initial period i.e., from 1995 to 1998 and the success rate has gradually declined after 1998. This is attributable to the fact that in most cases the parties to the dispute have settled the disputes between themselves through mutually agreed solutions. In the previous GATT regime, the developing members accounted for only 19 percent of the total cases brought before the GATT dispute settlement system from 1949 to 1994. In the present WTO regime as many as 62 percent of the disputes are by the developing countries.<sup>224</sup> Conclusions on whether the dispute settlement system works for developing countries are difficult to draw. Views on this issue are often shaped by ideology and general world view. It is pertinent to note that the following developing countries have all been fairly active in filing complaints since the start of the WTO: Argentina (15), Brazil (22), Chile (10), Costa Rica (4), India (21), Mexico (18), and Thailand (12). Korea, whose developing country status was challenged by the European Communities, brought 14 disputes. By comparison Japan and Australia, both wealthy developed countries brought 12 and 7 respectively<sup>225</sup>. The above statistics suggests that the WTO dispute settlement system is not biased against developing countries and offers a level playing field for the developing countries. But if the effectiveness quotient is factored in it can be concluded that the dispute settlement system of the World Trade Organisation is ineffective in settling international trade disputes. As discussed in detail in chapter 5, cost considerations and lack of legal expertise have inhibited the developing countries in filing cases in the WTO. It is also discussed in detail the formation of the Advisory Centre on WTO Law (ACWL) to help the developing countries in their litigation. The developed countries defied the previous GATT dispute settlement rulings and resorted to unilateral actions. These countries used its power to block adoption of GATT panel ruling using the 'positive consensus' rule prevailing in the GATT dispute settlement system. The United States in particular resorted to unilateral measures authorized under section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act, 1974. In a film dispute, Kodak filed a complaint against Japan under section 301. Later the case was withdrawn and the United States filed the case in WTO. Since the Kodak case<sup>226</sup>, the United

States has not resorted to

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<sup>224</sup> Data culled out from the official website of the World Trade Organisation, *www.wto.org*

<sup>225</sup> The figures are as of 30 June, 2012.

<sup>226</sup> Panel Report, *Japan- Measures affecting consumer photographic films and paper*, WT/DS44/R,



retaliation under section 301. The WTO is successful in taming unilateralism. However, the WTO dispute settlement system has failed to stop trade wars between nations. In few cases the compliance with ruling of the DSB was nonexistent. In EC-Bananas<sup>227</sup> and EC-beef hormones<sup>228</sup> disputes, the European Communities refused to comply with the ruling of the WTO. The complainant in both the cases, the United States resorted to sanctions. Though the Dispute Settlement Understanding and the decisions of the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organisation have been successful in combating unilateral actions it has failed to ensure a level playing field for the developing countries. The statistical and case law analysis give a strong support to this hypothesis. Hence it is answered in the affirmative. Conventional wisdom that the World Trade Organisation is extremely effective in resolving disputes, especially when one of the disputing parties is a developing country member, should be questioned.

Hypothesis 2: The WTO dispute settlement system is inadequate in addressing non-trade concerns such as environment and labour in trade disputes. After undertaking a detailed analysis of WTO cases (Chapter 6), the following conclusions can be drawn. The WTO jurisprudence is not rich enough with cases involving non-trade concerns to make definitive judgments. Some high profile cases give mixed answers to this question. In the Reformulated gasoline case<sup>229</sup> and the Shrimp-Turtle case<sup>230</sup> the Dispute Settlement Body rejected the environmental concerns in favour of trade. In the Shrimp-Turtle case<sup>231</sup> although the panel categorically reprimanded the United States for taking a unilateral measure to pursue the environmental protection goal of protecting turtles, the Appellate Body watered down the panel report by upholding the principle of environmental protection but still disapproved the U.S. measure as inconsistent with Article XX of the GATT. But in the Asbestos case<sup>232</sup>, in a rare decision, the panel and the Appellate Body accepting the general exception stated in Article XX (b) of GATT Agreement upheld the European Communities ban on

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DSR 1998: IV, 1179

<sup>227</sup> *EC-Regime for the Importation, sale and Distribution of Bananas*, WT/DS27/AB/R.

<sup>228</sup> Appellate Body Report, *EC-Measures Concerning Meat and Meat Products (Hormones)*, WT/DS26/AB/R, WT/DS48/AB/R, DSR 1998:I,135

<sup>229</sup> Appellate Body Report, *United States-Standards for Reformulated and Conventional Gasoline*, WT/DS2/AB/R, DSR 1996: I, 3.

<sup>230</sup> Appellate Body Report, *United States-Import Prohibition on certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*, WT/DS58/AB/R, DSR 1998: VII, 2755.

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<sup>232</sup> *EC-Measures Containing Asbestos and Asbestos-Containing products*, WT/DS135/AB/R.

import of asbestos from Canada. This case shows that as long as there is firm scientific evidence in support of a trade-restrictive measure, the WTO supports those same trade concerns. This decision is a paradigm shift from the earlier rulings and applies a new legal reasoning. This was the first time and probably the only time a measure inconsistent with WTO law was upheld by the Dispute Settlement Body. As far as Labour Standards are concerned, in Japan-Measures affecting consumer photographic films and paper case<sup>233</sup> the panel rejected the contention that Article XXIII: 1(b)<sup>234</sup> of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) can be interpreted to include labour standards. It also held, it can make only non-binding recommendations as it is outside the purview of WTO agreements. The case law analysis shows that the hypothesis receives strong support and is answered in the affirmative.

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<sup>233</sup> Panel Report, WT/DS/44/R, DSR 1998: IV, 1179.

<sup>234</sup> Article XXIII: 1(b) of the GATT states that a case can be filed if any measure, whether or not conflicts with the provisions of the Agreement, which nullifies or impairs any benefit

accruing to the complainant party.

## SUGGESTIONS.

As seen from the study, effectiveness is not one-dimensional. The WTO dispute settlement system needs to be measured with regard to several dimensions. The most obvious criteria of effectiveness- whether the WTO actually resolves disputes- is much harder to assess. However the findings throw certain interesting statistics. The score card is good only in the first few years of the system. Since 1998, the stockpile of pending cases has been increasing.<sup>235</sup> The WTO dispute settlement system has been most effective in combating unilateral actions. This is evident from the fact that WTO has disarmed section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act but is less effective in creating a level playing field for developing countries and balancing trade and non-trade concerns. In the light of these observations the study presents few suggestions to improve the justice delivery system of the WTO so that the ultimate objective for which the WTO stands for viz., effective settlement of trade disputes, free flow of trade and commerce among member countries, raising the standard of living, ensuring full employment and increasing production and expanding trade in goods and services can be achieved.

1. At present the 'Panels' are constituted on an ad hoc basis. It is suggested that WTO has a permanent panel so as to bring uniformity to its decisions. The parties to every dispute must select three panelists to hear their case.<sup>236</sup> Panelists are often chosen from a list of government and non-government individuals whose names have been submitted by WTO Members, although they may also select persons who are not on that list. Panel selection has been problematic from time to time, since parties often have difficulty agreeing on its composition. This is especially true when disputes involve numerous parties. To overcome this difficulty, the DSB can have a permanent panel body of experts for six-year terms. The DSB can create a roster of experts approximately 30 to be appointed as permanent panelists. The permanent panel should consist of a chairperson and two members. The appointment of permanent panelists should be done by a WTO Committee and approved by the General Council.
2. The 'Appellate Body' at present is composed of seven members appointed for a four year term with a chance for re-appointment once.<sup>237</sup> To reduce the stockpile of

<sup>235</sup> Available at: [www.wto.org/English/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/disp\\_e.htm](http://www.wto.org/English/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/disp_e.htm).

<sup>236</sup> Article 8 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

<sup>237</sup> Articles 17.1 and 17.2 of the Dispute Settlement Understanding.

cases and workload of the Appellate Body members it is suggested that the composition of the Appellate Body can be increased to 15 members and a fixed single term of six-years. Every appeal from panel can be heard by a bench consisting of 5 members. The chairman of the Appellate Body can constitute the benches. This measure will bring in constitutionalism in adjudications.

3. At present the WTO allows amicus curiae briefs. An amicus curiae brief in this context is a written legal argument filed with a panel or the Appellate Body by a private individual or an industry association or a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). This is an added burden on the panel and Appellate Body which is already over loaded with cases. However, the WTO dispute settlement mechanism does not contemplate this. So it is suggested that this practice can be done away with. The Dispute Settlement Understanding shall be suitably amended by adding a provision that could effectively prohibit the amicus curiae briefs.

4. The DSU states that 'prompt compliance with recommendations or rulings of the DSB is essential in order to ensure effective resolution of disputes to the benefit of all Members.'<sup>238</sup> Members are accorded 'a reasonable period of time' to comply with

the ruling. At present there is no time frame to comply with the ruling. It ranges from one week to six months to even 15 months. The term 'reasonable period of time' has been interpreted by some panels/ Appellate Body to mean 90 days.<sup>239</sup> It is suggested that a single, strict time frame of 90 days can be fixed to comply with the decision of the panel or Appellate Body. So the DSU can be suitably amended by adding a provision to this effect.

5. During the consultation phase the disputing parties will sit together for confidential discussions. This period is for 30 days which may extend to 60 days. The consultation phase is highly helpful in settlement of disputes. But the time limit of 60 days seems to be far fetching. It can be limited to 30 days only. Some complaining parties have argued that there is lack of engagement or cooperation by the respondent Member State in consultation. This fact has been registered by the panels/Appellate Body in many disputes.<sup>240</sup> It is suggested that consultation period should be limited to a period of 30 days in order to save time and workload.

<sup>238</sup> Article 21.1 of the DSU.

<sup>239</sup> *Brazil- Aircraft*, WT/DS46/AB/R and *Canada- Aircraft*, WT/DS70/AB/R.

<sup>240</sup> *Canada – Wheat Exports and Grain Imports*, WT/DS2276/R, *EC- Bed linen*, WT/DS/141/R, *Korea- Alcoholic Beverages*, WT/DS75/R.



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