

Article | 6 April 2018

Is anyone playing by the rules of global trade?

Global trade rules are being used and tested in extreme ways. The US and China have acted before due process has taken place, but each are requesting consultations at the WTO to resolve the disputes



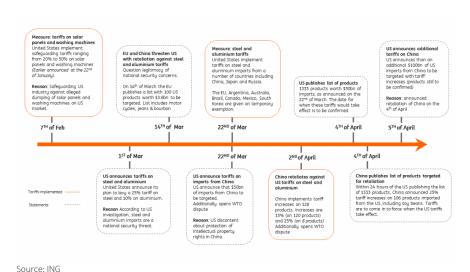
An eye for an eye

In the US's escalating dispute with China about intellectual property practices, both countries are at pains to stress the justification for their actions in the rules of global trade, even if they aren't waiting around for due process.

The US's other recent actions on steel and aluminium imports are outside the rules of global trade, but with cover from the very same rules: the US has invoked the "security exception". A country is allowed to opt out of its commitments under the global trade rules where it judges that the protection of its "essential security interests" are at stake. However, using this exception to raise tariffs on steel and aluminium is widely seen as a pretext for safeguarding domestic industry, and the tariffs as a <u>tactic</u> for forcing concessions in other trade negotiations.

Countries have reaffirmed their commitment to the global trade rules, but their responses to the

US have also featured a jab or two below the belt. China has requested consultations with the US at the WTO under its Safeguards Agreement as a first step to claiming compensation for trade losses due to the steel and aluminium tariffs. But well ahead of this process being completed, China has also implemented tariff increases on 128 products it imports from the US, the equivalent of shooting first and asking questions later. In total, over 40 WTO members have <u>raised</u> concerns at the WTO about the US's steel and aluminium tariffs.



Playing by the rules

Taking steel as an example, countries have raised concerns and even entered into disputes at the WTO about the effects of overcapacity in global production over a number of years. Alongside these activities, a forum for taking action on the root causes of the issue has emerged outside the WTO (the G20 Global Forum on Steel Excess Capacity). Rather than a failure of the global trade rules, countries taking justice into their own hands on traded steel is entirely in line with the WTO's approach to disputes. Its process encourages countries to come to the table and have a dialogue about trade disputes, then enter into negotiations, not litigation, to solve them. This is the way that "almost half" of disputes are resolved - through negotiations, without progressing to any of the WTO's further stages of dispute resolution.

The majority of trade disputes are triggered by variants of the same issue, namely a domestic industry being damaged or threatened with damage in a country which has seen an influx of (lower-priced) imports.

Global trade rules are being used and tested in extreme ways

At its most extreme, this is <u>dumping</u>, exporting at unfairly low prices. Where the trade flow doesn't meet the definition of dumping, a country may still seek to mitigate damaging effects on its domestic industry temporarily (to help facilitate improvements in competitiveness or the reallocation of resources). This is known as <u>safeguarding</u> and can involve a country raising tariffs on imports, for a limited period. Importantly, in instances where safeguarding is appropriate (i.e. where domestic industries are being damaged), exporting countries are entitled to compensation for the loss of trade they experience while the import restrictions are in place. If this is not forthcoming, they can take equivalent action, for example by raising their own tariffs on imports.

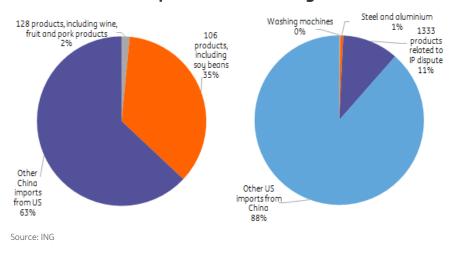
When a country is affected by safeguarding in another country and seeking compensation, it lodges a request at the WTO to enter into "consultations" as a first step.

The US import tariff increases on solar panels and washing machines followed the usual pattern of a safeguarding action. They followed US investigations into the import trends and threats of damage to domestic industries, and are time-limited (effective for 4 years on solar panels and 3 years on washing machines). China, the EU, Switzerland, South Korea, Malaysia and Singapore have expressed concerns about the tariffs, and the US duly entered into consultations with these countries. So far, so good for rules-based international trade, although a report that the consultations have not been conclusive means that countries will now need to escalate the dispute by requesting the formation of a disputes panel, and may also be considering retaliatory measures against the US.

War of words?

The products threatened with tariff increases in the dispute about intellectual property practices (1333 products from China and 106 US products) represent much more significant shares of US-China trade than US imports of Chinese aluminium and steel, and China's retaliatory increases on 128 products.

US and China imports affected by tariff increases and threats



While further tariff increases remain threats, the dispute about intellectual property is still (just about) proceeding through WTO channels. The US has <u>requested</u> consultations with China at the WTO, which would allow the two countries to discuss the US's concerns about China violating global trade <u>rules</u> on intellectual property. The EU and Japan have requested to join the talks, having said they share the US's concerns, though they have also stressed that any action taken should be consistent with WTO agreements.

The global trade rules are being used and tested in extreme ways. In using the security exception, the US has been cynical in its use of the global trade rules in the eyes of other countries. By retaliating against the US steel and aluminium tariffs with its own increases, China has acted before due process has been allowed to take place. The tariff increases that are currently being threatened in the IP dispute would be another serious step towards sidelining the WTO, if they are implemented. But all the while, the US, China and other countries have been at pains to stress that

they are playing by the rules of the system, and anticipating, rather than rejecting, the enforcement of rules of global trade. Playing by WTO rules requires countries to enter into dialogues with one another about issues in trade, and allows for – indeed encourages – them to reach settlements "out of court". If the dispute about intellectual property sees China and US come to the table to discuss their dispute along with the EU and Japan, this would be in the best traditions of rules-based international trade.

Author

Alissa Lefebre

Economist alissa.lefebre@ing.com

Deepali Bhargava

Regional Head of Research, Asia-Pacific <u>Deepali.Bhargava@ing.com</u>

Ruben Dewitte

Economist +32495364780 ruben.dewitte@ing.com

Kinga Havasi

Economic research trainee kinga.havasi@ing.com

Marten van Garderen

Consumer Economist, Netherlands marten.van.garderen@ing.com

David Havrlant

Chief Economist, Czech Republic 420 770 321 486 david.havrlant@ing.com

Sander Burgers

Senior Economist, Dutch Housing sander.burgers@ing.com

Lynn Song

Chief Economist, Greater China lynn.song@asia.ing.com

Michiel Tukker

Senior European Rates Strategist michiel.tukker@ing.com

Michal Rubaszek

Senior Economist, Poland michal.rubaszek@ing.pl

This is a test author

Stefan Posea

Economist, Romania tiberiu-stefan.posea@ing.com

Marine Leleux

Sector Strategist, Financials marine.leleux2@ing.com

Jesse Norcross

Senior Sector Strategist, Real Estate <u>jesse.norcross@ing.com</u>

Teise Stellema

Research Assistant, Energy Transition teise.stellema@ing.com

Diederik Stadig

Sector Economist, TMT & Healthcare <u>diederik.stadig@ing.com</u>

Diogo Gouveia

Sector Economist diogo.duarte.vieira.de.gouveia@ing.com

Marine Leleux

Sector Strategist, Financials marine.leleux2@ing.com

Ewa Manthey

Commodities Strategist ewa.manthey@ing.com

ING Analysts

James Wilson

EM Sovereign Strategist James.wilson@ing.com

Sophie Smith

Digital Editor sophie.smith@ing.com

Article | 6 April 2018 5

Frantisek Taborsky

EMEA FX & FI Strategist

frantisek.taborsky@ing.com

Adam Antoniak

Senior Economist, Poland adam.antoniak@ing.pl

Min Joo Kang

Senior Economist, South Korea and Japan min.joo.kang@asia.ing.com

Coco Zhang

ESG Research

coco.zhang@ing.com

Jan Frederik Slijkerman

Senior Sector Strategist, TMT jan.frederik.slijkerman@ing.com

Katinka Jongkind

Senior Economist, Services and Leisure <u>Katinka.Jongkind@ing.com</u>

Marina Le Blanc

Sector Strategist, Financials Marina.Le.Blanc@ing.com

Samuel Abettan

Junior Economist samuel.abettan@ing.com

Franziska Biehl

Senior Economist, Germany <u>Franziska.Marie.Biehl@inq.de</u>

Rebecca Byrne

Senior Editor and Supervisory Analyst rebecca.byrne@ing.com

Mirjam Bani

Sector Economist, Commercial Real Estate & Public Sector (Netherlands) mirjam.bani@ing.com

Timothy Rahill

Credit Strategist timothy.rahill@ing.com

Leszek Kasek

Senior Economist, Poland leszek.kasek@ing.pl

Oleksiy Soroka, CFA

Senior High Yield Credit Strategist oleksiy.soroka@ing.com

Antoine Bouvet

Head of European Rates Strategy antoine.bouvet@ing.com

Jeroen van den Broek

Global Head of Sector Research jeroen.van.den.broek@ing.com

Edse Dantuma

Senior Sector Economist, Industry and Healthcare edse.dantuma@ing.com

Francesco Pesole

FX Strategist

<u>francesco.pesole@ing.com</u>

Rico Luman

Senior Sector Economist, Transport and Logistics Rico.Luman@ing.com

Jurjen Witteveen

Sector Economist

jurjen.witteveen@ing.com

Dmitry Dolgin

Chief Economist, CIS dmitry.dolgin@inq.de

Nicholas Mapa

Senior Economist, Philippines nicholas.antonio.mapa@asia.ing.com

Egor Fedorov

Senior Credit Analyst egor.fedorov@ing.com

Sebastian Franke

Consumer Economist sebastian.franke@ing.de

Gerben Hieminga

Senior Sector Economist, Energy gerben.hieminga@ing.com

Nadège Tillier

Head of Corporates Sector Strategy nadege.tillier@ing.com

Charlotte de Montpellier

Senior Economist, France and Switzerland charlotte.de.montpellier@ing.com

Laura Straeter

Behavioural Scientist +31(0)611172684 laura.Straeter@ing.com

Valentin Tataru

Chief Economist, Romania valentin.tataru@ing.com

James Smith

Developed Markets Economist, UK <u>james.smith@ing.com</u>

Suvi Platerink Kosonen

Senior Sector Strategist, Financials suvi.platerink-kosonen@ing.com

Thijs Geijer

Senior Sector Economist, Food & Agri thijs.geijer@ing.com

Maurice van Sante

Senior Economist Construction & Team Lead Sectors maurice.van.sante@ing.com

Marcel Klok

Senior Economist, Netherlands marcel.klok@ing.com

Piotr Poplawski

Senior Economist, Poland piotr.poplawski@ing.pl

Paolo Pizzoli

Senior Economist, Italy, Greece paolo.pizzoli@ing.com

Marieke Blom

Chief Economist and Global Head of Research marieke.blom@ing.com

Raoul Leering

Senior Macro Economist raoul.leering@ing.com

Maarten Leen

Head of Global IFRS9 ME Scenarios maarten.leen@ing.com

Maureen Schuller

Head of Financials Sector Strategy Maureen.Schuller@ing.com

Warren Patterson

Head of Commodities Strategy Warren.Patterson@asia.ing.com

Rafal Benecki

Chief Economist, Poland rafal.benecki@inq.pl

Philippe Ledent

Senior Economist, Belgium, Luxembourg philippe.ledent@ing.com

Peter Virovacz

Senior Economist, Hungary peter.virovacz@ing.com

Inga Fechner

Senior Economist, Germany, Global Trade inga.fechner@ing.de

Dimitry Fleming

Senior Data Analyst, Netherlands <u>Dimitry.Fleming@ing.com</u>

Ciprian Dascalu

Chief Economist, Romania +40 31 406 8990 <u>ciprian.dascalu@ing.com</u>

Muhammet Mercan

Chief Economist, Turkey muhammet.mercan@ingbank.com.tr

Iris Pang

Chief Economist, Greater China iris.pang@asia.ing.com

Sophie Freeman

Writer, Group Research +44 20 7767 6209 Sophie.Freeman@uk.ing.com

Padhraic Garvey, CFA

Regional Head of Research, Americas padhraic.garvey@ing.com

James Knightley

Chief International Economist, US <u>james.knightley@ing.com</u>

Tim Condon

Asia Chief Economist +65 6232-6020

Martin van Vliet

Senior Interest Rate Strategist +31 20 563 8801 martin.van.vliet@ing.com

Karol Pogorzelski

Senior Economist, Poland Karol.Pogorzelski@ing.pl

Carsten Brzeski

Global Head of Macro <u>carsten.brzeski@ing.de</u>

Viraj Patel

Foreign Exchange Strategist +44 20 7767 6405 <u>viraj.patel@ing.com</u>

Owen Thomas

Global Head of Editorial Content +44 (0) 207 767 5331 owen.thomas@ing.com

Bert Colijn

Chief Economist, Netherlands bert.colijn@ing.com

Peter Vanden Houte

Chief Economist, Belgium, Luxembourg, Eurozone peter.vandenhoute@ing.com

Benjamin Schroeder

Senior Rates Strategist benjamin.schroder@ing.com

Chris Turner

Global Head of Markets and Regional Head of Research for UK & CEE chris.turner@ing.com

Gustavo Rangel

Chief Economist, LATAM +1 646 424 6464 gustavo.rangel@ing.com

Carlo Cocuzzo

Economist, Digital Finance +44 20 7767 5306 carlo.cocuzzo@ing.com

Article | 6 April 2018 11