#### The Taxonomy of Disputes and the Architecture of ASEAN Dispute Resolution

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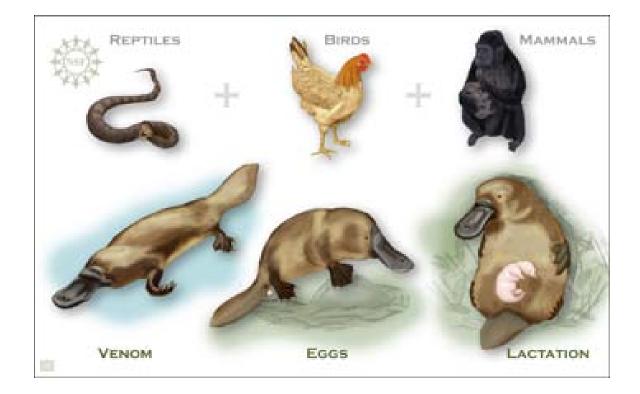
Associate Professor Michael Ewing-Chow WTO Chair and Head, Trade/Investment Law & Policy Co-Director, ASEAN Integration Through Law Project





#### **Controversial Taxonomy**

• The platypus...





#### **Just Peace** 1967 to ...

#### **Dimension 1: Sources of Conflict**

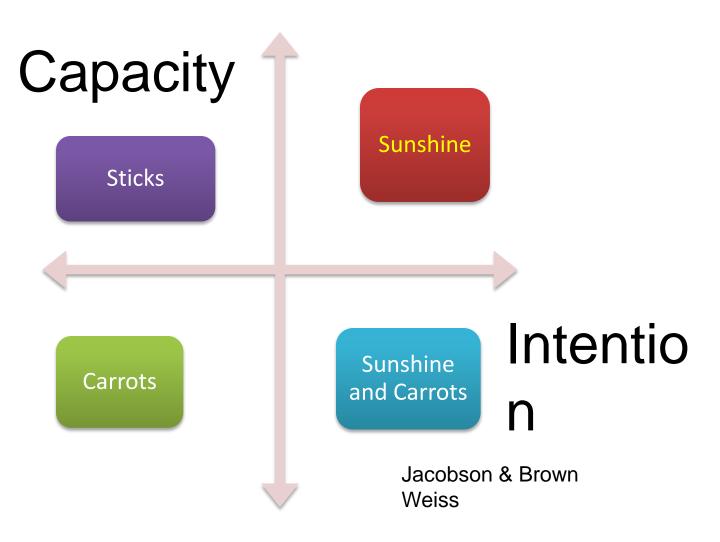
Failures of:

- 1. Compliance
- 2. Cooperation
- 3. Coordination
- 4. Coherence
- 5. Clarity
- 6. Capacity

## Legalization

- Abbot, Keohane, Moravcsik, Slaughter and Snidal:
  - 1. Obligation
  - 2. Precision
  - 3. Delegation (Third Party Adjudication)
- Most conflicts are resolved extra-adjudication.
- E.g. Administration (Monitoring & Reporting)
- But under the shadow of Adjudication...

#### Methods for Compliance



### **Dimension 2: Actors Involved**

Claimants/Respondents:

- 1. States
- 2. Domestic Population
- 3. Aliens (e.g. foreign investor, migrant)

- 1. International Community
- 2. International Governmental Organizations
- 3. Non-Governmental Organizations

#### **Dimension 3: Outcomes Desired**

- Cessation of Conflict
- Avoidance of Conflict
- De-escalation of tensions
- Adjudication with finality of award
- Damages or Compliance
- Mutually agreed solution
- Technical Cooperation
- Common epistemic understanding

#### **Dimension 4: Stakes of Dispute**

- Regime Change
- War
- Sanctions
- Tensions
- Damages
- Compliance
- Clarification
- Consultation

#### + Counterfactual Costs

#### **DS Management Methods**

- 1. Compulsory Adjudication
- 2. Non-Compulsory Adjudication
- 3. Consultation
- 4. Monitoring
- 5. Technical Coordination
- 6. Clarification

#### Intra-ASEAN DSM

- 1976 TAC (general principles)
- 2004 Enhanced DSM (economic disputes compulsory and negative consensus)
- 2007 ASEAN Charter (general obligations)
- 2010 Protocol to the ASEAN Charter DSM (all other disputes that do not have specific DSM)

• Plus option for recourse to international infrastructure of ICJ, WTO, ITLOS

#### Pedra Branca

- Source: Clarity on sovereignty
- Actors: State to State
- Stakes: Loss of territory v Escalating conflict
- Outcome: Avoidance and De-escalation
- Result: ICJ for finality of award
- DS Methods: Consultation (failed) resulting in submission to Adjudication (ICJ) (alternatively TAC or 2010 DSM – avoidance only)

#### Intra-ASEAN Trade Disputes

- Malaysia Polyethylene and Polypropylene [WTO DS1] (Singapore) (1995)
- Thailand Cigarettes from the Philippines [WTO DS371] (Philippines) (2008)

 Note: Common Enhanced Preferential Tariffs (CEPT) non-compliance during Asian Financial Crisis settled without reference to ASEAN DSM

#### Intra-ASEAN Trade Disputes

- Source: Lack of Compliance (clear rules)
- Actor: State to State (private interests)
- At Stake: Compliance or Damages
- Outcome: MAS or Compliance/Damages
- DS Method: Adjudication (under the shadow)
- Result: WTO Reports (could have been EDSM but lack of institutional capacity and capital at ASEC)

## Yaung Chi Ooi v Myanmar (ISDS)

- Source: Lack of Compliance (clear rules)
- Actor: Alien (Investor) to State
- Outcome: Damages (and depoliticization)
- At Stake: Compliance or Damages
- DS Method: ISD Arbitration (under the shadow of adjudication)
- Result: ICSID pursuant to 1987 ASEAN IGA

#### **ASEAN and Human Rights**

- Source: Clarity (maybe also Capacity)
- Actors: Domestic v State (int'l concern)
- At Stake: Potential Regime Change v Tensions
- Outcome: Common epistemic understanding
- DS Method: Clarification (and Monitoring)
- Result: No DSM desensitization and constructivist AICHR

# Taxonomy of Disputes & DS Architecture

- Usually Political/Security, Economic and HRs
- Others look at Actors
- Suggestion: Source of Conflict and Stakes (both Actual and Counterfactual)

- Outcome Driven DSM Design
- Purpose Oriented
- Constructivist c.f. SADC tribunal

## DS Design Checklist

- 1. Do you know what outcome you don't want?
- 2. Do you know what outcome you want?
- 3. What are the actual stakes?
- 4. What are the counterfactual (non-resolution of dispute/conflict) costs?
- 5. Have the actors been culturalized to accept the obligations and process? (*e.g.* democracy, aware of the counterfactual costs etc.)
- 6. What are the existing institutional capacities?



#### We may not always have similar views, but we have a similar goal... From just peace to A Just Peace

ASEAN Foreign Ministers' (AMM) Retreat Hua Hin, Prachuap KhiriKhan, Thailand 13 14 August 2013