Preface
Introduction

0.1 Origin of the Project 1
0.2 Hypothesis 4
0.3 Aims and Scope 5
0.4 Background and Significance of the Project 5
0.4.1 Globalisation and the Emergence of the Trade Constitution 5
0.5 Trade Constitutionalism as an Analytical Methodology 14
0.5.2 Case Studies 14
0.5.2.1 The Making of the TRIPS Agreement 14
0.5.2.2 The Implementation of the Trade Mark Provisions of TRIPS in Australia 17
0.6 Structure of the Book 19

Chapter 1: The Trade Constitution 21
1.1 Introduction 21
1.2 The Concept of a Trade Constitution 24
1.3 The Origins and Evolution of the Trade Constitution 26
1.3.1 The International Trade Organization 26
1.3.2 The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1947 26
1.3.3 The Constitutionalisation of GATT 28
1.4 The WTO as a Trade Constitution 29
1.4.1 The Acquisition of Legal Personality 30
1.4.2 Institutional Structure 31
1.4.2.1 The Ministerial Conference as Executive 31
1.4.2.2 The General Council as Legislature 33
1.4.2.3 The Secretariat as Bureaucracy 34
1.4.3 The WTO as a Mechanism for Transnational Governance 34
1.5 The Legislative Process 35
1.5.1 Lawmaking by Consensus 35
1.5.2 Amendment and Waiver by Majority 36
1.6 The Capacity to Make Binding Law 38
1.6.1 From Grandfather Rights to Mandatory Implementation 39
1.7 The Constitutional Principles of MFN and National Treatment 40
## CONTENTS

1.8 Compulsory and Coercive Law Enforcement 43
  1.8.1 The Juridification of the Dispute Settlement System 44
  1.8.2 Judicial Review of State Legislation 47
  1.8.3 The Standing Appellate Body as Constitutional Court 48
  1.8.4 Surveillance of State Law and Policy 49

1.9 In Search of a Theoretical Underpinning for the Trade Constitution 50
  1.9.1 Overcoming the Conceptual Limitations of Classical International Law 50
  1.9.2 International Relations Theory and the Constitutionalisation of the GATT/WTO 52
  1.9.3 Regime Theory 53
  1.9.4 Deficiencies of Regime Theory 56
  1.9.5 "Law Among Liberal Nations" Theory 58

1.10 Conclusion 61

Chapter 2:
The Constitutional Principle of Most Favoured Nation Treatment 65

2.1 Introduction 65
2.2 The Content and Interpretation of the MFN Principle 67
2.3 Implied Rights under the Grant of MFN 68
  2.3.1 A Right to Equality 69
  2.3.2 A Right of Non-Discrimination 69
  2.3.3 A Right to Freedom of Commerce 70

2.4 The Interpretation of MFN in GATT Article I 70
2.5 Derogations from the Most-Favoured-Nation Principle 73
  2.5.1 “Conditional” MFN 75

2.6 The Programme for Political and Economic Cooperation and the Renewal of MFN 76
  2.6.1 The WTO Charter and the Affirmation of MFN 77
  2.6.2 Restricted Derogation from the MFN Principle 79

2.7 MFN and the Construction of Substantive International Law 80
  2.7.1 MFN under the TRIPS Agreement 81
  2.7.2 “Substantive MFN” 82

2.8 MFN as a Vehicle for the Universalisation of Commercial Law 83
2.9 An Evaluation of MFN as a Constitutional Principle 85

2.10 Conclusion 87

Chapter 3:
The Constitutional Principle of National Treatment 89

3.1 Introduction 89
3.2 National Treatment and Intellectual Property Prior to TRIPS 90
  3.2.1 The Role of National Treatment under the Paris and Berne Conventions 91
### CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 The Working Party To Review Australian Trade Mark Legislation</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2 Public Consultation</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 TRIPS Increases the Availability of Trade Mark Rights in Australia</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1 A Restricted Definition of Trade Mark under the 1955 Act</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2 An Open-Ended Definition of Trade Mark under TRIPS</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3 The 1995 Act Adopts a Broad Definition of Trade Mark</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4 Distinctiveness and the Limits of Registrability under the 1955 Act</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.5 The 1995 Act Adopts a Presumption of Registrability under TRIPS</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 TRIPS Increases the Scope of Trade Mark Rights in Australia</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1 The Limits of Infringement under the 1955 Act</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2 TRIPS Extends the Scope of Infringement</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.3 Local Contention over the Extension of Trade Mark Rights</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.4 The 1995 Act Extends the Scope of Trade Mark Rights</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 TRIPS Increases the Protection of Well Known Marks in Australia</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1 The 1955 Act Fails to Protect Well Known Marks</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2 Restrictions on Proprietorship and Use</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.3 Mandatory Protection for Well Known Marks under TRIPS</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.4 The 1995 Act Implements Express Protection for Well Known Marks</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.4.1 Australia Imports the Doctrine of Dilution</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 The Future of Trade Mark Rights under TRIPS: Compliance or Nuanced Resistance?</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 The Pivotal Role of Domestic Courts in the Interpretation of the TRIPS Agreement</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 Conclusion</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter 6:
The Trade Supercourt: Judicial Review and Coercive Law Enforcement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Introduction</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 The Growth of Trade Legalism under GATT Dispute Settlement</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 The WTO Adopts a Legalistic Model of Dispute Settlement</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1 Appellate Review, Binding Decision-Making and Time Limitations</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2 From Persuasion to Compulsion in the Observance of WTO Law</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii
6.4 The Ascendancy of Intellectual Property as a Catalyst for Greater Legalism

6.4.1 Ineffective Law Enforcement under the Paris and Berne Conventions

6.4.2 The Conjunction of Trade and Intellectual Property

6.4.3 The Rise of Unilateral Action and Self-Help

6.5 Substantive Provision for the Global Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights under the WTO

6.6 Judicial Review of Domestic Legislation by the Supercourt of the WTO

6.6.1 The Case of India—Patent Protection for Pharmaceutical and Agricultural Chemical Products

6.7 Limitations of the WTO Supercourt as to Substantive Justice

6.7.1 The Panel’s Approach to the Adjudication of Intellectual Property Disputes

6.7.1.1 Interpreting the TRIPS Agreement

6.7.1.2 Framing the Inquiry and Selecting the Terms of Reference

6.7.2 Freedom of Trade as a Theoretical Underpinning

6.7.3 Adjudication or Economic Management?

6.8 Limitations of the WTO Supercourt as to Procedural Justice

6.8.1 Legal Representation

6.8.2 Adequate Legal Resources

6.8.3 Time Limitations

6.8.4 The Capacity of WTO Panels to Deal with Factual Disputes

6.8.5 Transparency of Dispute Settlement Proceedings

6.9 The WTO Supercourt and the Juridification of International Politics

6.10 Conclusion

Chapter 7: Challenges for the Trade Constitution

7.1 Introduction

7.2 The Challenge of Addressing the Distribution of Power in a Multilevel Governance Structure

7.2.1 The Trade Constitution as a Collective Expression of Sovereignty

7.2.2 Democratic Decision-Making for a New Global Order

7.3 The Challenge of Embedding Greater Accountability within the Structures of Trade Governance

7.3.1 The Legitimacy of Traditional Treaty Practice in Australia

7.4 The Challenge of Building into the Process of Dispute Resolution Space for Private Participation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>Reconciling Free Trade Principles with Domestic Social And Cultural Requirements</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>Issues of Legitimacy and Lawmaking under the Trade Constitution</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Proposals for a More Democratic Model of Governance</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>