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#### Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership Chapter on State-Owned Enterprises: Its Breakthroughs, Limitations and Implications for Newly Entering Economies and Business

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CPTPP Chapter on State-Owned Enterprises: Its Breakthroughs, Limitations and Implications for Newly Entering Economies & Business

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# 1. Introduction

(1)Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) : Signed Feb.4, 2016; but Jan. 2017, President Trump withdrew.

- (2)With leadership of Japan as well as Viet Nam, the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for TPP (CPTPP or TPP11) signed Mar. 8, 2018, entered into force Dec. 30, 2018.
- (3)Among the most difficult issues like Market Access in Goods and Services, Investment, IP, etc., **Rules on Stateowned Enterprises (SOEs)**: U.S. proposal strongly resisted by Viet Nam, Malaysia, but introduced in Ch.17
- → What are its breakthroughs & limitations of the TPP/CPTPP Chapter on SOEs, and its implications, particularly for Newly Entering Economies & Business?

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## 2. Background

(1) Around World Financial Crisis in 2008-9, More Concern about SOEs: Expanding Presence of SOEs not only at home markets but also global & complaints about preferential treatment (inc. subsidies) to SOEs and lack of competitive neutrality

*E.g.*, <u>OECD (2016)</u>, <u>State-owned Enterprises As Global Competitors: A Challenge or an Opportunity?</u>

- Emerging Challenges also in International Economic Law: How to create brand-new disciplines over SOEs?
- Issue 1: SOEs as Public Bodies who Grant Subsidies
- Issue 2: SOEs as Competitors who Receive Subsidies
- Issue 3: SOEs as Market Participants with Political Objectives

## SOEs as Competitors who Receive Subsidies

(Trade in Goods)

#### • Overcapacity in Steel, Aluminum etc.

Preferential treatment incl. Subsidies to SOEs caused overcapacity, which, in turn, may have caused depression or suppression of the price in the world market

*E.g.*, Steel Global Forum, DS519, US Trade Expansion Act Sec.232 Investigation Report on Steel/Aluminum (Jan. 2018)

Similar may happen (or may have already happened) also in solar panels, semiconductors, electric vehicles...

Problems not only in trade in goods but also....

## SOEs as Competitors who Receive Subsidies

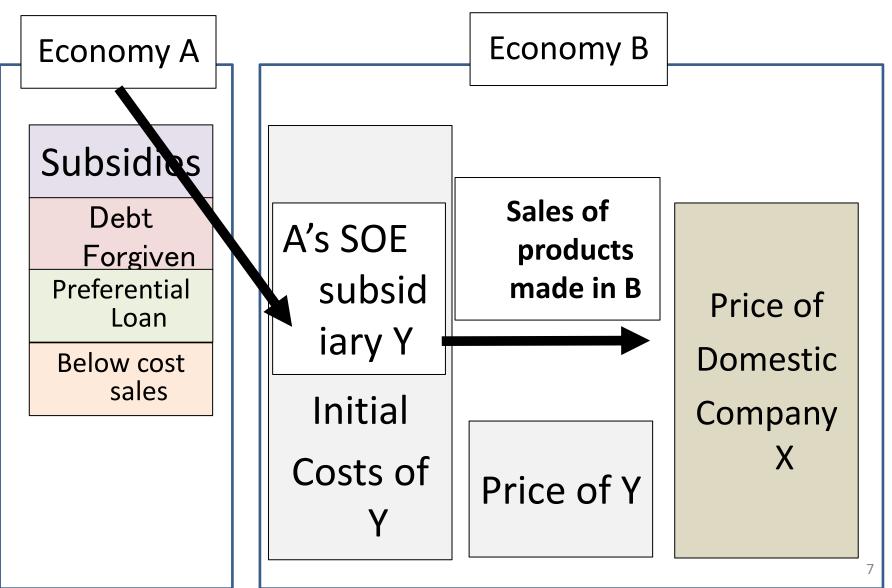
#### (Investment)

# 1) Outbound investment of SOEs causes vigorous **national** security review of FDI

2) Amendment of the U.S. Model BIT (until 2009), Advisory Committee on International Economic Policy (ACIEP): consider how to address the concern about investment with anticompetitive state assistance such as states' or SOCBs' loan at interest rate lower than market rate. Final Report include two recommendations, one of which proposes to include special rule.

3) U.S-China Economic and Security Review Commission Annual Report (2014): Alert that U.S. domestic companies would be confronted with competitive difficulty because having inside U.S. market companies who received preferential loan or assistance from Chinese Gov. (See next slide)

## Adverse Effect of Domestic Sales of Investment Subsidised by Foreign Economies



#### 3. Negotiating History of TPP Chapter on SOEs

- Feb. 2011 US Domestic Group (Coalition for Service Industries & Chamber of Commerce) proposal to **ensure a level playing field** btw. SOEs and private companies and prohibit preferential assistance.
- Oct. 2011 US Government Proposal in TPP Lima Round : Ensuring Competitive Neutrality with private companies; transparency of SOEs.
- Receiving strong resistance from Malaysia and Viet Nam whose economies are significantly controlled by SOEs and emerging as one of the most difficult negotiations which delayed the TPP negotiation as a whole until the end of 2013.

3. Negotiating History of TPP Chapter on SOEs

U.S. intent: Write the template to be applied to China

- Feb 2014, agreed upon exemption for assistance to SOEs supplying services in home market.
- July & Sep. 2014, Malaysia, Brunei & Viet Nam submitted long lists of SOEs to be carved out
- Development above In 2014 suggests the U.S. had adopted more flexible approach like "compromise the content but keep the framework" which gave up the application to all the SOEs, given the strong resistance from Malaysia and Vietnam.
- Looks like proxy war on behalf of China

## 4. Main Contents of CPTPP Chapter on SOEs

1) Shall **ensure** SOE act in accordance with **commercial considerations** and based on **non-discriminatory basis** in its purchase or sale of a good or services ('**NDCC**').

2) **Prohibit** causing adverse effects to another Party through **non-commercial assistance** ('**NCA**') to SOEs (except for a service supplied by a SOE within its home market; **domestic service exemption**).

3) **Transparency**: Publish the list of all the SOEs and upon request, share the info about government ownership and non-commercial assistance

4) Ensuring the right to establish or maintain SOEs

5) Subject to State-to-state Dispute Settlement in Ch.28

6) Each economy carves out specific activities by specific SOEs in Annex IV on Non-conforming measures.

## 4. Main Contents of CPTPP Chapter on SOEs

#### 1) Definition of SOEs

Article 17.1: Definitions "state-owned enterprise means an enterprise that is principally engaged in commercial activities in which a Party:

- (a) directly owns more than 50 per cent of the share capital;
- (b) controls, through ownership interests, the exercise of more than 50 per cent of the voting rights; or
- (c) holds **the power to appoint a majority of members** of the board of directors or any other equivalent management body."

<u>One of the potential impacts</u>: **Ch. on SOEs** mainly defines SOEs as **majority share owned** by the government (Art.17.1), and prohibits SOEs to provide non-commercial assistance to SOEs (Art.17.6.2). **Partially overriding** *US* – *AD/CVD from China* **(DS379), returning to Panel's ownership test**. 4. Main Contents of CPTPP Chapter on SOEs

## 2) Non-Commercial Assistance (Arts.17.6 and 17.7)

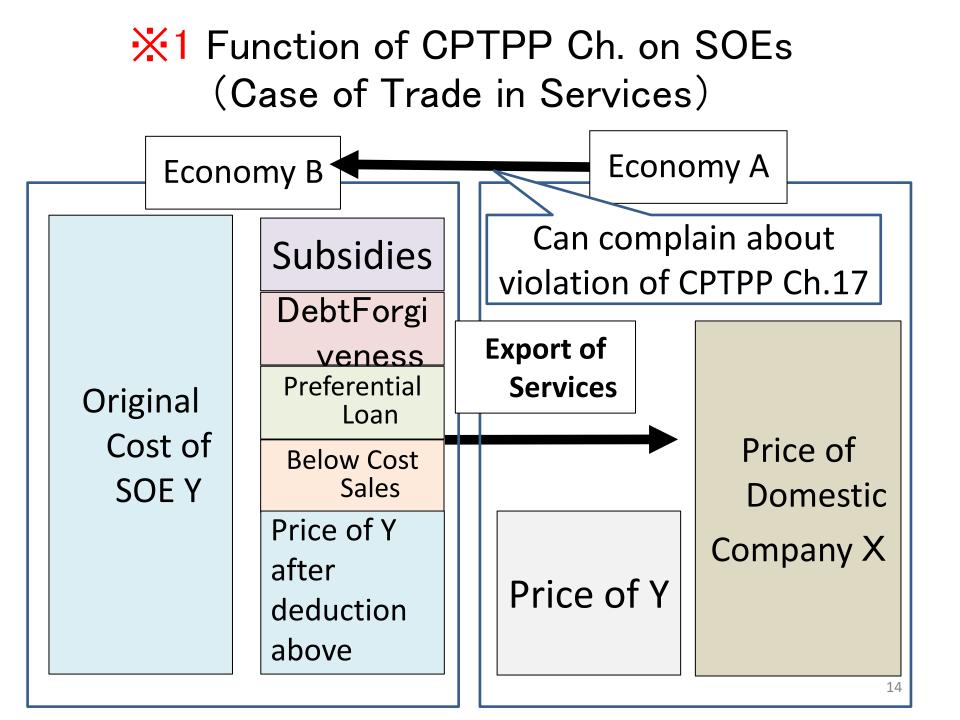
- Need for Adjustment **Tools to ensure Competitive Neutrality** given prevalent assistance by some economies to SOEs etc.
- While for trade in goods, tools are already full-equipped, lacking tools for trade in service and investment

Markets/ Sectors	Assisting Market	Importing Market	Third Market	World Market
Trade in Goods	✔ (Red, Yellow)	✔(CVD)	✔ (Red, Yellow)	✔ (Red, Yellow)
Trade in Service/ Investment	$\triangle$ (National T) $\triangle$ (FET, National Treatment)			

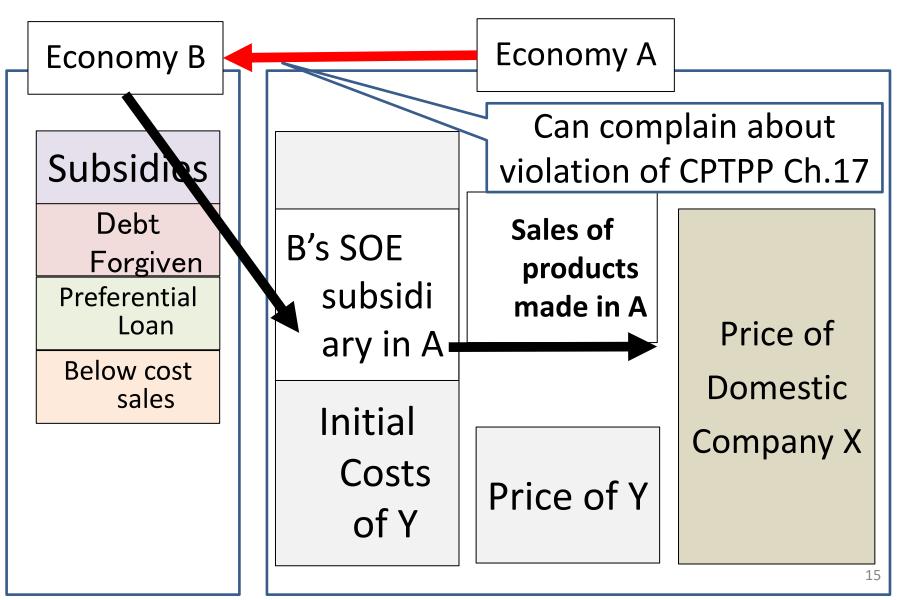
## Filling the existing gaps by CPTPP Ch. on SOEs

Market/	Assisting Market	Importing Market	Third Market	World Market
Sectors	E.g. Viet Nam	E.g., Japan	E.g.Japan v.Viet	(Non-TPP)
	•		Nam in Australia	
Trade in	✔ (Red, Yellow)	✔ (CVD)	✔ (Red, Yellow)	✔ (Red,Yellow)
Goods	+		+	+
	17.7.1a, 1c(i)		17.7.1b(i), 1c(i)	17.7.1 b(ii), c(ii)
Trade in	$\Delta(NT)$	—	—	
Services	$\Rightarrow$	$\Rightarrow$	$\Rightarrow$	$\Rightarrow$
	Domestic Service	17.7.1d, e	17.7.1d、1e	No rule
	Exemption(17.6.4)	<b>※</b> 1		(Annex17C,
				renegotiation)
Supply of	$\Delta$ (FET, NT)	—	—	—
Goods by	$\Rightarrow$	$\Rightarrow$	$\Rightarrow$	$\Rightarrow$
Investment	17.7.1a	17.6.3	17.7.1b(i), c(i)	No rule
		<b>※2</b>		

Note: 17.6.x or 17.7.x above means number of relevant provision in TPP Ch.17. NT: National Treatment; FET: Fair and Equitable Treatment



# **2** Function of CPTPP Ch. on SOEs (Sales of Investment injuring Domestic Industry)



## 5 Breakthroughs and Limitations

1) Breakthroughs: Non-commercial assistance (NCA)

- Concerns that, If we open our markets, their SOEs would take all, may have already (or potentially) delayed liberalization negotiation in services and investment if competitive neutrality rules lack (Creating disincentive to liberalize)
- CPTPP Ch. on SOEs: Create brand-new adjustment tools to ensure competitive neutrality also in areas of services and investment
- Given SOEs' expanding presence in global market, covering not only home market but also third markets,
- Epoch-making & pioneering development in International Economic Law

## 5 Breakthroughs and Limitations

## 2) Limitation: NCA

 Insufficient coverage of assistance from the viewpoint of Australian model of competitive neutrality principles, due to the design based on the WTO Yellow Subsidies Rules which requires "financial contribution" (or assistance in CPTPP's case), focusing on "Tax Neutrality" and "Debt Neutrality and Outright Subsidies" but to some extent supplemented with "Regulatory Neutrality" (Art.17.5.2)

CPTPP NCA Rules on SOEs vs. Subsidies Rule Covering both goods/service in EV/EJFTA (See Next Slide)

- Beneficiary/Recipient Scope limited to SOEs
- High Burden of Proof on adverse effects like WTO Yellow Subsidies

### 2) Limitations: NCA (cont.)

#### Table CPTPP NCA Rules vs. EU-Japan EPA Subsidies Rules

	Recipients	Subsidies	Markets	Rules
TPP NCAs Rules	SOEs only	Any type of subsidies	Home/Third but domestic service exemption	Need to prove <b>adverse effects</b> as Yellow Subs.
EU–Japan EPA Subsidies Rules	All enterprises	Certain Types of Subsidies	Home/Third market both?	Prohibited <i>per se</i>

### 2) Limitations: NCA (cont.)

 Insufficient coverage of economy activities: Subsidized Investment /Acquisition not covered by CPTPP

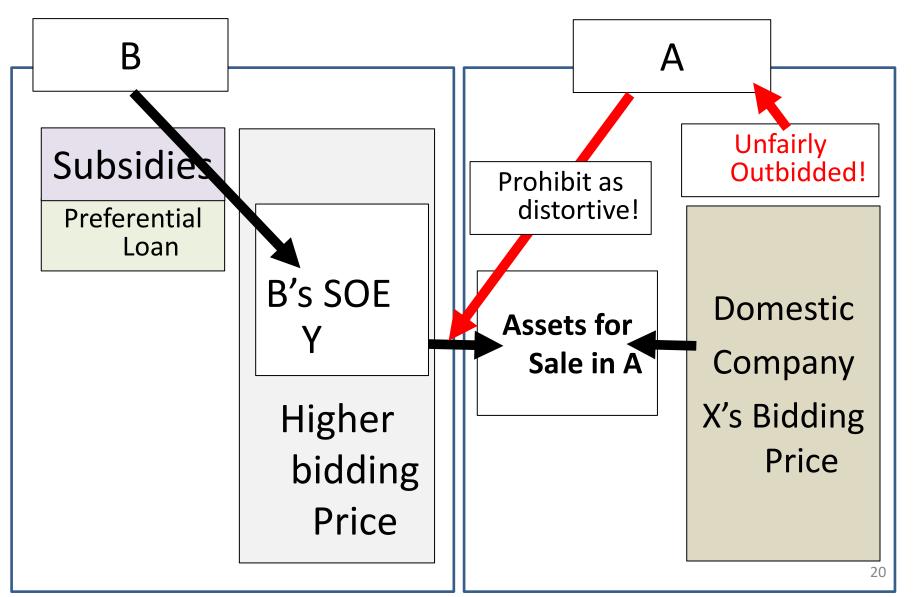
### (See next slide)

Cf. Recent development in *EU White Paper on levelling the playing field as regards foreign subsidies,* Jun 17 2020 (Module 2 *ex ante* notification and redressive measures incl. commitment and prohibition)

#### 3) Limitations on NDCC/NCA as a whole

- Long Carve-out in Annex IV of Non-conforming measures e.g., Viet Nam, Malaysia
- Domestic Service Exemption
- And many other exemptions...

## Adverse Effect of Investment/Acquisition Subsidised by Foreign Economies



## 6. Implications for Newly Entering Economies & Business

#### For Newly Entering Economies

- 1) **Can maintain SOEs** (the right to establish or maintain SOEs) even if joins TPP/CPTPP;
- 2) Can avoid the application by privatization?
- Mainly defined by "majority share owned by the government" (Art.17.1), but the definition includes *de facto* control: "holding the power to appoint a majority of members of the board of directors"
- Actually broader than it looks at a glance, privatization is not a perfect way out.

3) If still uncomfortable with existing exemptions, can negotiate carve out (Annex IV: Non-conforming measures), however, not easy to carve out spill-over effects beyond the markets of economies who are SOEs' owners. 21

## 6. Implications for Newly Entering Economies & Business

#### For Business

1) Give more attention to what you face in competition with SOEs and lack of competitive neutrality, because Governments themselves cannot know what is happening in the market.

2) **Check whether some remedies are already offered**. For that purpose, **understand more about already existing rules** on SOEs which can ensure Competitive Neutrality;

3) If no remedy is available for what you face, **claim for a new rule**. Such voice can make rules more full-equipped Cf. EU White Paper on levelling the playing field as regards foreign subsidies, Jun 17 2020

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## Thank you for your attention!