International Investment Law as a Global Public Good

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Introduction

In 1944, the close of the Second World War brought together world leaders in Bretton Woods in an effort to create a new world order. Conscious of the contribution that economic instability had made to the commencement of the war, the architects of the new system set about to create an international economic order that would avoid the perils of the interwar period and promote world peace.\(^1\) This vision viewed the international economic order as one in which the utilitarian, wealth producing benefits of economic relations would be re-embedded into their social and political context.\(^2\) In short, the new international economic order viewed prosperity

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primarily as a means to an end and not as an end in of itself. The ultimate aim of the new order, thus, would be to enhance human welfare.³

Despite advancement of this new order by the Bretton Woods institutions⁴ and governments alike – to varying degrees of success – the pursuit of this new order is showing its age. In particular, the architecture of foreign investment, a newer and increasingly important contributor to international economic relations, is exhibiting a strong disconnect with the new international economic order. This development is particularly troubling as foreign investment has a tremendous potential to increase the enhancement of human welfare in states.

In 2012, foreign direct investment (“FDI”) flows are expected to surpass $1.6 trillion, with nearly half of that total flowing to developed countries.⁵ While FDI flows alone do not, in and of themselves, enhance human welfare, the enormity of the amount of FDI flows suggest that the potential for development arising from these inflows is immense.⁶ Yet at the same time, the architecture promoting FDI – international investment agreements (IIAs) – do not necessarily promote development or other non-economic goals of foreign investment. In part, because of this disconnect, several states have recently withdrawn from earlier concluded IIAs.⁷ Other states, including the United States, have expressed their dissatisfaction with international investment law’s power to override non-economic issues by limiting, clarifying, or revising their IIA obligations.⁸

While the vision for the new international economic order was not created specifically with IIAs in mind, today it seems clear that the role of IIAs in facilitating the vision of the new order is as important as the contribution of the other Bretton Woods Institutions. Indeed, financial stability and international trade, products and by-products of the Bretton Woods and related institutions, are thought of as global public goods, or policy regimes which provide substantial cross-border public benefits.⁹

Applying a global public good lens to international investment law — the actual standards of protection for investors and investments, the meaning of those standards and the behavioral expectations of the state that they entail — similarly suggests that it too can equally be thought of as a global public good. This is because the system of international investment law provides two key cross-border public good benefits. First, it provides an overarching legal framework that guides FDI activity and enhances its predictability and, second, it provides a mechanism by which FDI inflows benefits investors and states alike.

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³ For example, the Consultative Board of the World Trade Organization has stated "... the case for freeing trade is made very definitely in terms of enhancing human welfare". PETER SUTHERLAND, ET AL. FUTURE OF THE WTO - REPORT OF THE CONSULTATIVE BOARD TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL SUPACHAI PANITCHPAKDI (2004).
⁴ The Bretton Woods institutions include the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Trade Organization (the predecessor to the World Trade Organization).
⁵ UNCTAD, WORLD INVESTMENT REPORT 2012: TOWARDS A NEW GENERATION OF INVESTMENT POLICIES, 2, 3 (2012).
⁶ Ban Ki-Moon, Preface in UNCTAD, supra note 5, at iii (arguing FDI can play an “important development role”).
⁷ These include Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela. For further details, See infra, note 89.
⁸ See e.g. 2012 U.S. Model Bilateral Investment Treaty, Annex B, art. 4(b).
⁹ WORLD BANK, POVERTY REDUCTION AND GLOBAL PUBLIC GOODS: ISSUES FOR THE WORLD BANK IN SUPPORTING GLOBAL COLLECTIVE ACTION (DC/2000-16), 1-2 (2000). See also the discussion of global public goods, infra, at Part II.B.
International investment law is, however, failing to bestow both of its benefits. First, the system is exhibiting failures in indicators of rule legitimacy—primarily, by producing incoherent jurisprudence and using indeterminate rules—which is limiting its ability to establish an overarching framework for FDI activity. Second, both the failure of the substance of IIAs and of arbitrators interpreting these treaties to recognize the role of FDI in promoting a state’s development is hindering its ability to create a mechanism by which FDI activity mutually benefits both investors and states. Examining the system of international investment law through a global public good lens thus highlights the system’s shortcomings and is consequently significant to guiding its reform.

This Article is organized as follows. Part I begins by providing an overview of international investment law first by describing its origins and then by exploring its evolutionary transformation over the last half a century. It then examines how, despite its extant patchwork nature, international investment law has become increasingly systemized and now represents a concordant practice of the rules governing international investment relations. Part II then moves to view international investment law through a global public good lens. It examines the challenges facing international investment law and discusses how viewing it as a global public good can be effective in its reform. This Part concludes by discussing international investment law’s two key global public benefits and discusses the limits currently hindering international investment law’s ability to achieve these benefits. Finally, Part III turns to explore how international investment law can be reoriented to delivering its public good benefits. It proposes corrective mechanisms through which states can play a larger role in protecting the public good and suggests methods by which states can proactively facilitate public good considerations in the interpretations of IIAs.

I. International Investment Law – An Overview

While the decision to establish an investment in a foreign country is subject to a number of different variables, one increasingly important factor has become the existence of an international investment agreement. Although generally concluded between two states or a regional group of states, these agreements, of which there are presently 3,164, contain a number of standard features. First, most IIAs contain standards of treatment that states must afford to foreign investors and foreign investments. Typical standards of treatment include the right to be treated fairly and equitably, the right to be afforded the same treatment as that given to domestic investors and investments, the right to be afforded better treatment if such

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10 UNCTAD, supra note 5, at 84.
11 See e.g., U.S.-Croatia BIT, art. 3(1) (July 13, 1996) (Each Party shall at all times accord to covered investments fair and equitable treatment and full protection and security, and shall in no case accord treatment less favorable than that required by international law).
12 See e.g., Japan-Turkey BIT, art 3(2) (Feb. 12, 1992) (Nationals and companies of either Contracting Party shall within the territory of the other Contracting Party be accorded treatment no less favourable than that accorded to nationals and companies of such other Contracting Party…).
treatment is afforded to a third party, and prohibitions against expropriation. Second, most IIAs contain the right to investment arbitration pursuant to which a foreign investor can initiate an arbitration against the host state for alleged violations of the standards of treatment found in the relevant IIA. International investment law thus comprises both IIAs and application and interpretations given to IIAs by arbitral tribunals. This part describes the origins and evolution of IIAs and discusses how international investment law has come to represent a specialized system of international law.

A. Origins and Evolution of International Investment Agreements

The origins of the modern day IIA are often traced to Friendship, Commerce and Navigation (FCN) treaties, which were promulgated by states to establish trade relations and which, incidentally, also protected private property. States, however, began to search for alternatives to FCN treaties as they were limited in scope and did not provide an adequate forum for dispute resolution.

Around the same time, state interest in expropriating foreign investments began to increase. This was a direct result of two events. First, several of the newly formed post-WWII, decolonized states viewed foreign investment as a form of neo-colonialism and, second, the Soviet Bloc countries increasingly began to commit to state regulation as their dominant economic philosophy. These developments led to large groups of states engaging in mass expropriations of private property. Dismayed by the increasing threat of expropriations and the unsatisfactory levels of protection for expropriations under customary international law, several European nations began to promulgate bilateral investment treaties.

In 1959, Germany became the first country to conclude a bilateral investment treaty (BIT) and several other European countries followed suit. Germany’s interest in concluding a BIT resulted from its experience of having lost much of its foreign investment during its defeat in the war, making it acutely sensitive to the risks to which foreign investment are exposed.

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13 See e.g., Germany-Guyana BIT, art. 3(1) (Dec. 6, 1989) (Neither Contracting Party shall subject investments in its territory owned or controlled by nationals or companies of the other Contracting Party to treatment less favourable than it accords to investments of nationals or companies of any third State)
14 See e.g., North American Free Trade Agreement, U.S.-Can.-Mex., art. 1110(1), Dec. 17, 1992, 32 I.L.M. 289 (1993) [hereinafter NAFTA]. (No Party may directly or indirectly nationalize or expropriate an investment of an investor of another Party in its territory or take a measure tantamount to nationalization or expropriation of such an investment…)
15 See e.g., U.S.-Ukraine BIT, art. VI (Mar. 4, 1994) (In the event of an investment dispute…the national or company concerned may choose to consent in writing to the submission of the dispute forsettlement by binding arbitration…)
17 Vandevelde, supra note 16, at 161.
18 Id. at 166-167.
19 Id. at 167.
20 Id. at 169.
22 Salacuse, supra note 16, at 657; Vandevelde, supra note 16, at 169
Conversely, the motivations of Germany’s BIT partner, Pakistan, could not have been more different. As the Attorney General of Pakistan later explained, Pakistan considered BITs to be “...piece[s] of paper, something for the press, a good photo opportunity...”  

The dichotomy of interests for entering into BITs represented by Germany and Pakistan is indicative of the opposing interests for BIT conclusion between developed and developing countries during this period. While developing countries like Pakistan may not have accorded much importance to BITs during this period, developed countries considered BITs to have one main focus: insurance policies for foreign investors against the political risk faced in the host state. Still, by 1990, less than 500 of these agreements had been signed.

In the late 1980s to 1990, however, in part spurred on by the United States and Japan’s entry into the BIT market and the endorsement of BITs by the World Bank and UNCTAD, the number of BITs exploded. States began to sign more than 100 BITs per year increasing the number of BITs from 500 in 1990 to over 2,000 within an 11 year period. While the interest in concluding BITs during this period may have simply been a function of states trying to attract greater foreign investment, it is plausible that BIT conclusion interest piqued as BITs came to represent “a global standard or norm about the treatment of FDI by host countries”. In other words, regardless of whether BITs actually promoted efficiency in foreign investment, states concluded BITs during this period because they were seen as the global norm for good governance of foreign investment.

After 2001, state views of BITs – regardless of development status – began to change, slowing the pace of BIT conclusion. In part, this view change resulted from the increasing number of investor-states arbitrations being filed against states. Between 2000 and 2007, the number of investor-state disputes increased by a factor of almost 20 and arbitrations were initiated against both developed and developing countries. BITs therefore began to represent the threat of legal liability. In addition, states became increasingly concerned about the ability of BITs to override non-investment issues such as human rights or environmental concerns when they interacted with issues of foreign investment. Consequently, BITs began to be seen as unwarranted intrusions onto state sovereignty with respect to issues of the public interest.

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24 Lauge Skovgaard Poulsen & Damon Vis-Dunbar, Reflections on Pakistan’s Investment-Treaty Program after 50 Years: An Interview with the Former Attorney General of Pakistan, Makhdoom Alikhan, INVESTMENT TREATY NEWS, 3 (April 2009).
26 Jandhyala et al., supra note 25, at 1049.
27 Id. at 1054-55; UNCTAD, Latest Developments in Investor-State Dispute Settlement, IIA MONITOR No. 1, 1 (2008)
28 Jandhyala et al., supra note 25, at 1048 (From 1959 until the late 1980s, signing occurred at a moderate rate, rarely exceeding 20 treaties per year. In the 1990s, over 100 signing ceremonies were held annually).
30 Jandhyala et al., supra note 25, at 1049
31 UNCTAD, supra note 27 at 1.
33 Id.
The realization of the potential “costs” of BITs has led to the drafting of a new generation of BITs that specifically seek to minimize the unanticipated downsides of these agreements. These new BITs and preferential trade agreements, collectively referred to as IIAs, are directed towards more than simply protecting the interests of foreign investors. Instead, modern IIAs recognize foreign investment as fostering economic development, promoting sustainable development, encouraging human capital formation and local capacity building, increasing economic prosperity, and confirming established levels of protection for the environment and for labor. Consequently, modern IIAs often exempt environmental or human rights issues from the ambit of these agreements clarify standards of protection, or limit dispute resolution options for investors in an effort to broaden state capacity for public policymaking.

An interesting example of the evolution of IIAs is particularly apparent in the transformation of German and Swiss investment treaties. As two of the earliest states to commence the practice of BIT conclusion in the early 1960s, typical German and Swiss investment treaties focused only on delineating protections for their investors. More recently concluded German and Swiss investment treaties, however, seek to emphasize the importance of non-investment issues as well. For instance, while the 1962 BIT between Germany and Cameroon focuses only on creating “favorable conditions for investment,” the 2006 BIT between Germany and Trinidad and Tobago extends beyond investment goals to explicitly recognize the role of foreign investment in fostering economic development and the need to protect the environment. Switzerland’s evolutionary approach to IIAs is equally apparent. Although its 1962 investment treaty with the Niger Republic sought only to develop economic cooperation and trade, its 2011 investment treaty with Kosovo aims to foster sustainable development, adhere to health, safety, labor and

35. See e.g. the preambles of the 2006 France Model Bilateral Investment Treaty, the 2012 U.S. Model Bilateral Investment Treaty or the Kosovo-Belgium- Luxembourg Economic Union Investment Treaty (Mar. 9, 2010), http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Marrveshja_Ks-Belgjike018_%28anglisi%29.pdf.
36. See e.g. the Kazakhstan-Netherlands BIT (27 Nov 2002). The Kosovo-Austria BIT specifically recognizes the role of FDI as a “vital complement to national and international development efforts”. See Kosovo-Austria Investment Treaty (Jan 2010), http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Marrveshja_Ks-Aus_%28anglisi%29.pdf.
38. See e.g. the preambles of the Canada-Jordan BIT (2009), the Kosovo-Austria BIT (2010) and the Switzerland-Egypt BIT (2010).
39. See e.g., 2008 Ghana Model Investment Treaty, art. 12 (foreign investors “shall to the extent possible, encourage human capital formation, local capacity building through close cooperation with the local community, create employment opportunities and facilitate training opportunities for employees, and the transfer of technology”).
40. See e.g., Australia-Mexico BIT, pmbl (23 Aug 2005); Canada-Philippines BIT, pmbl. (9 Nov. 1995).
41. See e.g. NAFTA, supra note X, art. 11.2.
42. See e.g., Belgium-Panama BIT, art. 5 and 6 (26 March 2009).
43. See e.g. Canada-Czech Republic BIT, art. IX (6 May 2009).
44. See e.g US-Chile Free Trade Agreement, Annex 10-D (4) (6 June 2003).
environmental standards, and encourage investors to respect corporate social responsibility standards and principles.\textsuperscript{47} In fact, even in renewing its 1973 BIT with Egypt, Switzerland inserted statements advocating for the promotion of sustainable development and the need not to lower health and environmental standards to attract investment in the new agreement.\textsuperscript{48}

Modern IIAs therefore deliberately specify dual goals for these agreements. While the promulgation of a stable investment framework for foreign investors and their investments remains important, many of these agreements also delineate the importance of foreign investment to ‘developing’ the host state, either through sustainable economic contributions to the state or, at least, by not harming the public interests of the state.

\textbf{B. The System of International Investment Law}

In addition to the normative content of IIAs having evolved over the last 50 years, international investment law, as a whole, has similarly evolved. Originally, international investment law was best conceptualized as the interpretations of an investment treaty between contracting parties. Indeed, as the treaties were never multilateralized and contained variable rights and processes, it has been difficult to perceive IIAs as representing a coherent system of law.\textsuperscript{49}

However, the proliferation and diffusion of IIAs – there are over 3000 of these treaties concluded by at least 180 states – have transformed international investment law, despite its extant patchwork nature, into a system.\textsuperscript{50} Providing norms, principles, rules, and decision-making procedures for foreign investment,\textsuperscript{51} today international investment law represents a convergence of expectations regarding the treatment of foreign investment.\textsuperscript{52}

In part, the systemization of international investment law has been created through intentional linkages, overlaps and cross-fertilizations between this patchwork of bilateral or regional treaties, meaning that a BIT or PTA rarely exists as an isolated instrument.\textsuperscript{53} This has been facilitated through the insertion of closely worded standards of treatment in different IIAs, the negotiation

\textsuperscript{49}See e.g., Andrea Bjorklund, The Emerging Civilization of Investment Arbitration, 113 PENN ST. L. REV. 1269, 1295 (2008) (arguing “it is questionable whether there is any “system” of investment arbitration at all”).
\textsuperscript{50}System in this sense refers to an organized set of doctrines, ideas, or principles intended to explain the arrangement or workings of international investment law as a whole. For scholarly discussion on international investment law as a system See Zachary Douglas, The Hybrid Foundations of Investment Treaty Arbitration,74 BRT. Y.B. OF INT’L L. 151 (2003); David Schneiderman, Legitimacy and Reflexivity in International Investment Arbitration: A New Self-Restraint?, 2(2) J. OF INT’L DISP. SETTLEMENT 471 (2011).
of IIAs based on model treaties, the inclusion of most-favored nations provisions that allow states to rely on provisions in third party treaties, and multilateral processes coordinating foreign investment policy.54

Nevertheless, the most important contributor to the systemization of international investment law is foreign investors’ increasing use of investor-state arbitration. Rarely used until 2000, since then investors have frequently turned to investor-state arbitration to resolve their foreign investment disputes.55 As of 2011, 450 known investor-state claims had been filed and in 2011 alone, 46 claims were filed, the highest number of known investor-state arbitrationever filed in one year.56 Indeed, despite investor-state arbitration operating without an institution centralizing these disputes – like the WTO’s dispute settlement forums – investor-state arbitration exhibits an institutional character.57 Frequent and repeated determinations by tribunals of the core standards of treatment in IIAs have led to a convergence and even a consolidation of the meaning of these standards, despite textual differences in the wording of standards.58 Standards of treatment in IIAs therefore represent, in many cases, norms of investor protection.59

Characterizing international investment law as a system may, at first glance, appear to be an unusual way to describe an arrangement of laws which are mainly based on rules determined by only two or a region of states. Certainly, the primarily bilateral or regional nature of IIAs would more likely be expected to forge a “chaotic and unsystematic aggregate of law.”60 Yet despite its foundation being built on bilateral or regional treaties, international investment law represents commonalities on the principles governing foreign investment, on the norms of investor protection and the processes for dispute resolution.61

In part, these commonalities have been propelled by investor-state arbitration being built on two bases. The first of these bases is the vague or amorphous standards of treatment commonly found in most IIAs. Fair and equitable treatment, for example, is a commonly found, undefined standard of treatment referenced in most treaties. Yet, the precise normative content of these standards of treatment is difficult to discern from their wording alone. One commentator has even described “fair and equitable treatment” as "so general a provision [that it] is likely to be almost sufficient to cover all conceivable cases."62

Ascertaining concrete meaning of the standards of treatments found in IIAs is therefore reliant on the interpretations of these standards by tribunals. The contours of the content of fair and equitable treatment, for instance, have been shaped by the interpretations given to this vague

55UNCTAD, IIA ISSUES NOTE - LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN INVESTOR STATE DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, 3 (April 2012).
56Id. at 1.
58Tarcisio Gazzini, The Role of Customary International Law in the Protection of Foreign Investment, 8(5) J. WORLD INVESTMENT & TRADE 691, 704 (2007); Schill, supra note 53, at 1086.
59Jan Paulson, Awards – And Awards in ANDREA K. BJORKLUND ET AL. EDS, INVESTMENT. TREATY LAW: CURRENT ISSUES III 95, 97 (2008) (arguing “It is…well-established…that arbitral awards have a normative effect”).
60Schill, supra note 53, at 1094.
61For a discussion of these commonalities see Salacuse, supra note 52, at 448-463.
standard by previous tribunals. What this means is that tribunals play a very important role in determining the normative content, or at least aspects, of IIAs—a role that is expanded by the amorphous nature of these standards.

At the same time, while tribunals play an expanded role in defining the content of IIAs, they have been given little guidance by states on the precise meaning of these provisions. Thus, while the rules of treaty interpretation governed by the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties prescribe the tribunal’s methods of interpretation, sufficient textual ambiguity remains giving the tribunals a range of options for interpreting the standard of treatment at hand.

However, while the amorphous nature of the standards of treatment may have opened the door to establishing commonalities in international investment law, it is the second factor, the de facto system of precedent, which pushes it through the door and closes it. In fact, the use of precedent in international investment law is somewhat surprising as it is disavowed by many IIAs and the inter partes nature of investment disputes is stressed in both the NAFTA and the ICSID Convention. Nevertheless, empirical evidence shows that tribunals have developed a practice of referring or citing to previous jurisprudence in the area. While precedent in the form of stare decisis, as is found in the common law, is certainly absent from international investment law, today there are few arbitral decisions that do not refer to any previous decisions. Indeed, precedents are considered by some tribunals to be obligatory or pertinent as a matter of comparison.

The use of precedent in international investment law, thus, signals the wider applicability of international investment awards and, consequently, its development as a system. Continually citing to or referring to previous discussions gives rise to, as one commentator has termed it, an “inter-temporal arbitral dialogue”, which discounts the notion that the issues and reasoning generated in the dispute is confined only to the parties to the dispute. Moreover, relying on the reasoning in previous decisions can facilitate the development of international investment law in

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63 For discussions on the evolving content of the fair and equitable standard see Barnali Choudhury, Evolution or Devolution?: Defining Fair and Equitable Treatment in International Investment Law, 6 J. of WORLD INVESTMENT & TRADE 297 (2005); Richard H. Kreindler, Fair and Equitable Treatment – A Comparative International Law Approach, 3:3 TRANS. DISP. MNGT. 1 (2006).
65 The notion of a system of precedent does not refer to precedent in the sense of stare decisis in the common law, but rather the practice of referring to previous decisions. As the AES tribunal notes, there is no rule of precedent in international investment law but consideration might be given to other decisions delivered by other tribunals in similar cases as a matter of consideration or inspiration. See AES Corp v. Argentine Republic, ICSID Case No ARB/02/17, Decision on Jurisdiction, para. 30-31 (2005).
66 Bjorklund, supra note 49, at 1295.
67 NAFTA, supra note 14, art. 1136(1); Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States, art 53(1), 575 U.N.T.S. (1966) [hereinafter “ICSID Convention”].
a particular direction. Thus, once content has been ascribed to a particular standard of treatment in one treaty, tribunals following that decision can adopt the content ascribed by the previous tribunal. This will enable it to continue the standard of treatment’s evolution in the direction set by the previous tribunal.71 Finally, precedent usage, at its most extreme, will give rise to consistency and the harmonization of international investment law. In fact, at one point, consistent reliance on previous decisions will provide the normative content of amorphous standards of treatment such as fair and equitable treatment. This means that, to a large extent, the content of standards of treatment will be ascertainable ex ante by states and foreign investors. This, as one tribunal has noted, will serve the ultimate aim of international investment law meeting “the legitimate expectations of the community of States and investors towards certainty of the rule of law”.72

Some commentators have even argued that the norms of investor protection found in international investment law are so well defined that they constitute customary international law.73 While an exploration of that argument is beyond the scope of this article, it seems apparent that international investment law represents, at the very least, a shared understanding about the general tenets of this area.74 Extensive exchanges between arbitrators on the interpretations of similar standards of treatment have given rise to a set of general principles about the meaning of common standards75 and in some areas, lex specialis in relation to a standard of treatment is so prevalent in an area that it could be considered a general rule.76

In short, international investment law represents “a body of concordant practice” of the rules governing foreign investment.77 The system of international investment law is therefore able to provide both overarching standards of investment protection and relatively consistent rules for investment protection.78

II. Viewing International Investment Law through a Global Public Good Lens

As states continue to build upon existing IIAs and conclude new agreements, the importance of foreign investment to state’s national goals is continually underlined and reinforced. At the same time, insofar as international investment law governs the methods by which states further their

71 For example the fair and equitable treatment standard has evolved in this manner. As the tribunal in Waste Management has held, the content of the fair and equitable treatment can be determined by taking together the holdings in the S.D. Myers, Mondev, ADF and Loewen cases. See Waste Management, Inc. v. The United Mexican States, ICSID Case No. ARB(AF)/00/3, para. 98 (2004).
72 Saipem v. Bangladesh, supra note 69, at para. 67.
74 McLACHLAN ET AL., supra note 53, at 19.
75 Id. at 19-20.
77 Mondev International Ltd. v. United States of America, Case No. ARB(AF)/99/2, ICSID (Additional Facility), para. 117 (2002).
78 Schill, supra note 53, at 1109.
national goals through the use of foreign investment, its importance increases as well. However, recent series of events suggest that international investment law may not be furthering state’s national goals. In particular, the system of international investment law faces three main challenges: a breakdown of its grand bargain; undue constraints on state sovereignty; and legitimacy.

A. Challenges to International Investment Law

One of the challenges faced by international investment law is the potential impairment to one aspect of its “grand bargain”. As Salacuse and Sullivan have argued, international investment law is premised on a quid pro quo between states: the promise to protect investment in return for the prospect of increased investment. In fact, one of the central goals of the system of international investment law is to use IIAs as a means of attracting foreign investment. For this reason, creating ‘favorable conditions for investment’ is typically the first listed object or purpose of IIAs.

However, a growing line of literature has begun to question the ability of IIAs to attract increased flows of foreign investment into a state. These studies have generally found that in many instances IIAs do not increase foreign investment flows and even if they do, the effects are only minimal. Similarly, as UNCTAD recently observed, “there is no and can never be a monocausal link between the conclusion of an IIA and FDI inflows”. In other words, UNCTAD has found that IIAs are unlikely to be, in and of themselves, attractors of significant FDI flows. While the difficulties of measuring the connections between IIAs and FDI inflows may never allow for a definitive characterization of the relationship between these two, the likelihood of international investment law not being able to promote increased foreign investment questions one of the main justifications for its existence.

A second challenge facing international investment law is the continuing compromises on host state sovereignty that it can impose. In addition to fostering increased foreign investment, international investment law is oriented towards translating foreign investment into a benefit for the host state. Treaties for instance specifically recognize that promotion of foreign investment is

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79Salacuse & Sullivan, supra note 23, at 77 (A BIT between a developed and a developing country is founded on a grand bargain: a promise of protection of capital in return for the prospect of more capital in the future).
80Id.
81UNCTAD, The Role of International Investment Agreements in Attracting Foreign Direct Investment to Developing Countries, UNCTAD/DIAE/IA/2009/5, 2 (2009).
82See e.g. UK-India BIT, pmbl. (14 Mar 1994); China- Belgium/Luxembourg BIT, pmbl. (4 Jun 1984).
83See e.g., UNCTAD, supra note 81; Jason Webb Yackee, Do Bilateral Investment Treaties Promote Foreign Direct Investment? Some Hints from Alternative Evidence, 51 VA. J. INT’L L. 397 (2011); Mary Hallward-Driemeier, Do Bilateral Investment Treaties Attract Foreign Direct Investment? Only A Bit…And They Could Bite, WORLD BANK POLICY RESEARCH WORKING PAPER NO. WPS 3121 (2003). There are, however, conflicting views on the ability of IIAs to attract foreign investment. For a thorough compilation on both points of view See KARL P. SAUVANT, AND LISA E. SACHS, EDs. THE EFFECT OF TREATIES ON FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT: BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATIES, DOUBLE TAXATION TREATIES, AND INVESTMENT FLOWS (2009).
84UNCTAD, supra note 81; Webb Yackee, supra note 83; Hallward-Driemeier, supra note 83.
85UNCTAD, supra note 81, at 6. See also Jan Paulsson, The Power of States to Make Meaningful Promises to Foreigners, 1:2 J. OF INT’L Disp. SETTLEMENT 341, 346 (2010) (arguing “it seems most unlikely that the signature of BITs lead directly to an increase in foreign investment”).
conducive to stimulating host state economic prosperity\textsuperscript{86} or development.\textsuperscript{87} While commentators disagree as to whether fostering economic prosperity or development arises naturally from international investment law’s goal in creating favorable conditions of investment,\textsuperscript{88} most agree that international investment law should not, at the very least, compromise state’s ability to foster its country’s best interests.

Yet this is the very complaint alleged by several states. For instance, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela have recently withdrawn from some of their IIAs due to the constraints they allege international investment law has placed on their sovereign ability to promote their countries’ development.\textsuperscript{89} Concerns about limitations on policy space to promote non-economic issues have also prompted some OECD states to redraft their treaties to increase sovereign power in these areas.\textsuperscript{90} India and Singapore have even removed the typical standards of treatment afforded to foreign investors in their IIA.\textsuperscript{91}

The need for states to protect their sovereign regulatory authority from IIAs was most recently highlighted by a series of awards directed at the government of Argentina for actions it took to protect its nationals’ public interest in the face of an economic crisis.\textsuperscript{92} It was also reinforced by the holding of one tribunal which concluded that a state’s human rights obligations cannot override its IIA obligations, suggesting that in case of a conflict a state cannot further the interests of its peoples’ human rights if to do so would interfere with an investor’s interests.\textsuperscript{93}

Given the already established tenuous connection between IIAs and increased foreign investment, the justification for this system of law is doubly challenged if it is additionally seen as an unwarranted intrusive constraint on state sovereignty. Furthermore, whether economic

\textsuperscript{86} See e.g., Australia-Mexico BIT, pmbl (23 Aug 2005); Canada-Philippines BIT, pmbl. (9 Nov. 1995).

\textsuperscript{87} See e.g., Kazakhstan-Netherlands BIT, pmbl. (27 Nov 2002); Germany-Trinidad/Tobago BIT, pmbl. (2006).

\textsuperscript{88} Some tribunals have assumed a natural connection between investment protection and state development, observing: “to protect investments is to protect the general interest of development” and “the promotion and protection of ... investments by a treaty may stimulate private economic initiative and increase the well–being of the peoples of both countries”. See Amco Asia Corporation and others v Republic of Indonesia, ICSID Case No ARB/81/1, Decision on Jurisdiction, 23 ILM 351, para. 23 (1984); Siemens A.G v The Argentine Republic, ICSID CASE No ARB/02/8, para. 81 (Jan. 17, 2007). For a converse argument see Anne van Aaken, Opportunities for and Limits to an Economic Analysis of International Economic Law, U. OF ST. GALLEN LAW & ECONOMICS WORKING PAPER No. 2010-09, 24 (2010) (“Investment protection does not equal development ... investment protection is the object of the treaty; investment promotion an intermediary purpose and development the ultimate purpose of an IIA”).

\textsuperscript{89} ICSID News Release, Bolivia Submits a Notice under Article 71 of the ICSID Convention (May 16, 2007); ICSID News Release, Ecuador Submits a Notice under Article 71 of the ICSID Convention (July 9, 2009); ICSID News Release, Venezuela Submits a Notice under Article 71 of the ICSID Convention (January 26, 2012).

\textsuperscript{90} See e.g. the texts of the 2012 U.S. Model Investment Treaty and the 2004 Canada Model Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement.


\textsuperscript{93} Suez, Sociedad General de Aguas de Barcelona S.A., (Inter Aguas) v. Arg. Republic, ICSID Case No.ARBR/03/17, Decision on Liability (July 30, 2010); Suez, Sociedad General de Aguas de Barcelona, S.A. (Vivendi) v. Arg. Republic, ICSID Case No.ARBR/03/19, Decision on Liability (July 30, 2010).
development or prosperity is the ultimate purpose of IIAs, or simply a by-product, it seems clear that it is an integral component of the reasons for concluding an IIA. Thus, international investment law’s failure to promote this goal threatens its viability.

A final problem that has emerged in connection with international investment law is problems with its legitimacy. As the principal vehicle for organizing and governing foreign investment relations, the legitimacy of the system of international investment law is integral to its acceptance by those who are affected by its rules and principles. International investment law has, however, seemingly fallen short in adopting many of the indicators of legitimacy. Principally, the system has been critiqued for being opaque, for generating inconsistent decisions, for exhibiting pro-investor bias by arbitrators adjudicating the disputes, and for failing to consider the disparity in the economic status between developed and developing countries. Commentators have even warned of the looming “legitimacy crisis” that has befallen or will befall international investment law.

International investment law’s tenuous grasp on legitimacy poses innumerable risks to the longevity of the system. Attacks on its legitimacy make it increasingly more difficult for those developing international investment law and those affected by it to accept it as a medium for the governance of foreign investment relations. Legitimacy failures may also further risk fragmenting this system of law. At the very least, this would hinder its ability to provide stability and predictability to the increasing amounts of global FDI flows and, at worst, would obviate its ability to promote states’ economic development or prosperity.

The challenges faced by international investment law suggest that in order for it to be able to exert its influence over international investment relations, it is in strict need of reform. While commentators have argued for a variety of prescriptive changes by which this system of law

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94 Legitimacy is defined as “that quality of a rule which derives from a perception on the part of those to whom it is addressed that it has come into being in accordance with right process”. See Thomas M. Franck, Legitimacy in the International System, 82 AM. J. INT’L L. 705, 706 (1988).


could be transformed, its reform has rarely been considered in light of the international benefits it can offer. Taking a global public goods view of international investment law, however, can offer just that and, at the same time, be instrumental to guiding its reform.

B. Global Public Goods

International investment relations are likely best associated with increasing privateness. Liberalizing foreign investment is, after all, an invitation to private foreign investors to establish factories, businesses, portfolios, and other investments in a host state. It is perhaps not surprising then that the system of international investment arbitration evolved out of the practice of international commercial arbitration, which is solely focused on ordering the relations between two private contracting parties.100

Today, however, international investment relations also exhibit an increasing sense of publicness, in the sense of growing connections between different regions of the world. The impact of an investor-state dispute in Australia can be felt by an investor or a state in Latin America; a model investment treaty concluded by the United States can be ‘copied’ by a state halfway around the world; a collection of thousands of ‘different’ bilateral treaties can give rise to norms or commonalities in standards of investor protection. In this way, the interconnections between individual aspects of international investment relations can give rise to public goods – benefits which are available for public consumption and which have the potential to affect the public at large.101 Moreover, when these benefits extend to a vast proportion of the world’s states and people, these connections can give rise to global public goods.102

1. What are Global Public Goods?

At its most general, global public goods are those goods that exhibit benefits with strong qualities of publicness and whose benefits extend to a vast proportion of the world.103 More specifically, global public goods have been defined as being public in the sense of being non-rival and non-excludable. In addition, their benefits must be quasi-universal in the sense of covering more than one group of countries; accrue to several, if not all, population groups; and extend to both current and future generations of people, or alternatively, meet the needs of current generations without foreclosing development options for future generations.104 Examples of global public goods include world peace,105 global justice,106 and international trade.107 The

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100 Franch, supra note 96, at 1538-45; Choudhury, supra note 32, at 786.
103 Id. at 2-3.
104 Id.
105 Bjørn Møller, Peace as a Global Public Good, DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH SERIES RESEARCH CENTER ON DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (DIR) - WORKING PAPER NO. 127 (2004); Raul Mendez, Peace as a Global Public Good in KAUL ET AL EDS., supra note 102 at 382.
term “goods” therefore is viewed not only in its classic sense but also encapsulates conditions, systems, practices and frameworks.  

Viewing a good through a global public good lens thus enables it to be reconceptualized along two lines: public and global. A good that is seen as public reinforces the idea that it provides a benefit to the public at large. It does not necessarily mean that a state must be instrumental in providing it or even that it will provide the same level of utility to all. Rather, it emphasizes that the benefits provided by the good are in the public domain and that they concern and affect everyone. In addition, it reminds those that organize the benefits of the good that they are also in the public as they receive their authority and mandate from the public at large.  

Similarly, viewing a good as global emphasizes that the benefits it bestows affect a significant percentage of the world. This not only reinforces the importance, power and reach of the good, but also underlines the need to prevent the good from turning into a bad since harm that it produces could result in a domino effect. One need only look at the most recent financial crisis, to see an example of the ripples that can ensue when a global good, such as the international financial markets, create harm. Viewing a good as global further reinforces the connections that are needed to sustain the good. Thus, although states must cooperate to establish and promote the units of the good, they must similarly be able to act to develop their own interests when the good produces externalities into their borders. As commentators have noted “international cooperation begins at home”. Finally, seeing a good as global underscores the need to have it produce sustainable benefits. Given the global reach of the benefit of the good in question and the international cooperation needed to sustain it, it seems prudent to maintain it only if, in producing its benefit, it does not hinder or cease the ability of future generations to enjoy similar benefits.


Before turning to assess how international investment law can be classified as a global public good, it is useful to revisit the concept of public goods as they provide the basis upon which the notion of global public goods is built. Public goods are those goods in which society has a common interest in having available for public consumption, but which, because they are not profitable or because their price cannot be effectively fixed, are seen as “market failures”. 

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111 See also Griffith-Jones, supra note 109, at 435.

112 Kaul, Conceição, Le Goulven, & Mendoza, supra note 101, at 12.

A public good is characterized by two qualities. First, it is non-rival, in that consumption by one does not reduce consumption by others. Second, it is non-excludable, in the sense that once a good is provided, payers and nonpayers alike can continue to receive its benefits. A classic example of a public good is a lighthouse whose ability to help guide the way for ships is not reduced if more than one ship benefits from its light and whose benefits cannot be confined to only paying ships. Although technically lighthouses themselves can be privately owned, the benefits they bestow – their lights, the shared meaning that their presence gives to ship captains, and the behavioral expectations they entail – are a public good.

Still, few goods are purely public. A good which exhibits only one of the qualities of publicness or only aspects of one or both qualities, are considered impure public goods. Nevertheless, as most public goods are impure, the concept of global public goods generally includes those that are both pure and impure.

Impure public goods can, however, be broken down further into two further classifications: club goods and joint products. Club goods are goods that are excludable. Members interested in obtaining the benefits of the good must pay a user fee or a toll to be able to use or benefit from it. Examples of global club goods include satellite communication networks and orbital slots.

Conversely, joint products are goods which simultaneously produce two or more classes of goods. For instance, a joint product activity, such as peacekeeping, may result in a pure public good, a private good, or a club good. As peacekeeping reduces instability and threats to a region it produces a pure public good. Since it also promotes stability in a particular state, it also produces a private good for that state. Finally, states can cooperate together to form a stronger joint peacekeeping operation which offers their services only to those states that contribute to their operation, thereby forming a club good.

3. Global Public Goods and International Investment Law

114 Kaul, Grunberg & Stern, supra note 101, at 3-4.
117 Sandler, supra note 115, at 133.
119 Sandler, supra note 115, at 137.
121 Sandler, supra note 115, at 137.
122 Id.
124 Sandler, supra note 115, at 137.
In order to view international investment law through a global public lens, it is prudent to begin by applying the global public goods framework to international investment law to confirm that it is indeed a global public good. As stated above, a global public good must first exhibit the two qualities of publicness: non-rival and non-exclusive. It must then produce a benefit that is global in nature, i.e. affecting a vast proportion of the world’s states, a significant portion of the world’s population, and current and future generations.

First, international investment law is non-rival in the sense that the use of the system by one foreign investor or one state does not detract from the system’s utility for other users. Whether one or 450 investors are initiating investor-state arbitrations or whether 500 or over 3000 IIAs are drafted, the system of international investment law as an overarching legal framework governing international investment relations continues to maintain its utility.

Ascertaining whether international investment law is non-excludable is, however, more difficult. A skeptical view of international investment law might first perceive it as only a club good. After all, the system of international investment law is only available to those states and their nationals who have concluded IIAs. The transactions costs associated with negotiating and drafting an IIA might be analogized to a user fee or a toll, suggesting that only those states that pay to join the international investment law ‘club’ can partake in its benefits. A better description of international investment law, however, might be that of a joint product. Viewed as a joint product, the system of international investment produces three goods. First, it produces a state-specific private benefit in the sense that benefits such as promotion of the rule of law, access to investor-state arbitration, protection for the state’s nationals when they invest abroad, economic development, and the potential ability to attracted increased foreign investment are provided only to contracting states.

Second, in providing an overarching legal framework governing international investment relations, international investment law could be considered a club good. Not only do states that conclude IIA garner state-specific private benefits that are detailed in their IIAs, but they also obtain benefits prevalent in the system of international investment law that may not even appear in the texts of their IIAs. For instance, most-nation favored (MFN) provisions in IIAs entitle investors to benefits that are absent in their own treaty but are available in other treaties. An MFN provision can enable an investor to circumvent procedural rules detailed in its IIA or entitle it to better substantive treatment. Club members can also benefit from general principles and rules about the meaning of common standards of protection derived from cross-fertilizations, linkages and overlaps between investor-state cases and multilateral processes coordinating foreign investment policy.

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125 Echandi argues that for developing countries in particular, international investment law promotes greater effectiveness of the rule of law at the domestic level. Roberto Echandi, What Do Developing Countries Expect from the International Investment Regime?, in JOSE E. ALVAREZ & KARL P. SAUVANT, EDs., THE EVOLVING INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT REGIME, 12-16 (2011).
126 See e.g. Siemens v. The Argentine Republic, supra note 88; Maffezini v. Spain, ICSID Case No. ARB/97/7, Decision on Jurisdiction (2000).
127 See e.g., MTD Equity v. Republic of Chile, ICSID Case No. ARB/01/7 (2004).
Finally, international investment law could be considered to produce a pure public good by failing to exclude states from at least some of its benefits. Principally, it produces a framework which efficiently facilitates the transfer of capital between states. In this sense, along with the international trade regime, the system of international investment law plays an important role in furthering economic growth, an important aspect in reducing the economic causes of world wars. Its framework also minimizes protectionism and encourages cross-border investments, producing to some extent, an increasingly shared fate between states. More importantly, the system seeks to promote the development or prosperity of states which could ultimately lead to a substantial reduction in economic disparities between states. Insofar that the system of international investment law is able to achieve these outcomes, members and non-members alike could benefit. This possibility is further reinforced by the global nature of international investment law. With more than 180 states participating in the system, a significant percentage of the world’s population is affected by international investment law. Moreover, to the extent that international investment law fosters a state’s economic development and prosperity, current and future generations can benefit from this global public good alike.

C. Viewing International Investment Law through a Global Public Good Lens

Seen as a global public good, then, international investment law can be conceived as providing two primary benefits to the world at large. First, it provides an overarching legal framework that guides foreign investment and enhances its stability and predictability, regardless of the locus of investment. Second, it acts as a vehicle which helps to reduce economic disparities between states.

International investment law, however, is failing to fully bestow both of its benefits. For one, it faces constant criticisms about its legitimacy, preventing it from becoming a fully accepted overarching legal framework for FDI activity. In addition, investment arbitral tribunals’ reluctance to recognize the role of FDI in promoting a state’s economic development hinders international investment law’s ability to help correct economic imbalances between states. Each of these limitations is explored further below.

1. Limits to Becoming an Overarching Legal Framework

Given its historical origins as a forum in which gunboat diplomacy was needed to resolve foreign investment disputes, law has played an instrumental role in depoliticizing international investment relations and, in turn, in facilitating and propelling foreign investment activity. Today, the legal standards of protection found in IIAs are thought to be highly relevant to a foreign investor’s decision to establishing an investment, even if the decision to establish the investment is not based on the presence of an IIA alone. The rule of law inherent in international investment law has further been recognized as beneficially transforming related

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129 Echandi, supra note 125, at 11.
domestic legal environments within certain states as well.\textsuperscript{130} International investment relations, in short, has benefitted from a legalization of this historically politically-oriented area.

However, the development of an area of law and its acceptance by those affected by it hinge on its legitimacy.\textsuperscript{131} Perceptions of legitimacy are what “pull states and other participants toward voluntary compliance” with the principles and rules set out in the system of law.\textsuperscript{132} Thus, to act as an overarching legal framework for the governance of international investment relations, international investment law must exhibit the qualities of legitimacy.

Legitimacy is premised on two qualities, determinacy and coherence,\textsuperscript{133} both of which lay the foundation for predictability, the ultimate hallmark of a legitimate system.\textsuperscript{134} Determinacy is the ability of a system of law to transmit a clear message about its requirements.\textsuperscript{135} Laws which are determinate are “textually” clear making those to whom they are addressed acutely aware of what is expected of them.\textsuperscript{136} Alternatively, if textual clarity is lacking, laws can still be determinate if a legitimate authority – who has the necessary authority to interpret and is subject to making coherent decisions – interprets the laws to provide clarity.\textsuperscript{137}

Conversely, coherence requires that a system of law transmits consistent signals about its requirements.\textsuperscript{138} As Franck observes, coherent rules are those that treat “like cases alike when the rule relates in a principled fashion to other rules in the same system”.\textsuperscript{139} Coherence is also based on the notion of consistency wherein a rule is applied uniformly in every applicable instance and where inconsistencies are explained by reference to a principled distinction.\textsuperscript{140}

Working together, then, determinancy and coherence lay the foundation for predictability. As Brower remarks, predictability gives “subjects a meaningful opportunity to understand, and conform their behavior to, systemic requirements”.\textsuperscript{141} This opportunity is derived both from the clarity of the rules provided by its determinate qualities and from the perceptions of fairness and justice that coherence in rules instill.\textsuperscript{142}

The notion of predictability as an underlying foundation for assessing the legitimacy of international investment law is particularly apt as foreign investment decisions are based on a

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{130} Id. at 12-15; Paulsson, \textit{supra} note 85, at 346.
\item\textsuperscript{131} Ian Laird, \textit{Introduction to Conference in Bjorklund ET AL, EDS., supra} note 59, at 95.
\item\textsuperscript{132} Charles H. Brower II, \textit{Structure, Legitimacy, and NAFTA’s Investment Chapter}, 36 \textit{VAND. J. TRANSNATL. L.} 37, 51 (2003).
\item\textsuperscript{133} See THOMAS M. FRANCK, THE POWER OF LEGITIMACY AMONG NATIONS, 52 (1990).
\item\textsuperscript{134} Brower, \textit{supra} note 132, at 58 (“legal regimes cannot achieve legitimacy without predictable operation”).
\item\textsuperscript{135} Franck, \textit{supra} note 94, at 713; THOMAS M. FRANCK, FAIRNESS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INSTITUTIONS, 30 (1995).
\item\textsuperscript{136} Franck, \textit{supra} note 94, at 713.
\item\textsuperscript{137} FRANCK (Fairness), \textit{supra} note 135, at 33-34; FRANCK (Legitimacy), \textit{supra} note 133, at 61, 82.
\item\textsuperscript{138} FRANCK (Legitimacy), \textit{supra} note 133 at 142, 174; FRANCK (Fairness), \textit{supra} note 135, at 54-55; Franck, \textit{supra} note 94, at 738, 741, 750.
\item\textsuperscript{139} FRANCK (Fairness), \textit{supra} note 135, at 38.
\item\textsuperscript{140} Id; FRANCK (Legitimacy), \textit{supra} note 133, at 163.
\item\textsuperscript{141} Brower, \textit{supra} note 132, at 52.
\item\textsuperscript{142} FRANCK (Fairness), \textit{supra} note 135, at 33, 38-41.
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predictable and stable environment. As international investment relations grew out of a practice in which foreign investors feared takings or nationalizations of their investments by host state governments, the central focus on creating a predictable and stable framework for international investment relations is hardly surprising. Yet predictability in international investment law is equally important for states and investors alike as its presence enables both parties to plan their conduct accordingly.

However, international investment law is exhibiting some deficiencies in its determinacy and coherence, which is in turn, impacting its predictability and therefore its legitimacy. For instance, since determinacy emphasizes the need for rules to be clear, the vague, undefined standards of treatment prevalent in IIAs suggest that the rules of international investment law are indeterminate. From the text alone, it is difficult to see how standards such as “fair and equitable treatment” or “indirect expropriation” clarify the required standard of conduct. More importantly, the indistinct nature of these rules makes it difficult for states or investors to ascertain ex ante the necessary standard of conduct.

Determinacy of international investment rules is, furthermore, not always assisted through interpretation by a legitimate authority. Principally, these authorities – international investment arbitrators – may not necessarily possess sufficient expertise to adjudicate the wide range of issues involved in international investment disputes. Questions have also been raised as to whether it is legitimate for private individuals to be determining essentially public questions of law.

At the same time, the predictability of international investment law is also being limited by its lack of coherence. Most notably, the lack of consistency in decision-making, in at least some areas of international investment law, has raised questions about the coherence of international investment law. For example in the Lauder arbitrations – two proceedings brought out of the same set of facts – two different tribunals rendered diametrically opposed awards: one finding that the state had breached its IIA obligations, the other finding that it had not. Inconsistencies

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143 See e.g. Investment Treaty with Egypt, Message From The President of The United States, June 2, 1986 (By providing certain mutual guarantees and protections, a BIT creates a more stable and predictable legal framework for foreign investors in the territory of each of the treaty Parties), http://tcc.export.gov/Trade_Agreements/All_Trade_Agreements/exp_002813.asp. Mexico was also found liable for failing to provide a foreign investor with a “predictable framework” for its business planning and investments. See Metalclad Corp. v. United Mexican States, Award of the Tribunal, ICSID Case No.ARB(AF)/97/1, para. 99 (2000).

144 ANDREW NEWCOMBE & LLUIS PARADELL, LAW AND PRACTICE OF INVESTMENT TREATIES – STANDARDS OF TREATMENT, 7-10 (2009).

145 See generally GUS VAN HARTEN, INVESTMENT TREATY ARBITRATION AND PUBLIC LAW (2007).

146 For a good comparison of the consistent versus inconsistent treatment of some areas of international investment law see Brower, supra note 132, at 63-73.

147 Ronald S. Lauder v. Czech Republic (2001); CME Czech Republic B.V. v. Czech Republic (2001). The foreign investor, Ronald Lauder, initiated an arbitration against the Czech government in his personal capacity under the U.S. – Czech Republic BIT and under the rubric of his company under the Netherlands-Czech Republic BIT. Both BITs contained similar language and both tribunals found that the Czech Republic had discriminated against Mr. Lauder and his company. For a thorough discussion of the facts and holding of the arbitrations see Franck, supra note 96, at 1559-1567.
in jurisprudence have also been located in tribunals’ awards on umbrella clauses, the scope of MFN clauses, and the meaning of “investment.” More recently, in a series of decisions arising out of the Argentine financial crisis, different tribunals have interpreted the same ‘necessity’ clause in the U.S.-Argentina BIT in a variety of ways. This has resulted in Argentina being able to rely on the necessity clause in the BIT in some cases – exempting it from liability – while in others it has not been able to do so.

In these areas then, inconsistencies in the jurisprudence can send contradictory messages about the requirements of international investment law. For instance, it now remains unclear as to whether a state is obliged to offer foreign investors all rights detailed in a third party treaty in the presence of an MFN clause, what precisely constitutes an “investment”, and whether a breach of a contractual right constitutes breach of an IIA obligation. Such conflicts can characterize international investment law as being arbitrary in nature and hence illegitimate. Problems with coherence therefore create uncertainties which hamper the predictability and stability of international investment law as an overarching framework for guiding foreign investment activity.

2. Limits to Reducing Economic Disparities between States

It is now well settled that, in addition to protecting the interests of their investors abroad, states enter into IIAs in order to attract foreign investment. As Paulsson observes, the objective of protecting foreign investors through IIAs is for states “to convince investors to invest for the

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150 See e.g. Salini Costruttori SpA and Italstrade SpA v. Morocco (ICSID Case No. ARB/00/4, Decision on Jurisdiction (July 23, 2001); L.E.S.I. SpA et ASTALDI SpA v. Algeria, ICSID Case No. ARB/05/3, (July 2, 2006); Saba Fakes v. Turkey, ICSID Case No. ARB/07/20, (July 14, 2010).
152 The clause states that the U.S.-Argentina BIT “shall not preclude the application by either Party of measures necessary for the maintenance of public order, the fulfillment of its obligations with respect to the maintenance or the restoration of international peace or security, or the protection of its own essential security interests”. U.S-Argentina BIT, art. XI (Nov. 14, 1991).
153 For an overview of the varying approaches taken by the tribunal see generally Choudhury, supra note 93.
154 For a converse view see Stanimir A. Alexandrov, On the Perceived Inconsistency in Investor-State Jurisprudence in Alvarez & Sauvant, supra note 126, at 60.
longest time possible.\textsuperscript{156} However, the precise reasons for states wanting to attract foreign investment remain less clear.

Under views deriving from the Washington consensus, the classic rationale justifying states needing foreign investment is that FDI and the protection of property rights improves states’ economic development.\textsuperscript{157} The preamble to the ICSID agreement, which articulates the role of international investment in fostering economic development, similarly reflects this view.\textsuperscript{158} The thought is then that while IIAs promote foreign investment, foreign investment fosters a state’s economic growth, which enhances the welfare of the state’s population. Consequently, states enter IIAs to attract foreign investment as a means of advancing their economic development. Van Aaken even argues that investor/investment protection is the object of IIAs, while fostering economic development is their purpose.\textsuperscript{159} International investment law can, thus, be viewed as an important vehicle which can work to lessen economic disparities between states.

Foreign investment, however, only serves to foster a state’s economic development if it generates spillovers and does not result in the production of negative externalities.\textsuperscript{160} Spillovers include any benefits to the state that are not appropriated by the foreign investor or the factors of production and can include technology transfers, increases in supplier efficiency, and human capital transfers.\textsuperscript{161} Conversely, negative externalities refer to any of the third party impacts foreign investment can have on the state’s population including costs on labor, the environment, and human rights. As a global public good then, international investment law works to lessen economic disparities between states mainly by encouraging spillovers and minimizing negative externalities.

However, as with its efforts to become an overarching legal framework, international investment law equally faces limitations in working to lessen economic disparities between states. While its spillovers in terms of promoting good governance in the host state have been found to be questionable,\textsuperscript{162} even more importantly its benefits in this area are being thwarted by investment arbitral tribunals’ reluctance to recognize the importance of economic development in the context of foreign investment. This reluctance has manifested itself mainly by investment arbitral tribunals interpreting IIAs without regard to any other interest besides investment protection.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{156} Paulsson, supra note 85, at 347.
\item \textsuperscript{158} ICSID Convention, supra note 67, pmbl. (…Considering the need for international cooperation for economic development, and the role of private international investment therein…).
\item \textsuperscript{159} van Aaken, supra note 88, at 22.
\item \textsuperscript{160} MORAN, GRAHAM & BLOMSTRÖM, supra note 157, at 3.
\item \textsuperscript{161} Id. at 2-3.
\item \textsuperscript{162} Tom Ginsburg, International Substitutes for Domestic Institutions: Bilateral Investment Treaties and Governance, 25 INT’L REV. OF L. & ECON. 107.122 (2005) (arguing the impact on BITS on governance is ambiguous and that under some circumstances BITs may lead to lower institutional quality).
\end{itemize}
In part, some tribunals favor this interpretive approach to IIAs because they consider that international investment law serves only one goal: protection of investors and investments.\(^{163}\) As the \textit{SGS v. Philippines} tribunal noted, for instance, the purpose of a BIT is to protect investments, thus it is “legitimate to resolve uncertainties in its interpretation so as to favor the protection of covered investments”.\(^{164}\) Similarly, the Enron tribunal found that the object and purpose of a BIT was to protect the rights of investors.\(^{165}\) Using such a unitary lens to interpret IIAs has enabled arbitral tribunals to give expansive, investor-centered interpretations to provisions in the treaties. In fact, preliminary results from an empirical study of investment arbitration found that tribunals give expansive interpretations to several key investment protection issues, particularly when the investor hails from a traditional capital-exporting state.\(^{166}\)

While expansive interpretations accorded to IIA provisions may not, in and of themselves, be problematic to furthering state’s economic development, they can become particularly troublesome when tribunals use these expansive interpretations to restrict states’ regulatory public interest powers. Thus, when tribunals, in interpreting the fair and equitable standard, required states to act in such a way that foreign investors would be informed beforehand of “any and all rules and regulations that will govern [their investment] as well as the goals of the relevant policies and administrative practices or directives”,\(^{167}\) they limited state ability to react to public interest issues that arose after the establishment of the investment and affected it.\(^{168}\) Moreover, with the growing number of public interest issues being affected by foreign investments, the need for states to be able to react to these issues is becoming increasingly important.\(^{169}\)

The focus of tribunals on the importance of investor protection in interpreting IIAs has also impacted their ability to give credence to human rights or environmental issues that arise in international investment law. As economic development is only furthered when foreign investment does not create negative externalities, giving credence to the development function of

\(^{163}\) See the discussion on this topic by the tribunal in \textit{El Paso Energy Int’l Co. v. Arg. Republic}, ICSID Case No. ARB/03/15, Decision on Jurisdiction, para.68-69 (Apr. 27, 2006). See also \textit{Noble Ventures v. Romania}, ICSID Case No. ARB/01/11, para. 52 (Oct. 12, 2005) (holding “…it is not permissible, as is too often done regarding BTs, to interpret clauses exclusively in favour of investors…”); M. SORNARAJAH, THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT, 3rd ed., 235 (2010) (discussing the trend of “excessively pro-investor interpretations” given by arbitral tribunals).

\(^{164}\) \textit{SGS v. Philippines}, ICSID Case No.ARB/02/6, Decision on Objections to Jurisdiction, para. 116 (Jan. 29, 2004).


\(^{167}\) Tecnicas Medioambientales Tecmed S.A. v. United Mexican States, ICSID Case No. ARB (AF)/00/2, para. 154 (May 29, 2003).

\(^{168}\) Schill argues that international investment law forces states to adapt their behavior to avoid liability by, for example, allowing investors to charge higher tariffs for water, even if in doing so, parts of its population become unable to access the water at that price. See Stephan W. Schill, \textit{International Investment Law and Comparative Public Law – An Introduction} in STEPHAN W. SCHILL, ED., supra note 97, at 15.

\(^{169}\) For an overview of the public interest issues being affected by international investment law see generally Choudhury, supra note 32; Barnali Choudhury, \textit{Democratic Implications Arising from the Intersection of Investment Arbitration and Human Rights}, 46 ALB. L. REV. 983 (2009).
international investment law requires tribunals to ensure that interpreting IIAs do not, at the very least, inhibit state actions to further these goals. Nevertheless, for the most part, tribunals have either tried to circumvent or failed to give much importance to non-economic issues that have intersected with foreign investments. An example of this disconnect was evident in the Biwater Gauff award which involved, among other issues, the Tanzanian peoples’ right to water. Although the tribunal recognized that issues of human rights were involved in the dispute – thus allowing amicus curiae to make submissions on that point and vaguely alluding to their submissions at one point in their award – their final decision makes no explicit reference to human rights. Similarly, in Glamis Gold, an investment dispute that implicated environmental and indigenous rights issues, the tribunal specifically made reference to the importance of the underlying social issues in the dispute, but held that it would not be required to decide these “controversial issues”. More recently, the tribunal in two related disputes has specifically noted that a state’s human rights obligations cannot supersede its investment treaty obligations. Thus, to the extent that investment arbitrational tribunals disregard the ability of foreign investors to be able to create negative externalities through their investments, a state’s economic development will be hindered.

There have been, however, a few tribunals that have deliberately tried to introduce the importance of economic development into their interpretations of IIAs. Mainly, this effort to incorporate concepts of economic development in IIAs has been effected through interpretations of the term “investment”. In Salini, for instance, the tribunal held that the conditions signifying that an investment had been made consisted of, among others, a contribution to the economic development of the host state. The tribunal went on to observe that a contract to construct a highway furthered the economic development of the state since it was a function traditionally effected by the state or by public authorities, because it served the public interest and because it provided the state with know-how in relation to the work.

Economic development, as a necessary element of determining whether an investment has been made, has also been recognized in a few other cases. These tribunals have found that contributions to the development of state infrastructure, significant spending or outlays of

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170 One notable exception is Methanex Corporation v. United States of America (Aug 3, 2005).
171 Biwater Gauff (Tanzania) Ltd v. United Republic of Tanzania, ICSID Case No. ARB/05/22, (July 24, 2008).
172 The tribunal stated that the issues raised by amicus curiae were “useful” and that they “informed their analysis” and subsequently alluded to the arguments in interpreting the fair and equitable standard. Id. at para.392 and 601.
173 Glamis Gold Ltd v. United States of America, para. 8. (June 8, 2009).
174 Suez, Sociedad General de Aguas de Barcelona S.A. (InterAguas) v. Arg. Republic, ICSID Case No.ARB/03/17, Decision on Liability (July 30, 2010); Suez, Sociedad General de Aguas de Barcelona, S.A. (Vivendi) v. Arg. Republic, ICSID Case No. ARB/03/19, Decision on Liability (July 30, 2010),
175 Salini Costruttori SpA and Italstrade SpA v. Morocco, ICSID Case No. ARB/00/4, Decision on Jurisdiction, para. 52 (23 July 2001).
176 Id., para. 57.
177 See e.g., Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka, A.S v. Slovak Republic (CSOB), ICSID Case No. ARB/97/4, Decision on Jurisdiction, para. 64 (May 24, 1999); Joy Mining Machinery Limited v. The Arab Republic of Egypt ICSID Case No.ARB/03/11, Decision on Jurisdiction, para. 53 (Aug 6, 2004); Malaysian Historical Salvors Sdn Bhd v. Malaysia, ICSID Case No. ARB/05/10, Decision on Jurisdiction, para.68(17 May 2007); Bayindir Insaat Ticaret Ve Sanayi A.S. v. Islamic Republic of Pakistan, ICSID Case No.ARB/03/29, Decision on Jurisdiction, para. 137 (Nov. 14, 2005).
178 Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka, supra note 177, at 88-89.
resources,\textsuperscript{179} or a benefit to the state\textsuperscript{180} can further economic development. In \textit{Malaysian Historical Salvors},\textsuperscript{181} the sole arbitrator even rejected jurisdiction of the dispute on the grounds that the investor had not established a project akin to a public infrastructure project with lasting value that could provide positive economic development to the host state.\textsuperscript{182} Although the award was subsequently annulled,\textsuperscript{183} one of the members of the annulment committee issued a strongly worded dissent in which he stressed that foreign investments must promote economic development.\textsuperscript{184} He argued that without the requirement for investments to further economic development, states would be obliged to protect entities which were also systematically earning their wealth at the expense of the development of the host state.\textsuperscript{185}

Nevertheless, despite these outliers, most tribunals have been reluctant to consider a specific role of foreign investment in furthering economic development. Rather, tribunals have simply assumed that protecting foreign investments will act as a proxy for economic development despite the lack of evidence supporting this notion.\textsuperscript{186}

### III. Towards International Investment Law as a Global Public Good

Viewing international investment law through a global public good lens thus highlights its ability to deliver public benefits to the world at large and also demonstrates its present shortcomings in doing so. Notably, both its inability to deliver an overarching legal framework for international investment relations and its weaknesses in acting as a vehicle that contributes to lessening economic disparities between states is tied primarily to the ad hoc nature of international investment arbitration. More specifically, the root of both of these problems lies in the interpretation of IIAs by arbitral tribunals and in the inability of those affected to ‘correct’ any problems with these interpretations. Examining international investment law through a global public good lens therefore suggests that harnessing its benefits may warrant a revision of the process by which IIAs are interpreted in order to produce its desired outcomes.

#### A. Corrective Mechanisms

One way to correct interpretations of IIAs, which are either illegitimate or fail to recognize the development dimension of these treaties, is to provide for an appellate mechanism. In fact, creating an appellate court to take on international investment issues has been a frequently

\textsuperscript{179} See \textit{e.g.} Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka, \textit{supra} note 177, at 88-89; \textit{Joy Mining v. Egypt, supra} note 177, at 62.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Joy Mining v. Egypt, supra} note 177, at 60-61.
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Malaysian Historical Salvors v. Malaysia, supra} note 177.
\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Id.} at 144.
\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Malaysian Historical Salvors Sdn Bhd v. Malaysia, ICSID Case No.ARB/05/10, Decision on Annulment (Apr. 16, 2009)}.
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Id.} at \textit{Dissenting Opinion of Judge Mohamed Shahabuddeen (Feb 19, 2009)}.
\textsuperscript{185} \textit{Id.} at 22.
\textsuperscript{186} See \textit{e.g. Victor Pey Casado and President Allende Foundation v. Republic of Chile, ICSID Case No.ARB/98/2, para. 232 (May 8, 2008)} (…in protecting the investments, the [ICSID] Convention promotes the development of the host state); \textit{Saba Fakes v. Turkey, supra} note 150, at para. 111 (…the promotion and protection of investments in host States is expected to contribute to their economic development). For a discussion of how investment protection, alone, does not act as a proxy for economic development see \textit{generally van Aaken, supra} note 88; \textit{MORAN, GRAHAM & BLOMSTROM, supra} note 157.
advocated solution for curing most of the ills of international investment law. To be sure, an appellate court offers a number of key advantages to improving aspects of international investment law’s legitimacy including established members of the court who would likely offer a more nuanced analysis of IIA provisions and a forum for resolving conflicting awards. At the same time, an appellate mechanism would not necessarily be more receptive to infusing international investment law with a greater ethos of development considerations since the members would be drawn from the community of arbitrators who have previously tended to overlook the importance of non-economic interests in international investment law. Indeed, an appellate mechanism risks further polarizing international investment law from public interest issues, and therefore the global public at large.

A better approach would be to revise international investment law such that interpretations of IIAs are consistent with the dual benefits of international investment law when viewed as a global public good. One way to achieve these desired interpretations is to create a greater role for states in arriving at the ultimate arbitral award.

At first glance, creating a greater role for states might appear worrisome given that international investment law evolved out of an attempt to depoliticize international investment relations and therefore reduce the role of states. At the time, the concern was with the imbalance in power between states and foreign investors, the latter of whom were at the mercy of the host state’s power. While modern international investment law has worked to readjust the power balances between states and foreign investors, it has failed to take into account the role of the state as the protector of the public good. This role of states must therefore be included in the rebalancing exercise of international investment law.

One approach to enlarging the role of state as the protector of the public good is to allow states to make submissions to the tribunal on how best to interpret the IIA, a practice adopted by recent U.S. and Canadian model treaties. While states involved in the dispute will normally make these types of submissions as part of their defense, states which are party to the IIA but are not involved in the dispute could similarly be given an opportunity to make such submissions. In doing so, states can ensure that interpretations which they favor –, for instance ones that work towards a jurisprudence constante or which take into account development considerations – are emphasized to the tribunal. In fact, the U.S. has argued that if the interpretation offered by the

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187 See e.g., Barton Legum, Options to Establish an Appellate Mechanism for Investment Disputes in KARL SAVUANT, ED., APPEALS MECHANISM IN INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT DISPUTES 231 (2008); Michael D. Goldhaber, Wanted: A World Investment Court, THE AMERICAN LAWYER, 115 (June 2004); van Harten, supra note 145, at 152; Franck, supra note 96 at 1606;.
188 Jan Paulsson, Avoiding Unintended Consequences in SAVUANT, supra note 187, at 258-59 (arguing an appellate mechanism would be “detrimental” as it would have to, and yet could not, be “responsive to different articulations of substantive norms”).
189 Webb Yackee, supra note 70, at 420 (arguing “states are likely to remain the first and best aggregators of societal values and preferences” and implicitly arguing that states promote the common good).
190 See e.g. 2012 U.S. Model Bilateral Investment Treaty, art. 28(2).
191 Thus, in an investment dispute brought by an Argentine investor against the U.S. under the U.S-Argentina BIT or in an investment dispute brought under the NAFTA by a Mexican investor against Canada, a role would be created for the Argentine government in the first dispute and the U.S. government in the second.
non-disputing state party accords with the view of the disputing state party, this is evidence of state practice reflective of customary international law.\textsuperscript{192}

Second, states can be given a chance to comment on arbitral awards before they are finalized. For example, the U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement allows the disputing parties to request the circulation of a draft award, which is then sent to the investor, the state party involved in the dispute and the non-disputing state party.\textsuperscript{193} The disputing parties are then allowed to provide comments on the award. Again, this is an opportunity for states to propose changes to the legal reasoning of the award to better reflect the public good. While the tribunal is not obliged to incorporate the offered comments into its award, it is required to consider them before issuing its award.\textsuperscript{194}

Third, state parties to an IIA can issue an interpretation on a specific provision in the treaty. For example under the NAFTA, the Free Trade Commission, comprised of representatives from each of the three NAFTA states, issued a binding interpretation on the meaning of the minimum standard of treatment after tribunals began to interpret this provision in a way that was contrary to the views of the states.\textsuperscript{195} A similar practice is followed in the ASEAN agreement in which, at the request of the disputing state party, the state parties can jointly determine whether a state has expropriated an investment through the adoption of a taxation measure.\textsuperscript{196} While the states’ determination under the ASEAN is, unlike the NAFTA practice, not binding, tribunals are required to “accord serious consideration” to the determination.\textsuperscript{197} Again, if states believe that an IIA provision should be interpreted in line with previous decisions or in view of development interests, having a provision in the treaty that allows states to issue a binding interpretation or a joint determination that enables them to determine this issue can enable them to do just that.

Finally, a more radical approach for enlarging the role for states is to follow the practice followed in the MERCOSUR Agreement.\textsuperscript{198} MERCOSUR allows investors to initiate proceedings, but then requires the investors’ home state to represent the investor during the proceedings.\textsuperscript{199} MERCOSUR therefore transforms the investor-state dispute resolution process into effectively a state to state process after the proceedings commence. Adopting a MERCOSUR practice thus enables states to better align investor interests with their broader state (public good) interests.

\textsuperscript{193}U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement, art. 10.19(9)(a) and (b) (6 June 2003).
\textsuperscript{194}Tracton, \textit{supra} note 192, at 204.
\textsuperscript{195}NAFTA Free Trade Commission, \textit{Notes of Interpretation of Certain NAFTA Chapter 11 Provisions} (31 July 2001), http://www.sice.oas.org/tpd/nafta/Commission/CH11understanding_e.asp. The interpretation was issued pursuant to art. 1131 of the NAFTA.
\textsuperscript{197}Id. at art.36(8).
B. Promoting Desired Outcomes

While creating a larger role for states in interpreting IIAs creates avenues by which public good interests can be more easily inserted into the international investment arbitration process, that alone does not necessarily guarantee that the desired interpretations of these agreements will arise. One reason for this is because, in many instances, states themselves have been lax with promoting the development aspects of international investment agreements. In *Siemens v. Argentina*, for example, the tribunal observed that Argentina had failed to develop its human rights argument thereby obviating the need for the tribunal to consider the issue.\(^\text{200}\) Similarly, in a recent case, amicus curiae were denied standing to explore indigenous rights issues as the state, Zimbabwe, had failed to raise these rights in its defense.\(^\text{201}\) A second reason is because many of these agreements have been drafted without repeated explicit references to non-economic issues, suggesting that these issues are outside the scope of these treaties. Prompting investment arbitral tribunals to interpret IIAs consistently with development outcomes therefore requires that states facilitate tribunals’ work in this area by making cogent arguments in this regard and by drafting IIAs that consistently and pervasively address development issues.

Arguably with the increasing recognition of the links between international investment law and non-investment issues, states will likely improve their ability to further advance development-oriented arguments in international investment disputes.\(^\text{202}\) To that end, the growing literature exploring these links and advocating methods by which states can demonstrate the impacts of international investment law on non-economic issues should raise states’ awareness of the different arguments available to them.\(^\text{203}\)

At the same time, there is a growing concern that developing countries, in particular, may lack the resources to participate fully and effectively in the investor-state dispute resolution process. These capacity issues may even arise before a state faces an international investment claim if a state has failed to understand the consequences of particular provisions of IIAs or lacks the “resources to negotiate the agreements it wishes to negotiate.”\(^\text{204}\) Indeed UNCTAD cautions that these capacity challenges threaten to undermine the entire system of international investment law as they increase the risk that states “enter into agreements that they are unprepared to honor fully.”\(^\text{205}\)

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\(^{200}\) Siemens v. Argentina, *supra* note 88, at para. 79.

\(^{201}\) *Bernhard von Pezold v Republic of Zimbabwe*, ICSID Case No ARB/10/15, Procedural Order No. 2 (Jun 26, 2012); *Border Timbers Limited v Republic of Zimbabwe*, ICSID Case No ARB/10/25, Procedural Order No. 2 (Jun 26, 2012).


\(^{203}\) See *e.g.*, the arguments developed in the sources described at *supra* note 202.

\(^{204}\) UNCTAD, *Development Implications of International Investment Agreements*, IIA Monitor No. 2, 8 (2007).

\(^{205}\) Id.
Capacity challenges of developing countries are further evident in many states’ lack of access to the legal expertise necessary to prepare a proper defense in investor-state arbitration. Due to budgetary constraints, for example, the Seychelles government defended an investor-state arbitration without access to any legal databases, proper legal texts, or any expertise on international investment law.\footnote{Gottwald, supra note 98, at 255.} Not surprisingly, they lost the arbitration and a judgment of approximately $4.6 million was awarded against them.\footnote{CDC Group PLC v. Republic of the Seychelles, ICSID Case No.ARB/02/14, para. 62 (Dec. 17, 2003).} Similarly, when the Argentine government first began defending against investor-state arbitrations, its defenses were drafted without access to fundamental legal resources and involved its counsel purchasing key arbitration texts days prior to the hearings with their own money.\footnote{Gottwald, supra note 98, at 263-64.}

One way to surmount these capacity challenges is to offer developing countries legal assistance in defending against investor-state claims by adopting the World Trade Organization’s model in this area. The Advisory Centre on WTO Law\footnote{The Agreement establishing the Advisory Centre on WTO Law (Nov. 30, 1999), http://www.acwl.ch/e/documents/agreement_establishing.pdf.} offers legal advice on WTO law, support to parties in WTO dispute settlement proceedings and provides training to government officials in WTO law.\footnote{Id. at art. 2.} The Centre offers free services to developing and least developed countries including legal advice on WTO law and training and charges discounted rates for assistance in dispute settlement proceedings.\footnote{Id. at Annex IV. The Centre is funded both by developed and developing countries.} Borrowing from the WTO model, an advisory centre for international investment law could be similarly set up that provides free or discounted legal advice and training on international investment law and provides discounted rates for assistance in investor-state arbitration.\footnote{For a full development of this argument see Gottwald, supra note 98 at 269-273.} An advisory center could work towards reducing many of the capacity challenges faced by developing countries both at the negotiating and drafting stage of IIAs and at the arbitration stage.

Finally, there is a need to ensure that development issues are widely disseminated throughout the text of IIAs to reinforce the connection between investment and non-investment issues in international investment law. While references to fostering ‘development’ are found in the preambles to many IIAs, interests promoting development outcomes are not found as often in the main text of these agreements. In this regard, recent treaties from the governments of Canada and Kosovo are instructive as both countries have emphasized the importance of non-investment issues throughout the text of their IIAs.\footnote{See e.g., Kosovo-Austria Investment Treaty, supra note 36; Canada-Czech Republic BIT (6 May 2009).} Moreover, reference to development issues in the substantive aspects of IIAs removes the need to analyze this issue at the jurisdictional stage, which as Malaysian Historical Salvors and its ilk have demonstrated, can be problematic.

States wary of tribunals’ expansive interpretations and their effects on development outcomes are further cautioned to elaborate on the meaning of the two most commonly used standards of treatment: fair and equitable treatment and indirect expropriation. For example, the Investment Agreement for the COMESA Common Investment Area limits the standard of fair and equitable treatment to “the obligation not to deny justice in criminal, civil, or administrative adjudicatory
proceedings in accordance with the principle of due process embodied in the principal legal systems of the world.” 214 Similarly, state policy flexibility to regulate in the public interest can be maintained by explicitly excluding non-discriminatory, good faith regulations enacted for a public purpose from the definition of “indirect expropriation”, a practice followed by the U.S. 215

While *ex ante* articulation of how non-investment issues should be treated when they intersect with investment issues can never be entirely comprehensive, references to non-investment issues in the treaties emphasize the importance of these issues to the overall interpretation of these IIAs. Tribunals interpreting these treaties are therefore much more likely to interpret provisions of these IIAs in accordance with desired outcomes.

**IV. Conclusion**

International investment law, in its modern form, must be recognized as being more than a tool by which private investment relations are ordered. The reach and impacts of its rules, principles, and policies extend well beyond the parties to the treaty, causing such a broad global impact that it warrants the label “global public good”.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, international investment law is struggling to generate both of its global benefits. This puts it at a crossroads: it can either continue on the path that it has already trodden or reorient itself towards a different direction. While continuing the status quo is the easier option, at the same time, it risks marginalizing the increasing number of states which have already indicated their discontent with the system. Maintaining the status quo may even encourage more states to follow the route of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela and exit the system altogether.

A second option is for international investment law to be reoriented towards a different path, one in which the global public benefits it can deliver are placed at its core. In other words, interpretations by tribunals of IIA standards, the text of the IIAs themselves, and the complementary policies and principles of international investment law should all be geared toward promoting both an overarching legal framework and a role in economic disparity reduction. It is only when all the actors in the international investment law system view international investment law in terms of these global benefits that this system of law has any chance at endurance.

215 See e.g., Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement, Annex 10-C, art. 4(b) (5 August 2004).