Trade Governance Under Structural Rivalry: A discussion of Simon Evenett's "Securing Trade: Prospects for Trade Governance as Fragmentation Spreads"

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1. Framing the Contribution

Frame & Core Contribution

- The paper assumes a shift: from liberalisation to a world where security organises trade.
- Critical capabilities are unevenly distributed; interdependence is weaponised.
- Central question: What can be saved of the WTO and multilateral principles under this hypothesis?
- Core contribution:
 - A scenario-based stress test of the rules-based system.
 - A vision of a modular trading system where:
 - Non-discrimination, transparency, soft dispute settlement persist,
 - through overlapping coalitions, sectoral deals, variable geometry.

The Architecture of the New Global Trading System in One Slide

What drives outcomes in Evenett's framework:

- **Three actor groups** Fortress (large, security-capable), Ambivalent (mid-sized, mixed exposure), Dependent (high trade reliance, low coercive power).
- **Four plausible futures** Spheres of Influence; Complete Decoupling; Extractive Regional Hegemons; Partial Stabilisation (attractive but demanding).
- Two cross-cutting forces shaping trajectories AI diffusion (expands the security frontier, deepens interdependence); Cost of capital (cheap → duplication; expensive → cooperation).
- Five implications for trade governance (1) Reform pressure comes from trade-dependent coalitions; (2) Soft law becomes the workable interface; (3) Transparency re-emerges as a security tool; (4) Standards and regulatory cooperation = next rule frontier; (5) Institutional redundancy → robustness, not inefficiency.

Across all scenarios: multilateralism survives through modules, not universal bargains.

What Simon Has Shown — and Where We Can Build

Evenett's argument (beautifully laid out):

- WTO functions have degraded simultaneously (negotiation, DSU, transparency).
- The strategic environment is now rivalry-driven; capabilities are uneven.
- Under fragmentation, **modularity** is the realistic governance form.

My discussion today:

- Bring evidence to the assumptions underlying the scenarios.
- Focus on the **micro-foundations** of modularity: Who demands it? Who supplies it? How can it be governed?
- Identify missing conditioning factors: financial fragmentation, AI capital cycle, heterogeneity inside "dependent" countries.

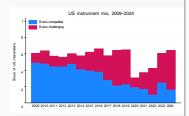
2. Evidence That Sharpens the

Framework

1. Rivalry as Dominant Policy Logic (Selective Globalization)

- GTA-NIPO evidence: since 2018, rivalry overtakes riskiness + regressiveness as the dominant motive.
- Policy mix shifts from rules-compatible tools to **rules-stretching** instruments (export controls, localisation, investment screening).
- This confirms Simon's starting premise: the world of his scenarios already exists.
- But it also suggests a non-linear dynamic: strategic motives accelerate faster than institutional adaptation.

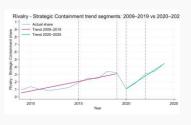
Evidence US: From Traditional to Strategic Instruments (2009–2024)



Pre-2015: trade defence & targeted support. Post-2018/19 & 2022: tariffs, controls, localisation, FDI screening.



Pre-2015: Reg+Risk dominate; post-2019: Riv-H rises sharply; ↑ again post-2022.



Sustained rise in Riv-H post-2020.

2. Polarization and the Erosion of Risk-Spaing

- Trade remains robust, but cross-bloc (cross-community) trade growth collapses post-2007.
- CKLT model extension (1995–2022):
 - Diversification channel that stabilised economies under hyperglobalisation now weakens.
 - Specialisation channel becomes stronger.
 - No evidence that polarization increases resilience.
- This stresses Simon's "spheres of influence" scenario: fragmentation may reduce policy autonomy and macro resilience.

Source: Artuc, Goldberg, Lasso and Taglioni (work in progress)

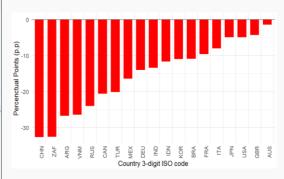
Evidence: Polarization and Cross-Community Trade Growth Slowdown



From Globalization to Fragmentation: World Trade Communities in the 2020s

Global trade has splintered into five distinct blocs in the 2020s, up from just two in the 1990s—centered around North America and Europe. (*) Calculation using UNCOMTRADE bilateral data. Each color represents a community.

Trade network built from COMTRADE total bilateral trade. Communities estimated using the Greedy Modularity Algorithm. Each color represents a distinct trade community.



Slowing cross-community CAGR is measured as difference in outside-community trade growth rate between 2000s and 2020s (CAGR21-23 CAGR02-07), G20 countries ranked by ascending order.

3. Dependent Nations Are Not Passive: Africa's Evidence

- Intra-African trade is more **manufacturing-intensive** and capability-building than Africa's extra-regional trade.
- Deep agreements (competition, services, investment, governance) raise exports by up to 56%.
- Small coalitions (3–6 countries) deliver regional public goods (telecom roaming, payments, security) even without continent-wide consensus.
- Implication: "Dependent nations" in Simon's typology include **institutional innovators**, not just rule-takers.

Source: New WB Report "Integrating Africa From Threads to Hubs", forthcoming

4. Who Demands Modularity? (Plurilateral Micro-Foundations)

- Firms embedded in GVCs with both high foreign-supplier and foreign-buyer shares have greatest payoffs from **multilateralised sectoral deals**.
- Joint exposure predicts:
 - stronger pressure for coordinated rule-making,
 - cross-border lobbying,
 - higher probability of joining plurilaterals (ITA-style).
- This micro-evidence provides the "why-now" underpinning for the modular system Simon envisions.

3. Three Strategic Tensions the

Paper Opens Up

Tension 1: Trade-Finance-Al Interlock

- AI diffusion is not a background parameter; it is a capital-hungry, short-lived, securitised asset cycle.
- Financing of AI infrastructure increasingly tied to:
 - sanctions architecture,
 - · export controls,
 - · investment screening,
 - dollar- and non-dollar payment systems.
- Question: Can we design trade modularity without modelling financial modularity?

Tension 2: Who Are the Institutional Entrepreneurs?

- "Dependent nations" mask critical heterogeneity:
 - some are networked hubs (minerals, corridors, digital payments),
 - · others are siloed or fragile.
- Africa's experience shows that networked dependents can **create** modules— not just join them (e.g., regional payments systems, pool-based security missions).
- Question: Should the typology distinguish networked vs. isolated dependents?

Tension 3: Designing Coherent Modularity

- In Simon's scenarios, overlapping coalitions are feasible—and likely.
- But modularity risks:
 - regulatory fragmentation,
 - · forum-shopping,
 - inconsistent standards
- Africa again provides evidence:
 - when mandates overlap without coordination, regional public goods collapse;
 - when anchor incentives + finance + enforcement align, integration accelerates.
- Question: What governance principles keep modules interoperable rather than centrifugal?

4. Closing

Closing Reflections

- Simon offers a compelling structural lens and a governance prototype for a rivalrous world.
- Evidence from trade policy, GVCs, and regional integration suggests:
 - the structural shifts he posits are already underway,
 - institutional innovation is emerging from unexpected places,
 - modularity must be governed to avoid incoherence.
- The forward-looking question: How do we build a modular system that enhances resilience and inclusiveness—especially for "dependent" but networked economies—rather than formalising their marginalisation?

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