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When Countries Leave Trade Agreements: A Survey of Cases 1949–2019

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Abstract

The proliferation of bilateral and plurilateral trade agreements has been discussed extensively in academic literature, where the primary focus has been on the economic impact of the resulting reduction of trade barriers. However, few resources offer an aggregated discussion of situations in which countries opt to suspend or end their participation in trade agreements, or are suspended from them. With the United Kingdom's recent decision to leave the European Union, the withdrawal of countries from trade agreements has taken on increasing interest.

To begin this discussion, this paper outlines over 150 instances of a country or group of countries leaving, being suspended from, or ending a trade agreement. Using data principally from the World Trade Organization and the Design of Trade Agreements Project, and ranging in time from 1950 (when China withdrew from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) to 2019, the authors have found 163 instances of suspension or cancellation of trade agreement participation. This paper explores two trends noted in these cases: (1) the high number of countries dropping participation in agreements in favor of pursuing “replacements”—deeper bilateral trading relationships, or trading relationships with more partners (82 percent of cases, confirming the literature that finds a global trend towards trade liberalization); and (2) the rise in the number of countries that have ended or suspended their participation in agreements without a subsequent replacement (about 18 percent of cases). Six case studies in this paper illustrate the geographic and situational diversity of countries’ suspension or withdrawal from trade agreements.

Keywords: trade agreements, bilateral, plurilateral, suspension, withdrawal, integration

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List of Abbreviations

African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)
African Economic Community (AEC)
African Union (AU)
Andean Community (CAN)
Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)
Caribbean Community (CARICOM)
Caribbean Free Trade Agreement (CARIFTA)
CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME)
Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA)
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
Commonwealth of Independent States Free Trade Agreement (CIS FTA)
Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)
Continental Free Trade Agreement (CFTA)
East Africa Airlines (EAA)
East African Community (EAC)
Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC)
Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
European Economic Community (EC)
European Union (EU)
free trade agreement (FTA)
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
Group of Three Agreement (G-3)
Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC)
Manu River Union (MRU)
overseas countries and territories (OCTs)
preferential trade agreement (PTA)
regional economic communities (REC)
rules of origin (ROOs)
Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)
Southern African Customs Union (SACU)
Southern Common Market (Mercosur)
Union of South American Nations (UNASUR)
West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU)
World Trade Organization (WTO)

Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of institutions promoting plurilateral trade, the pace at which countries have been negotiating bilateral and plurilateral free or preferential trade arrangements has increased rapidly. As of January 2018 the World Trade Organization (WTO) estimated that there were nearly 300 regional and bilateral trade agreements in existence, covering most countries.¹ The proliferation of these agreements has also corresponded with a reduction in trade barriers; from 1949 to 2017, the average U.S. dutiable tariff rate fell from 14 percent to less than 5 percent (with a 2.0 percent average tariff for industrial goods),² mirroring similar reductions in both developed and developing countries.³ Academic literature has extensively explored this proliferation of trade agreements, in particular the rise of large plurilateral “mega-regional” agreements and the reasons countries are attracted to them.⁴

However, there has been very little analysis of the other side of the equation—namely, the reasons countries leave trade agreements. No study appears to have gauged either the number of trading agreements that have ended, the number of countries that have left them, or the reasons why these agreements, or countries’ membership in them, have come to an end. This paper attempts to begin that conversation. Looking at 163 trade arrangements that ended between 1949 and 2019 worldwide, this paper will explore common trends that have emerged.⁵

While recognizing that the circumstances of each country’s departure from a trade agreement are unique, several commonalities emerge upon examination, including geography (the majority of cases studied were from Europe), the scope of the replacement agreement, and the political rationale for separation. First, of the 163 trade agreement departures studied in this paper, in about 82 percent of the cases (134 instances), countries left agreements in order to

¹ WTO, “Regional Trade Agreements,” 2018.

² U.S. Trade Representative, “Industrial Tariffs,” n.d. (accessed October 1, 2019). <https://ustr.gov/issue-areas/industry-manufacturing/industrial-tariffs>

³ Desilver, “U.S. Tariffs Are among the Lowest,” 2017; World Bank, “Tariff Rate, Applied, Weighted Mean, All Products,” 2018.

⁴ See, for example, Bown, “Mega-Regional Trade Agreements,” September 2016; Josling, “The Rise and Fall of the Mega-Regional Trade Agreement,” June 2017. Further information focusing specifically on megaregional agreements and developing countries can be found at Narayanan and Khorana, “Mega-regional Trade Agreements: Costly Distractions for Developing Countries?” October 2017.

⁵ Most trade agreements studied for this paper were identified using information from the World Trade Organization (WTO) Regional Trade Agreements Database (RTA Database), supplemented with information gathered from the Design of Trade Agreements Project (DESTA). The RTA Database houses information about any bilateral or plurilateral trade agreements announced to the WTO, while DESTA is a site dedicated to cataloging and analyzing bilateral and plurilateral trade agreements from 1947 to 2016; it is led by a consortium of distinguished research institutes. For more about the RTA Database, see <http://rtais.wto.org/UI/PublicMaintainRTAHome.aspx>; about the DESTA database, see http://ftavis.com/#2020_Worldwide. In some instances, authors’ research confirmed or further illuminated additional bilateral and plurilateral trade agreements.

enhance their trade opportunities with partners, either by updating an existing bilateral/plurilateral agreement or by pursuing liberalized trade with a larger bloc of countries. Although these new agreements have most often reduced trade barriers, in certain rare instances they also created new ones.⁶

Of the 163 agreements in which countries either cancelled or suspended their participation, two-thirds (108 agreements) included at least one European country or group of countries. Most of these departures fall into the trade-enhancing category: since 1949, about 75 percent of the agreements that were later replaced by another agreement included at least one European partner (table 1), and the departures were usually related either to the expansion of the European Union (EU) to new states in the east and south or the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States free trade agreement (CIS FTA).⁷

Table 1. Regional breakdown of cases, 1949–2019

	Left agreement without a replacement	Left agreement with a replacement
Africa	16	20
Asia-Pacific	3	31
Europe	8	110
North America	2	13
South America	8	12

Source: Compiled by authors from information provided in appendix tables A-1 and A-2.

Note: In instances where the agreement is between countries in two different regions, both regions are counted. For a complete list of agreements, see appendixes A.1 and A.2.

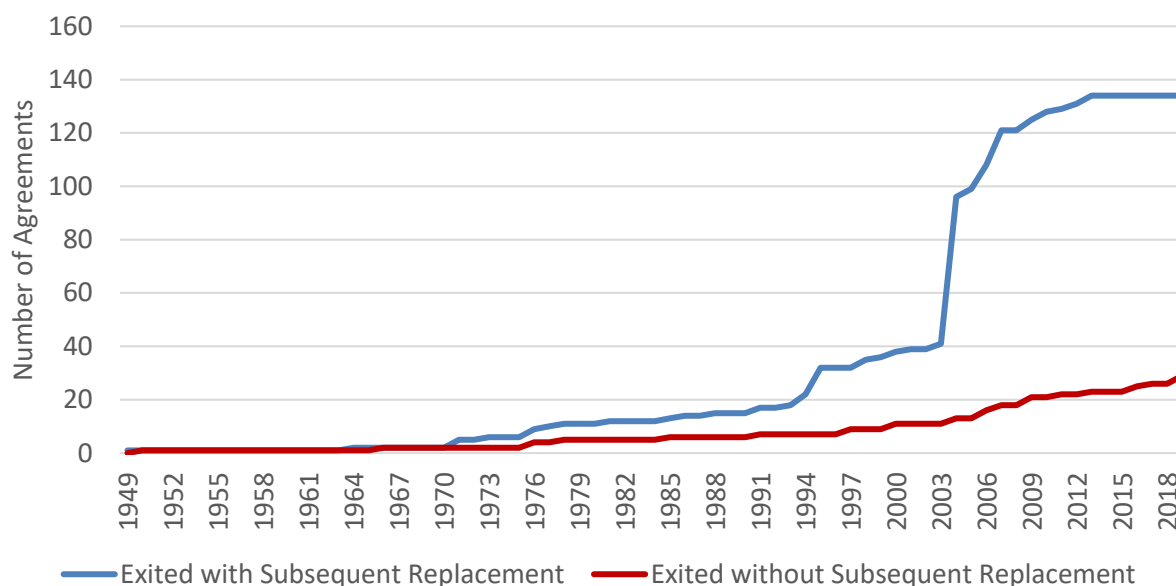
Approximately 18 percent of cases examined, however, involve a country leaving a trade agreement without a replacement at hand. The breakdown of agreements without a replacement has been more prevalent throughout the developing world; however, it is emerging as an issue in developed countries as well.

⁶ For example, when Bulgaria joined the European Union in 2007, Bulgaria's new EU status upended several of its existing bilateral free trade agreements. In some cases, Bulgaria's bilateral trade partners, such as Israel, had FTAs with the EU, reducing the disruption to some of Bulgaria's bilateral trade relationships. In other instances, however, no mitigating agreement applied so Bulgaria (through its EU membership) instituted tariffs on countries it previously had treated without duties

⁷ The CIS FTA now includes Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Before its creation, a patchwork of bilateral and plurilateral free trade agreements existed between these nine eastern European and central Asian countries.

This paper will explore in greater detail the trends among the departures from trade agreements from 1949 to 2019, including the rise of agreements ended recently (figure 1).

Figure 1. Cumulative number of agreements ended (with and without replacements), 1949 to 2018



Source: Compiled by authors from information provided in appendix tables A-1 and A-2.

Section 1 will provide a brief overview of existing literature on the circumstances under which participation in trade agreements has ended. The next two sections will discuss departures from agreements that were subsequently replaced by a different trade-enhancing arrangement (section 2), and departures from agreements that were not followed by a replacement (section 3).

Section 2 will explore the cases where a party left an agreement to pursue a more comprehensive agreement, either with the existing partner or with new partners. One of these cases provides a broader overview of African FTAs as a basis for establishing an African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). This section will look at the following illustrative case studies:

- The Evolution of Poland's Trade Agreements: Poland Joins the EU.
- The Upgrade of the Caribbean Trade Bloc.
- Regional Economic Communities, Building to the African Continental Free Trade Area.

Section 3 will look at the minority of cases where a country or countries' participation in an agreement ended or was suspended without some form of further trade liberalization arrangement to replace it. This section will present the following case studies:

- The Dissolution of the first East African Community (EAC).
- Venezuela's Departure from Latin American FTAs.
- Greenland's Withdrawal from the European Economic Community (EC).

This paper will conclude with a brief discussion of potential areas for further research. The appendix will also include information on each of the trade agreements listed in this report, including the countries subject to the agreement, the name of the agreement, the year in which participation in the agreement was dissolved or suspended, any agreement that ex-participants later joined if applicable, and any relevant notes.

Section 1: Existing Literature

Little direct research has appeared on the dissolution of plurilateral or bilateral trade agreements. Some studies provide a wider analysis focusing on how economic benefits are the driving force behind FTAs and customs unions.⁸ Other research has touched upon the development of industries due to trade agreements, as well as the trade impacts of both reciprocal and nonreciprocal preferential trade agreements (for example, the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences).⁹ But few studies focus on instances where countries leave such agreements.

Research on departures of countries from trade agreements typically focuses on specific agreements or regions. These studies highlight cases that include agreements suspended by one or multiple parties, the collapse of an agreement, the suspension of one party's participation by another party, or a party's withdrawal from a free trade agreement. Examples of this come from around the world:

- The suspension of a 1974 trade agreement between India and Sri Lanka in order to conclude a more comprehensive arrangement.¹⁰
- The suspension of Niger from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 2009 for violating human rights and democracy policies.¹¹
- Poland's suspension of more than a dozen bilateral and plurilateral trade agreements in order to join the EU in 2004.¹²

⁸ Bhagwati and Panagariya, "The Theory of Preferential Trade Agreements: Historical Evolution and Current Trends," 1996; and Hayakawa, Laksanapanyakul, Mukunoki, and Urata, "Impact of Free Trade Agreement Use on Import Prices," April 2018.

⁹ Krugman, "Intraindustry Specialization and the Gains from Trade," 1981; Liapis, *Preferential Trade Agreements: How Much Do They Benefit Developing Economies?*, 2007; and Eicher and Henn, "In Search of WTO Trade Effects: Preferential Trade Agreements Promote Trade Strongly, But Unevenly," February 2009.

¹⁰ Kumar and Ahmed, "Intra-Industry Trade and Trade Complementarity," July 2015.

¹¹ Trithart, "Democratic Coups? Regional Responses to the Constitutional Crises," January 2013.

¹² Dzikowska, Gorynia, and Trąpczyński, "Towards a Strategic Shift?" Summer 2017.

- Venezuela’s unilateral withdrawal from two major Latin American free trade agreements following a political transition in Venezuela.¹³
- Greenland’s withdrawal from the European Economic Community following a plebiscite heavily focused on fisheries policy.¹⁴

Section 2: The Evolution of Agreements

The majority of departures from trade agreements since 1949 feature a country or group of countries choosing to pursue either a further integrated trading relationship with existing partners, or a trade agreement that expanded preferential trade arrangements with a wider variety of countries. This corresponds with the extensive case literature, such as that of Ruta (2017), that has identified the trend of deeper plurilateral, regional, and “mega-regional” agreements replacing pre-existing bilateral or plurilateral agreements. Of the 163 agreements studied for this analysis, 135 (82 percent, appendix 1) were characterized by a country or country bloc leaving one agreement in order to join another.

In the majority of cases, European countries have exited existing agreements to join new ones (figure 2). From 1995 to 2018, there were 108 instances where a European country or group of countries opted to withdraw from an agreement in favor of another. Most of these agreements were the result of the EU’s single market and customs union expanding to southern and eastern Europe, replacing dozens of bilateral trading arrangements in the Eastern bloc and Balkans following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (refer to “Case Study: the Evolution of Poland’s Free Trade Agreements”).¹⁵ The expansion of the Russian Federation-led trade bloc the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) also contributed to the suspension of a substantial number of bilateral free trade arrangements between new CIS member states.¹⁶ The remaining agreements that included a European country or countries as a partner preceded the formation of the European Economic Community, and were often designed to preserve pre-existing trading relationships with African states following the decolonization of Africa.¹⁷

¹³ Malamud, “Venezuela’s Withdrawal from the Andean Community of Nations,” May 30, 2006.

¹⁴ Tomala, “The European Union’s Relations with Greenland,” 2017.

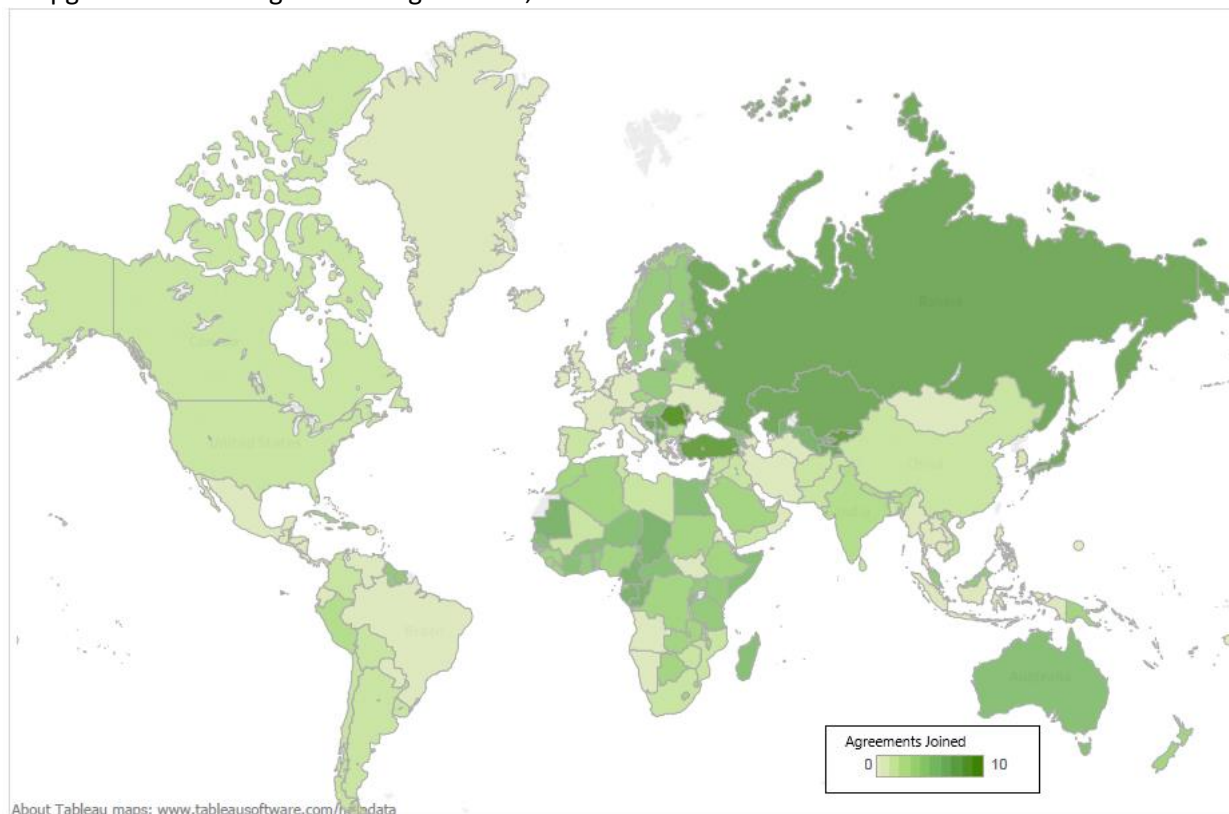
¹⁵ In some bilateral trade partnerships, the choice of a party to forego a preexisting trade agreement in favor of a “deeper” trading agreement does not necessarily mean the trading relationship between the two countries will in fact deepen. For example, Estonia’s withdrawal from the Estonia-Bulgaria Free Trade Agreement in order to “upgrade” to a much larger trade bloc—the EU—created trade barriers between Estonia and Bulgaria because the EU had no trade agreement with Bulgaria at the time. This was ameliorated when Bulgaria too joined the EU, in 2007.

¹⁶ Ukraine was suspended from the CIS Free Trade Area in 2016 by the Russian Federation due to a combination of geopolitical conflict and Ukraine’s ratifying the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement it had concluded with the EU. Putz, “Trade between Kazakhstan and Ukraine,” January 8, 2016.

¹⁷ Of the 108 instances where a European party replaced an agreement with another agreement or upgraded to an agreement with a larger group of countries, only 16 were completely outside either the EU or CIS FTA trade blocs.

Sub-Saharan Africa has also experienced a substantial volume of changing trade agreements, many of which overlap—a situation that has created a patchwork of agreements across the continent (“Case Study: Regional Economic Communities, Building to the African Continental Free Trade Area”). Finally, other smaller regions and clusters of countries have experimented with further integrating their economies with newer, more complex trade agreements to replace older ones (“Case Study: The Upgrade of the Caribbean Trade Bloc”).

Figure 2. Countries that have upgraded an existing trade agreement to a deeper plurilateral relationship or upgraded an existing bilateral agreement, 1949–2019



Source: Compiled by authors from information provided in appendix table A-1.

Case Study 1: The Evolution of Poland’s Free Trade Agreements: Poland Joins the EU

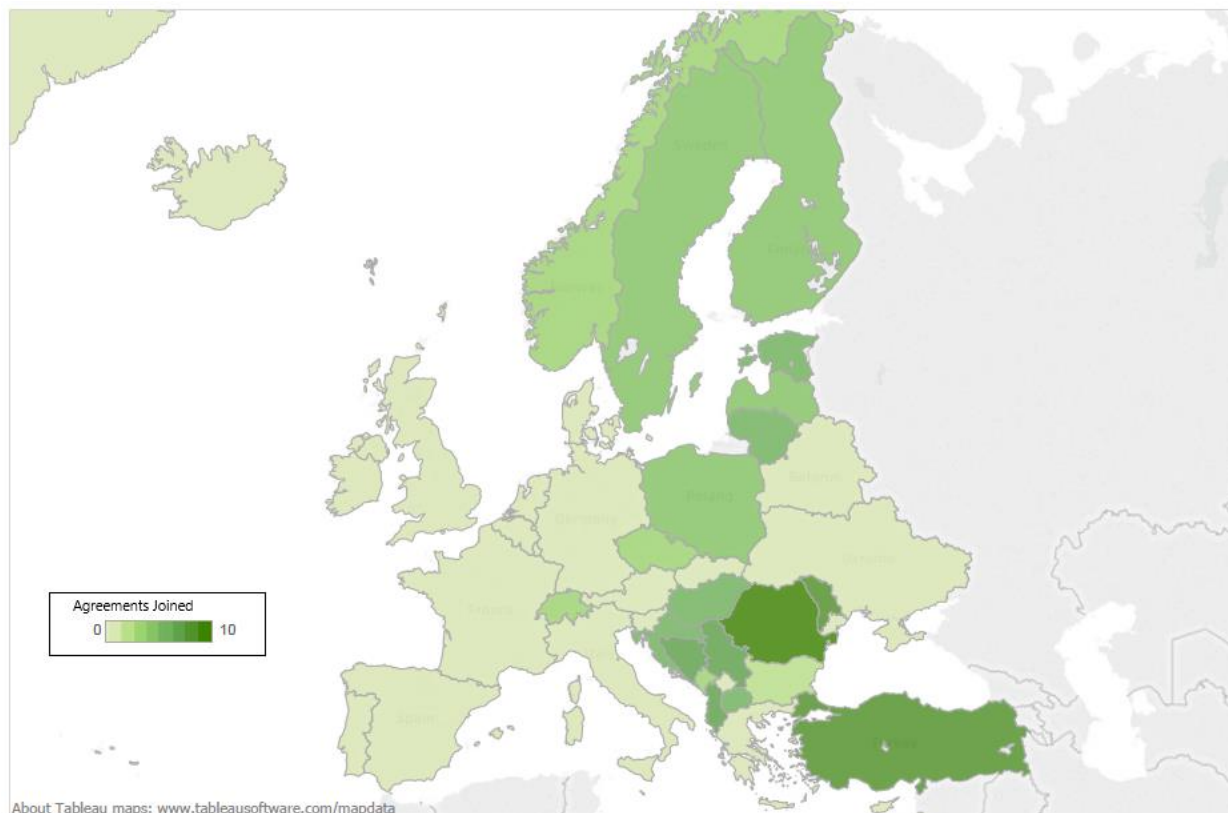
Over the past 20 years, Poland has pursued a trade strategy of increased integration with the European economy through plurilateral trade partnerships. Like many former Soviet bloc countries, Poland’s modern trade policy began after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 (figure 3).¹⁸ By 1992, Poland had established bilateral free trade agreements with nine

¹⁸ A 2000 WTO report on Poland specifically stated that joining the EU was at the “forefront of Poland’s economic and political goals, and that much of the ongoing reform process is being driven by this objective.” Poland would join the EU in 2004, along with the Czech Republic (Czechia), Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta. WTO, “Trade Policy Reviews: Poland,” June 2000.

former Soviet or Soviet-allied countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (later Slovakia and the Czech Republic),¹⁹ Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia.²⁰ These countries formed a free trade bloc known as the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA).

Over the next decade, Poland increasingly oriented its trade policy toward further integration with the European economy, as the European Community (predecessor to the contemporary EU) began expanding beyond Western Europe to the south and east.²¹ In conjunction with the other early CEFTA member states, Poland moved to accede to the EU's single market and customs union. By 2004, Poland, along with most CEFTA member states, were accepted to the EU (Romania and Bulgaria were later admitted in 2007).²²

Figure 3. Countries that have upgraded an existing trade agreement to a deeper plurilateral relationship or upgraded an existing bilateral agreement, 1949–2019, Europe only



Source: Compiled by authors from information provided in appendix table A-1.

In joining the EU and expanding the size of its tariff-free export market, Poland abandoned at least 13 bilateral and plurilateral free trade agreements. Many of Poland's bilateral agreements

¹⁹ In 1993, Czechoslovakia split to form the independent republics of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Mrak, *Succession of States*, 1999.

²⁰ WTO, "Trade Policy Reviews: Poland," June 2000.

²¹ European Commission, "From 6 to 28 Members," 2017.

²² European Commission, "From 6 to 28 Members," 2017.

became moot anyway, as both partners would eventually join the EU. (Six of those countries entered into the EU the same year as Poland, avoiding trade flow disruption.)²³ However, Poland was required to sever its free trade relations with Croatia, Romania, and Bulgaria upon its accession to the EU, as these countries joined the EU at later dates (box A).

Box A. EU Membership Fundamentally Shifts Makeup of Other Trade Blocs

In addition to eliminating dozens of bilateral trade agreements, the accession of the six former Soviet states and Poland to the EU caused two fundamental shifts in the CEFTA: it moved the geographic center of CEFTA to southern Europe, and it led to stronger CEFTA rules that gave member states a clearer roadmap to join the EU. Before the EU's 2004 expansion, CEFTA consisted almost exclusively of north-central and Eastern European countries. Following the EU expansion, membership to CEFTA shifted to southern Europe and the Balkans. It currently includes Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo. With the accession of Bulgaria (2007), Romania (2007), and Croatia (2013) to the EU, all original CEFTA member states have become EU member states. Recognizing that CEFTA membership has become a potential stepping stone to EU membership, members have upgraded CEFTA regulations and standards to move CEFTA states closer to the regulatory framework of the EU and ease the path to EU accession.^a

^a The CEFTA framework currently has an extensive regulatory structure, including committees on trade facilitation, nontariff measures, technical measures, risk management and information exchange, customs, agriculture, rules of origin, services, mutual recognition of professional qualifications, and investment.

Source: CEFTA, "Structures" (accessed December 27, 2018).

Case Study 2: Upgrade of the Caribbean Free Trade Bloc

After the Second World War, several Caribbean countries explored the possibility of forming a single country, known as the British West Indies Federation. These efforts ultimately did not come to fruition; however, many of these island nations agreed to create the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement (CARIFTA) in 1965.²⁴ Initially, CARIFTA grew out of an agreement among Antigua, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana. In 1968, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Anguilla, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, Jamaica, Montserrat, and Belize joined CARIFTA. In 1972, CARIFTA was superseded by the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), formed with the intention of creating a common market.²⁵ The CARICOM treaty was officially signed in 1973. By

²³ Israel, Turkey, and the European Free Trade Agreement countries also had a preexisting association agreement, customs agreement, or single market agreement, respectively.

²⁴ CARICOM, "History of the Caribbean Community" (accessed December 10, 2018).

²⁵ CARICOM, "History of the Caribbean Community" (accessed December 10, 2018).

2003, it had grown to include 15 full-member states and 5 associate member states.²⁶ The collective departure of CARIFTA member states joining CARICOM is considered the single instance of a plurilateral trade agreement permanently ending in this paper.

In 2003, the treaty was further revised to eventually integrate the CARICOM common market into a single market and economy. The updated treaty is known as the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME). While not yet in force, it is intended to enhance macroeconomic coordination, relax visa restrictions on workers, and create a single currency for the region.²⁷ CARICOM's community members are striving to standardize their policies concerning several areas of manufacturing and trade²⁸ with the goal of implementing the single market and economy by 2020.²⁹

Case Study 3: Regional Economic Communities, Building to the African Continental Free Trade Area

The African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA), signed in March 2019, encompasses 44 African countries and creates a single continental market for goods and services, along with a customs union.³⁰ The required minimum number of countries to initiate implementation have ratified the agreement and deposited their instruments at the African Union Commission; AfCFTA entered into force on May 30, 2019.³¹ The African Union's member states hope that AfCFTA will not only assist in continental integration but will deal with the overlapping memberships currently held by several of the member states in the AU.³²

Establishing an African Continental Free Trade Area under AfCFTA will require all African countries to strengthen their internal capacity to refine their regional trade policies and ensure that they can benefit from trade opportunities.³³ Further, to implement AfCFTA, African nations will need to address the continent's existing regional economic communities in the same way candidates for EU membership addressed their pre-existing arrangements—i.e., African

²⁶ CARICOM full members include Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago. Associate members are Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, and the Turks and Caicos Islands. CARICOM, "History of the Caribbean Community" (accessed December 10, 2018).

²⁷ CARICOM, "CARICOM Single Market and Economy" (accessed December 10, 2018).

²⁸ The standardization of policies for CARICOM members concentrated on aligning policies on antidumping measures, banking and securities, competition policy, consumer protection, customs, intellectual property rights, food and drug regulation and labeling, standards and technical regulations, manufacture and trade in goods regulations, and regulatory and administrative procedures for international trade. CARICOM, "CARICOM Single Market and Economy" (accessed December 10, 2018).

²⁹ CARICOM, "St Ann's Declaration on CSME" (accessed January 6, 2019).

³⁰ As of April 2019, 52 out of 55 countries have signed the agreement. Mumbere, "AfCFTA Agreement to Be Implemented," April 3, 2019.

³¹ Mumbere, "AfCFTA Agreement to Be Implemented," April 3, 2019.

³² Signe, "Africa's Big New Free Trade Agreement, Explained," March 29, 2018.

³³ UNCTAD, *From Regional Economic Communities to a Continental Free Trade Area*, 2018.

countries may exit less comprehensive agreements in favor of AfCFTA. These overlapping memberships (highlighted in box B) have proven to be beneficial in some cases, but they may complicate some aspects of continental integration of trade, including harmonization, standardization, and enforcement of rules of origin.³⁴ These concerns are recognized in Article 19 of the agreement,³⁵ which provides that “in the event of any conflict and inconsistency between this Agreement and any regional agreement this Agreement [AfCFTA] shall prevail” — but it also states that “State Parties that are members of other regional economic communities, regional trading arrangements and customs unions, which have attained among themselves *higher levels* of regional integration than under this Agreement, shall maintain such higher levels among themselves.”³⁶

³⁴Afesorgbor and van Bergeijk, “Measuring Multi-Membership in Economic Integration,” April 22, 2014; Ng, “The TFTA and Intra-regional Trade in Africa,” April 6, 2017.

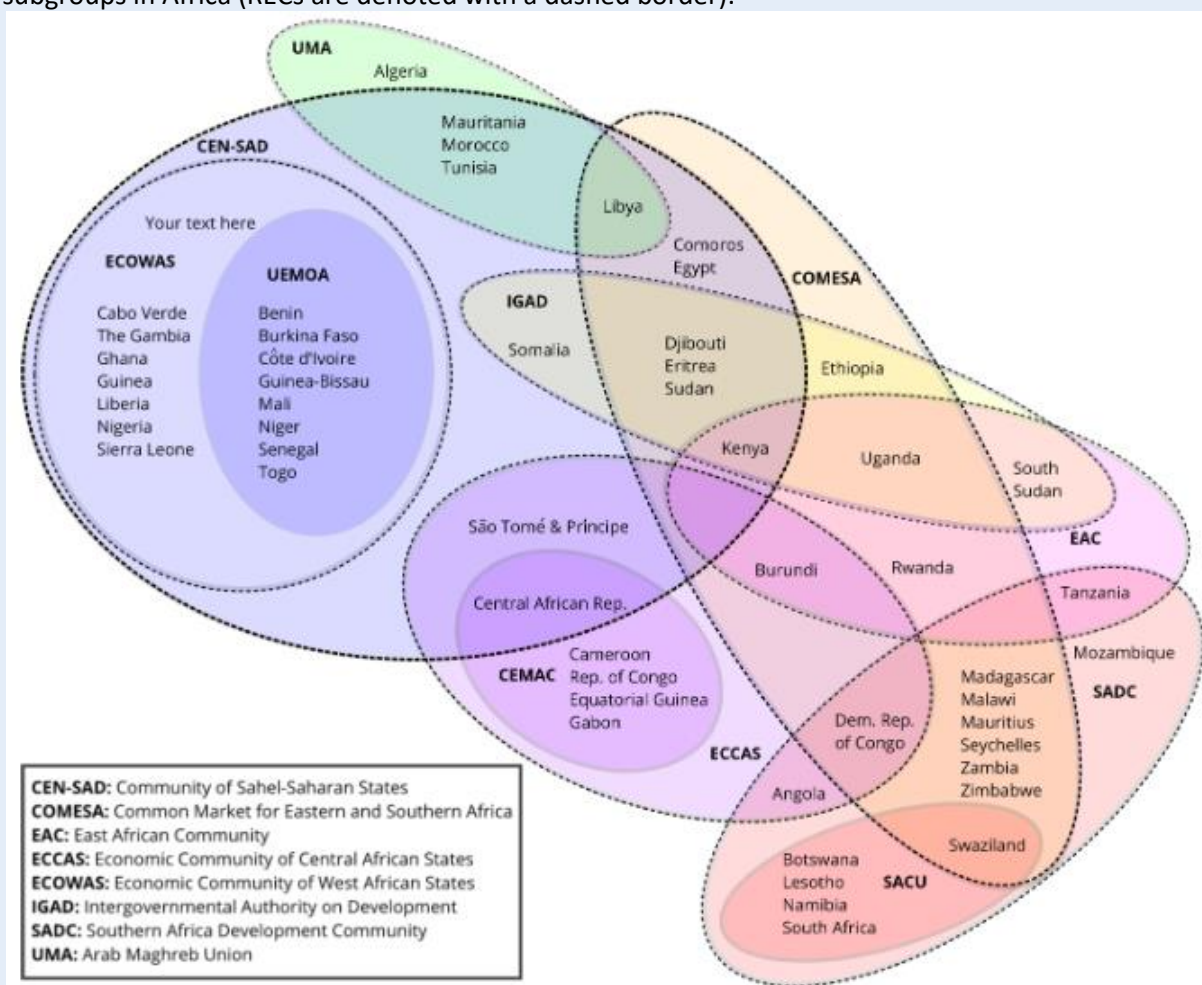
³⁵ UNCTAD, *African Continental Free Trade Area: Policy and Negotiation Options*, 2016.

³⁶ AfCFTA serves as the baseline for the liberalization of trade within existing regional economic communities. Van Lennep, “The African Continental Free Trade Area III—Is Africa Ready?” January 15, 2019.

Box B. The Historically Fragmented Nature of Africa’s Regional Trade Agreements

Regional trade integration has been a long-term strategic objective for Africa, but the African market remains highly fragmented. The African Union (AU) economic bloc has 55 member states at the time of this report, while within the AU there are currently eight regional economic communities (RECs) and three subregional arrangements. Thirty-nine of 55 AU countries are members of more than one of the eight RECs.³ Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Eritrea, Libya, Uganda, and Sudan are each members of three RECs, while Kenya has the distinction of being the only country with membership in four. The eight RECs and other regional groups are outlined in figure B.1.

Figure B.1 Outline demonstrating the overlapping nature of the various economic communities and subgroups in Africa (RECs are denoted with a dashed border).



Source: Adapted from Ng and Mumford, “The TFTA and Intra-regional Trade in Africa,” April 6, 2017.

Note: The Mano River Union (MRU) was established in 1973, before ECOWAS was created. The MRU was subsumed into ECOWAS in 1975. After conflict and tensions kept the goals of the regional grouping from being realized, the MRU was revised in May 2004. It aims at the maintenance of peace and stability and a coordinated approach to security trade and development. It now has four member countries: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire. UEMOA is the French acronym for West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), further defined below.

Box B. The Historically Fragmented Nature of Africa's Regional Trade Infrastructure (continued)

Figure B.1 also shows the three subregional arrangements^b associated with these RECs:^c

- The Southern African Customs Union (SACU), initially founded in 1910 (an update was signed in 1969). In 2002 a new agreement with reforms was signed. Its goals are to maintain a common external tariff, share customs revenues, and coordinate policies and decision making on trade issues. SACU is the oldest customs union in the world.
- The West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), established in 1994. It promotes economic integration among countries that share the CFA franc as a common currency.
- The Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), started in June 1999. It promotes the process of subregional integration by maintaining a monetary union with the Central African CFA franc as a common currency.

^a In 2015, 80 percent of intra-African traded volumes flowed through RECs. That year, five countries—Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Nigeria, and South Africa—were responsible for 67 percent of all intra-African traded volumes. They represent five out of the eight RECs: ECOWAS, UMA, SADC, COMESA, and CEN-SAD.

^b Some subgroups were founded before the Abuja Treaty established the African Economic Community (AEC) in 1991.

^c There are also subgroups dedicated to sustainable development projects, such as the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) established in 1984. The IOC aims to strengthen relationships and solidarity and to facilitate regional sustainable development projects. It is the only regional community composed solely of island countries.

Source: Unless otherwise noted information is from UNCTAD, *From Regional Economic Communities to a Continental Free Trade Area*, 2018.

Section 3: Breakdown of Agreements

Contrasting with the evolution of the agreements highlighted in the section above, in more than two dozen cases since 1949, a country's membership in a trade agreement or partnership has either been suspended or completely dissolved without the country becoming part of either an upgraded framework with existing partners or a larger plurilateral agreement featuring new partners. Of the 163 trade agreement departures from 1949 to 2019 studied for this report, 29 (18 percent) have seen one or more members depart without either gaining a replacement agreement or turning to a larger trading framework (figure 4).

In the instances where participation in a trade agreement has ended due to an updated agreement, the reason has been almost exclusively in order to support further economic integration with nearby economies. On the other hand, there have been many reasons why countries have left trade agreements without a replacement in the offing. Some countries have left due to changes in government policy or structure; others, due to desires for economic self-determination and outside pressure (either from other parties to the agreement or the international community). During the colonial era, a participant's independence might precipitate its departure from an agreement. Memberships in agreements have also ended because of military coups, suspension by other members for violating democratic norms, voter referenda, or the opening of hostilities between trade partners (table 2).

The frequency of countries leaving free trade agreements without a replacement structure has increased over time: of the 29 instances of a trade agreement ending or a country withdrawing or being suspended without an imminent replacement over the past 70 years, more than two-

thirds (21) occurred since 2004, and approximately one-third occurred within the last 10 years. This corresponds with a substantial increase in free trade agreement participation. Since 2004, the number of regional trade agreements in force under the WTO has risen from 124 to 302.³⁷

Table 2. List of agreement suspensions or departures without immediate replacement (arranged by year), with year and notes

Agreement (Country)	Year Dissolved	Notes	Agreement (Country)	Year Dissolved	Notes
GATT (China)	1950	Cultural Revolution; China joined WTO in 2001.	COMESA (Angola)	2007	Self-suspension from COMESA.
Ghana-Upper Volta Trade Agreement	1966	Coup in Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso).	ECCAS (Rwanda withdraws)	2007	Withdrew to focus efforts on integration into the EAC and COMESA. Readmitted to ECCAS in 2016.
Andean Community (Chile)	1976	Chilean President Pinochet exited due to “economic incompatibilities.”	ECOWAS (Guinea)	2009	Suspended by members.
EAC (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania)	1978	Dissolved in 1978 due to ideological differences, re-formed in 2000.	SADC (Madagascar)	2009	Suspended by members.
Economic Community (Greenland)	1985	Voter referendum.	ECOWAS (Niger)	2009	Suspended by members.
USSR-Finland Free Trade Agreement	1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union.	Syria-Turkey free trade agreement	2011	Suspended by Syria after Turkey sanctioned President Assad.
COMESA (Lesotho)	1997	Withdrew.	ATPA (Ecuador)	2013	Suspended by the United States, Ecuador also renounced benefits one month before expiration of eligibility.
COMESA (Mozambique)	1997	Withdrew.	Mercosur (Venezuela)	2016	Suspended by members for failing to meet human rights and democratic requirements.
ECOWAS (Mauritania)	2000	Withdrew; Mauritania signed a new cooperation agreement with ECOWAS in 2017.	Ukraine-CIS Free Trade Agreement (Ukraine)	2016	Suspended by Russia.
COMESA (Tanzania)	2000	Withdrew due to COMESA’s proposal to reduce tariffs for member countries by 90 percent.	Morocco-EFTA Agreement (Western Sahara)	2017	EFTA clarified that the disputed territory of Western Sahara did not fall under the scope of the FTA.
COMESA	2004	Withdrew to concentrate	UNASUR	2019	Withdrew from UNASUR

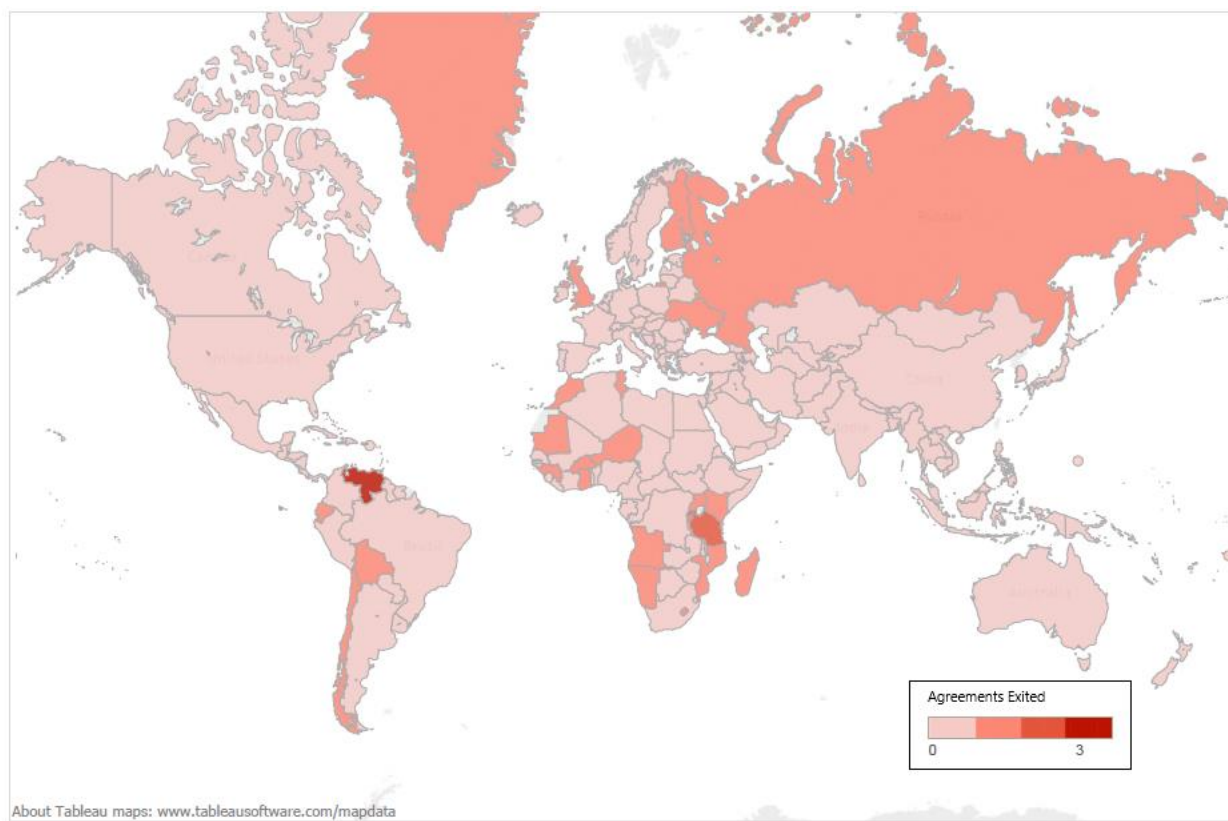
³⁷ World Trade Organization (WTO), “WTO Regional Trade Agreements Database, RTA Tracker,” n.d. (accessed October 1, 2019).

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(Namibia)		trade efforts in SACU.	(Colombia)		to pursue a new regional agreement.
SADC (Seychelles)	2004	Withdrew due to human and financial constraints, readmitted in 2008.	UNASUR (Ecuador)	2019	Withdrew from UNASUR to pursue a new regional agreement.
Russia-Georgia Free Trade Agreement	2006, 2008	Russia suspended FTA after Georgia signed Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the EU. Russia also suspended FTA in 2008 during South Ossetia/Abkhazia conflict.	UNASUR (Brazil)	2019	Withdrew from UNASUR to pursue a new regional agreement.
G3 Agreement (Venezuela)	2006	President Hugo Chávez announced Venezuela's departure due to fears economic liberalization would damage Venezuela's economy.	European Union (United Kingdom)	Expected 2019	Following voter referendum, the UK is expected to withdraw from the EU in 2019.
Andean Community (Venezuela)	2006	President Hugo Chávez announced Venezuela's departure due to fears economic liberalization would damage Venezuela's economy.			

Sources: Design of Trade Agreements (DESTA), "The Evolution of Trade Agreements," 2019; World Trade Organization, "Regional Trade Agreements," 2018.

Figure 4. Instances where countries have left an existing trade agreement without a replacement, 1949–2019



Source: Compiled by authors from information provided in appendix table A-2.

Note: Since this article was drafted, Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador have exited UNASUR. Their departures are not represented in this image. For more information, see Case Study 5.

The three case studies presented below—the dissolution of the East African Community, the withdrawal or suspension of Venezuela from several free trade agreements, and the withdrawal of Greenland from the European Economic Community—illustrate the breadth of unique geopolitical and economic conditions in which countries withdraw from (or are suspended from) trade agreements.

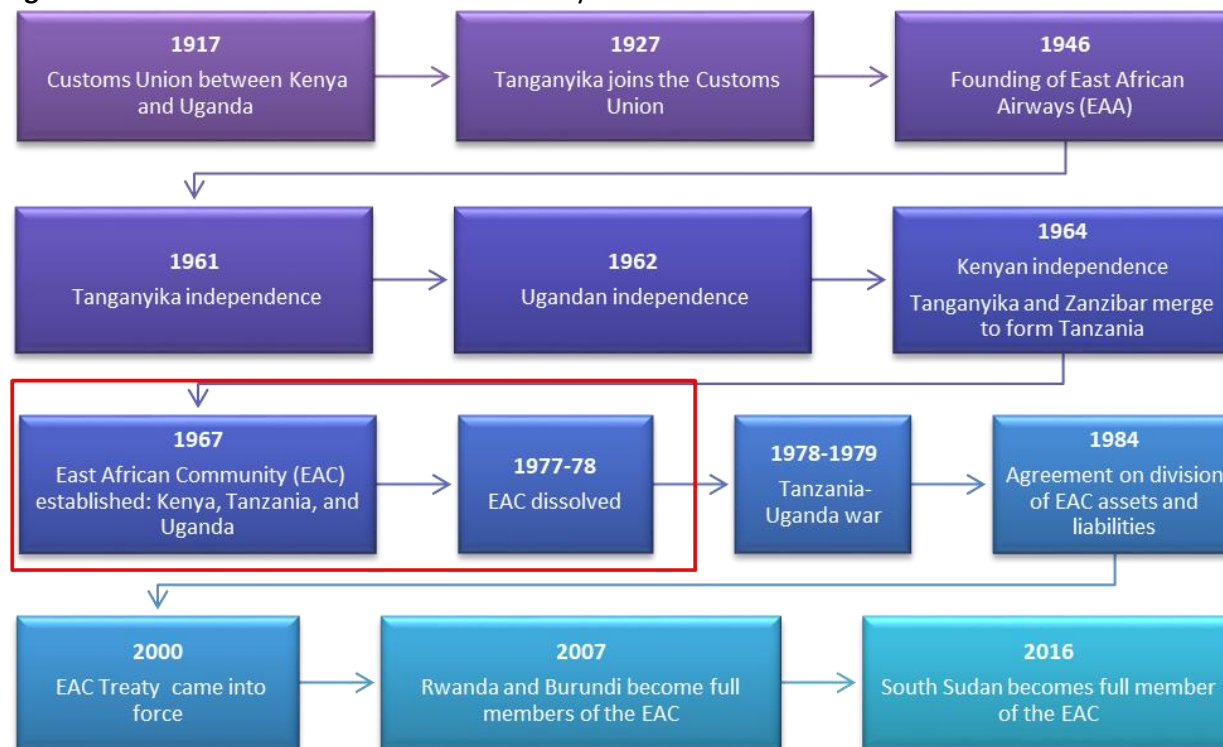
Case Study 4: The Dissolution of the First East African Community (EAC)

As stated earlier, historically there is a small subset of agreements that ended without some form of further trade liberalization measure to replace it; this is what happened in the case of the first East African Community (EAC). Kenya, Tanzania,³⁸ and Uganda have a shared history of cooperation under a series of regional integration arrangements for over a century, starting

³⁸ Tanganyika joined with Zanzibar to make up present-day Tanzania in 1964. East African Community, “History of the EAC” (accessed November 19, 2018).

with a customs union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917.³⁹ These series of agreements and associations culminated in the founding of the EAC in 1967. In figure 5, the timeline shows the progression from the first iteration of the EAC to the community in its present form.

Figure 5. Timeline of the East African Community



Source: Compiled from information provided in Cooksey, "Tanzania in the East African Community," 2016.

The dissolution of the first iteration of the EAC (the two boxes within the red rectangle in figure 5) can be attributed to the following factors: (1) polarization caused by prioritization of national development, (2) a perception that the member states were not gaining from the arrangement, (3) ideological differences and the rise of economic nationalism, and (4) the inadequacy of compensatory and corrective measures.⁴⁰

The first EAC agreement was designed to forge economic integration and culminate in a political union of member states. The formation of the first EAC was also intended to correspond with a union of several economic sectors (education and transportation). However, events leading up to the East African territories' independence in the early 1960s built a shaky

³⁹ Tanganyika territory, the mainland part of present-day Tanzania, joined the East African Community in 1927. East African Community, "History of the EAC" (accessed November 19, 2018).

⁴⁰ The supreme authority of the EAC was vested in three heads of state. When there were issues, conflict rose to the highest levels of government and resolution was near-impossible. Mngomezulu, "Why Did Regional Integration Fail in East Africa?" 2013.

foundation for the EAC:⁴¹ the West had assisted Kenya's independence,⁴² while Tanzania and Uganda were aided by the Eastern bloc.⁴³

Tensions between the three EAC countries were apparent early in the EAC's existence. A drive to form regional education centers based out of a newly established University of East Africa failed in 1970, when the three countries established three independent universities. This was tied to the three countries' deepening nationalism. In 1971, the year after the University of East Africa was dissolved, Uganda experienced a military coup, resulting in Idi Amin's rise to power. Once in power, Amin felt no reason to honor the tenets of the EAC, and in return, the presidents of Kenya and Tanzania did not recognize Amin.⁴⁴

In the succeeding years there were several incidents between the three EAC countries which ultimately resulted in Tanzania sealing its border with Kenya in February 1977.⁴⁵ Later that year East African leadership acknowledged that there was no solution to the contentious relationship between the member states (contributing to a higher proportion of dissolved agreements in eastern Africa relative to the continent as a whole, figure 6), and made a resolution to dissolve the EAC in 1977. However, it was several years before the former member states negotiated a Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities (1984).⁴⁶

Ultimately, the EAC was revived 23 years after its dissolution in 1999,⁴⁷ and today aims to establish an East African Monetary Union by the year 2024.⁴⁸ The agreement was revived to consolidate regional co-operation.

⁴¹ In 1965, the finance ministers of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda announced that their respective governments had agreed to end the East African Currency Board so that they could independently establish separate central banks and national currencies.

⁴² Characterized by free enterprise, Kenya worked to attract multinational firms through considerable economic concessions. Mngomezulu, "Why Did Regional Integration Fail in East Africa?" 2013.

⁴³ Agyeman-Duah, "The Cold War and Regional Politics in East Africa," 1985, 18–32.

⁴⁴ Another complicating factor was that Tanzania provided political asylum to the ousted president of Uganda. Mngomezulu, "Why Did Regional Integration Fail in East Africa?" 2013.

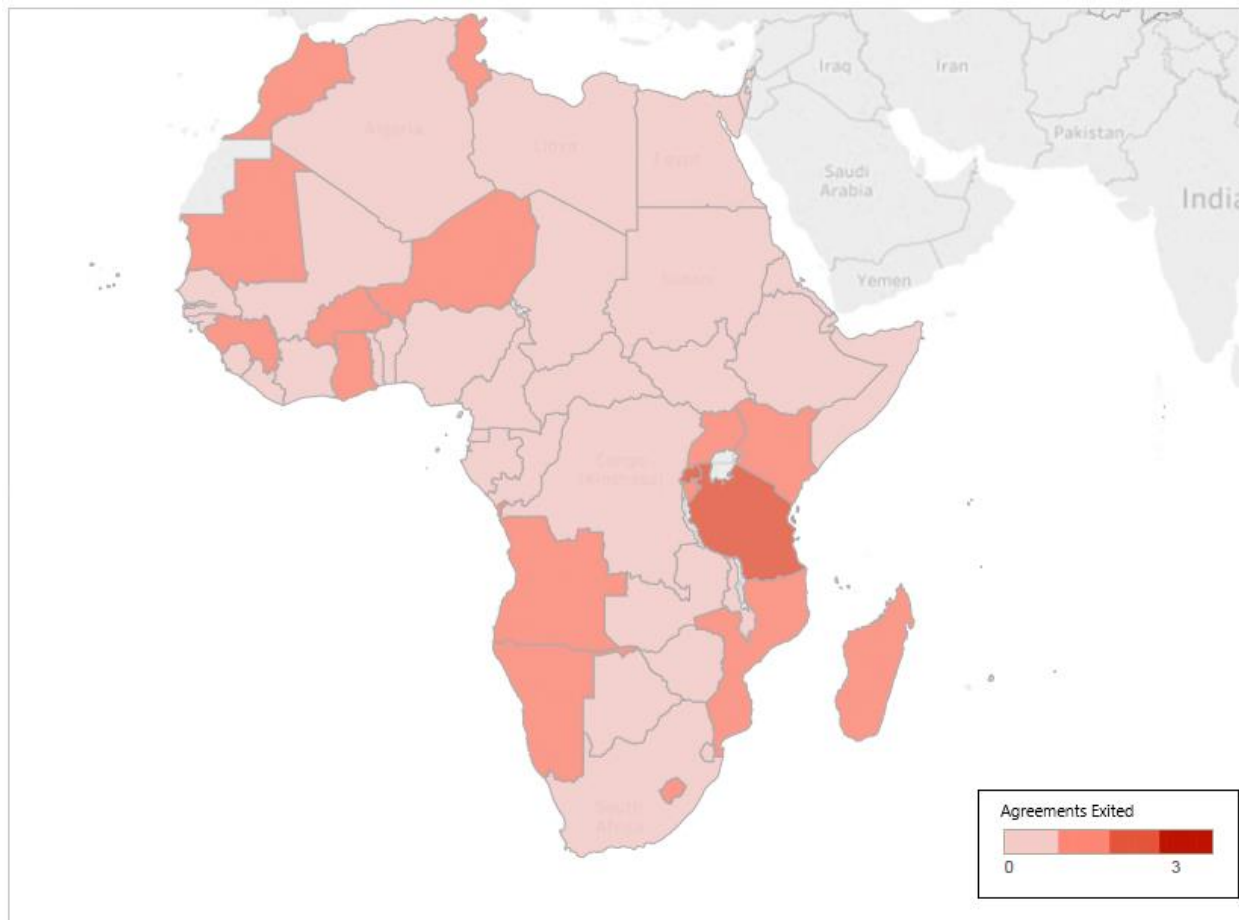
⁴⁵ The borders were kept closed until 1983, hurting Kenya's lucrative tourism business. Agyeman-Duah, "The Cold War and Regional Politics in East Africa," 1985, 18–32.

⁴⁶ East African Community, "History of the EAC" (accessed November 19, 2018).

⁴⁷ The shared goal for the new EAC is to strengthen political, economic, social, and cultural relations between the member states. East African Community, "History of the EAC" (accessed November 19, 2018).

⁴⁸ *The EastAfrican*, "Don't Bet on a Monetary Union by 2024," June 9, 2018.

Figure 6: Instances where countries have left an existing trade agreement without a replacement, 1949–2019, African continent



Source: Compiled from information provided in appendix A.2.

Case Study 5: Venezuela’s Undermining of Three Latin American FTAs

Since 2006, a number of Latin American countries have left regional trade agreements for political reasons, with the government of Venezuela either withdrawing from an agreement or precipitating the withdrawal of others. In the spring of 2006, Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez announced his country’s departure from two separate trade agreements, the Andean Community (CAN)⁴⁹ and the Group of Three (G-3) agreement.⁵⁰ The G-3 and CAN agreements

⁴⁹ The Cartagena Agreement creating the Andean Pact (known today as the Andean Community) on May 26, 1969. The agreement sought to promote development through social and economic integration. The agreement facilitated the process of regional integration with the goal of gradually forming a common Latin American market. Venezuela announced its withdrawal from CAN on April 20, 2006. Comunidad Andina (Andean Community), “Somos Comunidad Andina” (We are Andean Community), accessed September 3, 2019; and BBC News, “Venezuela Quits Andean Trade Bloc,” April 20, 2006.

⁵⁰ The G-3 agreement was signed on June 13, 1994, and created a free trade pact between Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico. The agreement sought to eliminate tariff barriers and facilitate trade between each of the three Latin

sought to facilitate regional integration and eliminate tariff barriers to trade. In 2018 and 2019, seven nations suspended their participation in the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), a larger organization also focused on regional integration, to protest political strife in Venezuela.⁵¹ Colombia, Ecuador, and Brazil have since withdrawn from UNASUR.

In 1999, Hugo Chávez became president of Venezuela and was in power until his death in 2013. One of the hallmarks of his presidency and populist movement was opposition to free market capitalism and what he called the international liberal order.⁵² Chávez was therefore greatly concerned when, in May 2004, the United States entered trade negotiations with Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, seeking to create bilateral trade arrangements with each country.

Eventually, Hugo Chávez dissolved trade relations with those partners who sought greater trade integration with the United States.⁵³ In April 2006, Venezuela announced its exit from CAN, which included Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. Soon afterwards, on May 25, 2006, Venezuelan representatives announced that the country would exit from the G-3 agreement, which included Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela. In addition to the reasons already mentioned, several factors influenced Venezuela's exit from the G-3 and CAN, including geopolitical tensions between Colombia and Venezuela and Venezuela's interest in expediting its entry into the Southern Common Market (Mercosur).⁵⁴

Indeed, during this same period, Venezuela reprioritized trade with other South American countries, namely Brazil and Argentina, through participation in Mercosur and UNASUR.⁵⁵ With 12 signatories, UNASUR's founding document, the Cusco Declaration, called for the creation of a parliament of South American countries, common market, and single currency.⁵⁶ However, efforts by UNASUR to expand regional integration have stagnated due to continued instability in Venezuela.

American countries. The agreement was intended to be expanded to include other Caribbean, Central American, and South American countries. In their joint statement of intent, the G-3 presidents stated their desire to enhance interconnections of electrical systems, eliminate barriers to trade, and stimulate economic growth in the region. Venezuela formally exited the G-3 agreement on November 19, 2006. OAS Foreign Trade Information System, "Colombia-Mexico" (accessed December 10, 2018). *El País*, "Chávez Confirma la Retirada del G3" (Chávez confirms withdrawal from G-3), May 22, 2006.

⁵¹ Associated Press, "6 Countries Suspend Membership in UNASUR Regional Bloc," April 21, 2018; CNN Spanish, "Lenín Moreno Anuncia Retiro Definitivo de Unasur" (Lenín Moreno announces definitive withdrawal from UNASUR), March 14, 2019.

⁵² *El País*, "Chávez Confirma la Retirada del G3" (Chávez confirms withdrawal from G3), May 22, 2006.

⁵³ Malamud, "Venezuela's Withdrawal from the Andean Community of Nations," May 30, 2006.

⁵⁴ *El País*, "Chávez Confirma la Retirada del G3" (Chávez confirms withdrawal from G3), May 22, 2006.

⁵⁵ Fellet, "Venezuela Joins Mercosur Trading Bloc," July 31, 2012. UNASUR was signed in 2004 and implemented in 2008. The original signatories of the Cusco Declaration were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela. *Cusco Declaration on the South American Community of Nations*, December 8, 2004.

⁵⁶ *Cusco Declaration on the South American Community of Nations*, December 8, 2004.

In August 2017, six UNASUR members (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Peru) formed the “Lima Group” to denounce antidemocratic actions by the Venezuelan government of Hugo Chávez’s successor, Nicolás Maduro.⁵⁷ On April 20, 2018, the six signatories of the Lima Group suspended their participation in the regional bloc to protest the continuing crisis in Venezuela.⁵⁸ In August 2018, Colombia announced its intention to leave the regional bloc.⁵⁹ In March 2019, Brazil and Ecuador announced their departures from UNASUR.⁶⁰ These departures, combined with the self-suspensions of four other countries, leave only five active members in UNASUR.

Case Study 6: Greenland’s Withdrawal from the European Economic Community (EC)

In 1985, Greenland, a “constituent nation” of Denmark under Danish law, chose to withdraw from the European Economic Community⁶¹ after it was granted the authority to do so by Denmark under the Home Rule Act of 1979.⁶² The Greenland government’s formal notification of its plan to withdraw followed a 1982 plebiscite in favor of withdrawing from the EC (which passed with a narrow 52 percent–48 percent margin).⁶³ Greenland had only been a member of the European Community for a short period of time, having joined, along with Denmark, nine years before the announcement. Greenland had voted against joining the EC in the first place, but at the time did not have the authority to conduct its own trade policy.⁶⁴

The largest point of contention between Greenland and the EC during the withdrawal negotiations involved fisheries.⁶⁵ Greenland is dependent on exports of fishery products, in particular shrimp, halibut, and cod, such that in some years seafood constitutes more than 90 percent of all Greenland’s exports. These exports are principally sent to the EU market, where certain products compete with those of some European producers, particularly Norway.⁶⁶

Following the 1982 plebiscite, Greenland, Denmark, and the European Community engaged in three years of negotiation focused on how to decouple Greenland from the EC while

⁵⁷ President of Venezuela after the death of Hugo Chávez, Maduro served as Chávez’s Vice President from 2012 to 2013. *Declaración de Lima*, August 8, 2017.

⁵⁸ Paraguassu, “Six South American Nations Suspend Membership,” April 20, 2018.

⁵⁹ Murphy, “Colombia’s President Duque Says Will Withdraw,” August 28, 2018.

⁶⁰ Stratfor, “Americas: Brazil Announces Withdrawal from UNASUR,” April 16, 2019; Pipoli, “Ecuador Pulls Out of South American Regional Group,” March 14, 2019.

⁶¹ The European Economic Community (EEC), also commonly known as the Common Market, was the name of the regional European trading partnership founded in 1957 under the Treaty of Rome and was the precursor to the European Union. In 1992, the EEC was renamed the European Union under the Maastricht Treaty.

⁶² Government of Greenland, “Brief Political History of Greenland” (accessed December 26, 2018).

⁶³ Baume, “Greenland’s Exit Warning to Britain,” June 22, 2016.

⁶⁴ Government of Greenland, “Brief Political History of Greenland” (accessed December 26, 2018).

⁶⁵ Danish Parliament, “What Is Greenland’s relationship with the EU?” 2017.

⁶⁶ OEC, “Greenland,” 2017.

maintaining some form of economic relationship. With a population of less than 60,000 people and substantial trade, cultural, and legal ties to Europe, Greenland found it important to maintain access to the EC market, and the EU wished to maintain access to Greenland's fishery exports.⁶⁷

The two sides therefore agreed to make a special "carve-out" exception for Greenland to ease the country's transition away from the EC. Greenland's eventual agreement with the European Community has supported the limited economic ties between the European community and Greenland since then.⁶⁸

Conclusion

A plethora of trade agreements have been implemented since the Second World War, each with its own interesting story of how it was conceived and realized. This paper highlights examples of agreements from which countries withdrew, voluntarily or otherwise. Judging by this survey of cases, there are two principal reasons why countries leave trade agreements. The first is the pursuit of deeper bilateral trading relationships or trading relationship with more partners, a pattern that tends to confirm the literature identifying a global trend towards trade liberalization and a parallel trend from bilateral trade agreements to plurilateral agreements. The second reason is foreign policy differences among member states, coupled with emergent geopolitical challenges.

During the authors' work on this paper, two possible future research questions emerged. First, why is the pace of the breakdown in trade agreements apparently increasing? Second, what political, social, and economic metrics correlate with the evolution and dissolution of trade agreements? For example, does sharing a border contribute to the evolution or dissolution of trade agreements? Learning the answers to these questions may help trade agreements and their participants better navigate the economic challenges of the coming decades.

⁶⁷ Danish Parliament, "What Is Greenland's Relationship with the EU?" 2017.

⁶⁸ Danish Parliament, "What Is Greenland's Relationship with the EU?" 2017.

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Appendixes

Appendix A.1

Table A-1. List of agreements replaced with subsequent agreement, arranged by year (agreement withdrawn from, countries, year withdrawn, trade agreement joined)

Agreement withdrawn from	Participant countries	Year withdrawn	Trade agreement joined (year joined)
South Africa-Southern Rhodesia Customs Union	South Africa, Zimbabwe	1949	South Africa, Zimbabwe (1964)
Equatorial Customs Union-Cameroon Association Yaoundé I	Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon	1964	Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa (UDEAC, 1964)
	Belgium, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Gabon, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Netherlands, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Togo	1971	Yaoundé II
EC-Overseas Countries and Territories	Belgium, Comoros, France, French Polynesia, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Mayotte, Netherlands, Netherlands Antilles, New Caledonia, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Suriname, Wallis and Futuna Islands	1971	EU-Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT, 1971) (FTA)
Saudi Arabia-Lebanon Agreement	Saudi Arabia, Lebanon	1971	Saudi Arabia-Lebanon Agreement
CARIFTA	Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago	1973	Caribbean Community (CARICOM)
Arusha Agreement	Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Kenya, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Tanzania, Uganda	1976	Lomé Agreement (1975)
Yaoundé II	Belgium, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Gabon, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania,	1976	First Convention of Lomé

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	Mauritius, Netherlands, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Togo		
EC-Morocco Association Agreement of 1969	Morocco	1976	EC-Morocco Cooperation Agreement
EC-Egypt Agreement	Egypt	1977	EC-Egypt Interim Agreement of 1977
EC-Egypt Interim Agreement of 1977	Egypt	1978	EC-Egypt Cooperation Agreement 1978
EC-Tunisia Association Agreement of 1969	Tunisia	1976	EC-Tunisia Cooperation Agreement.
First Convention of Lomé	See footnote. ⁶⁹	1981	Second Convention of Lomé
Spain-EFTA FTA	Spain	1985	Spain joined the EU
Second Convention of Lomé	See footnote from First Convention of Lomé entry.	1986	Third Convention of Lomé
Bilateral FTA (1960)	Australia-New Zealand	1988	ANZCERTA
Third Convention of Lomé	See footnote from First Convention of Lomé entry.	1991	Fourth Convention of Lomé
Argentina-Uruguay FTA	Argentina, Uruguay	1991	Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR)
Tripartite Agreement	Egypt, India, Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	1993	Expired 1993, bilateral agreement exists between Egypt and India
Canada-US FTA (CUSFTA)	Canada, United States	1994	NAFTA
Norway-EU FTA	Norway	1994	Norway joined EEA
Iceland-EU FTA	Iceland	1994	Iceland joined EEA
Liechtenstein-EU FTA	Liechtenstein	1994	Liechtenstein joined EEA
Austria-European Free Trade Association	Austria	1995	Austria joined the EU
Finland-EFTA FTA	Finland	1995	Finland joined the EU
Finland-Estonia FTA	Finland, Estonia	1995	Finland joined the EU
Finland-Latvia FTA	Finland, Latvia	1995	Finland joined the EU
Finland-Lithuania FTA	Finland, Lithuania	1995	Finland joined the EU
Sweden-EFTA FTA	Sweden	1995	Sweden joined the EU
Sweden-Estonia FTA	Sweden, Estonia	1995	Sweden joined the EU
Sweden-Latvia FTA	Sweden, Latvia	1995	Sweden joined the EU
Sweden-Lithuania FTA	Sweden, Lithuania	1995	Sweden joined the EU
Turkey-EU AA	Turkey	1995	Turkey joined customs union with EU

⁶⁹ The Four Conventions of Lome included the following countries: Bahamas; Barbados; Belgium; Benin; Botswana; Burkina Faso; Burundi; Cameroon; Central African Republic; Chad; Congo; Côte d'Ivoire; Democratic Republic of the Congo; Denmark; Equatorial Guinea; Ethiopia; Fiji; France; Gabon; Germany; Ghana; Grenada; Guinea; Guinea-Bissau; Guyana; Ireland; Italy; Jamaica; Kenya; Lesotho; Liberia; Luxembourg; Madagascar; Malawi; Mali; Mauritania; Mauritius; Netherlands; Niger; Nigeria; Rwanda; Samoa; Senegal; Sierra Leone; Somalia; Sudan; Swaziland; Tanzania; The Gambia; Togo; Tonga; Trinidad and Tobago; Uganda; United Kingdom; and Zambia.

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EC-Tunisia Cooperation Agreement	Tunisia	1998	Tunisia-EU agreement (1998)
Arab Common Market	Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Mauritania, Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen	1998	Arab Customs Union
African Common Market	Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco	1998	CEMAC
Switzerland-EU FTA	Switzerland	1999	Several bilateral agreements with the EU
EC-Morocco Cooperation Agreement	Morocco	2000	Morocco-EU agreement (2005)
Fourth Convention of Lomé	71 country ACP	2000	Cotonou Agreement
Saudi Arabia-Syria Agreement	Saudi Arabia, Syria	2001	Saudi Arabia-Syria Agreement
Kuwait-UAE FTA	Kuwait, UAE	2003	GCC Customs Union
Saudi Arabia-UAE FTA	Saudi Arabia, UAE	2003	GCC Customs Union
EC-Egypt Cooperation Agreement 1978	Egypt	2004	Egypt-EU agreement (2004)
Bosnia and Herzegovina-Slovenia FTA	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Czech Republic-EFTA	Czech Republic	2004	Czech Republic joined the EU
Czech Republic-Israel FTA	Czech Republic, Israel	2004	Czech Republic joined the EU
Czech Republic-CEFTA	Czech Republic	2004	Czech Republic joined the EU
Czech Republic-Turkey	Czech Republic, Turkey	2004	Czech Republic joined the EU
Estonia-Bulgaria FTA	Estonia, Bulgaria	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Estonia-EFTA FTA	Estonia	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Estonia-Faroe Islands FTA	Estonia, Faroe Islands	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Estonia-Turkey FTA	Estonia, Turkey	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Estonia-Ukraine FTA	Estonia, Ukraine	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Hungary-EFTA FTA	Hungary	2004	Hungary joined the EU
Hungary-Serbia and Montenegro	Hungary, Serbia and Montenegro	2004	Hungary joined the EU
Hungary-Turkey FTA	Hungary, Turkey	2004	Hungary joined the EU
Hungary-CEFTA FTA	Hungary	2004	Hungary joined the EU
Latvia-Bulgaria FTA	Latvia, Bulgaria	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Latvia-EFTA FTA	Latvia	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Latvia-Turkey FTA	Latvia, Turkey	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Latvia-Ukraine FTA	Latvia, Ukraine	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Lithuania-Bulgaria FTA	Lithuania, Bulgaria	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Lithuania-Croatia FTA	Lithuania, Croatia	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Lithuania-EFTA FTA	Lithuania	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Lithuania-Ukraine FTA	Lithuania, Ukraine	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Lithuania-Turkey FTA	Lithuania, Turkey	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Norway-Estonia FTA	Norway, Estonia	2004	Estonia joined the EU

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Norway-Latvia FTA	Norway, Latvia	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Norway-Lithuania FTA	Norway, Lithuania	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Poland-EFTA FTA	Poland	2004	Poland joined the EU
Poland-Faroe Islands FTA	Poland, Faroe Islands	2004	Poland joined the EU
Poland-Israel FTA	Poland, Israel	2004	Poland joined the EU
Poland-CEFTA	Poland	2004	Poland joined the EU
Poland-Turkey FTA	Poland, Turkey	2004	Poland joined the EU
Romania-Slovakia FTA	Romania, Slovakia	2004	Slovakia joined the EU
Romania-Czech Republic FTA	Romania, Czech Republic	2004	Czech Republic joined the EU
Slovakia-EFTA FTA	Slovakia	2004	Slovakia joined the EU
Slovakia-Israel FTA	Slovakia, Israel	2004	Slovakia joined the EU
Slovakia-CEFTA	Slovakia	2004	Slovakia joined the EU
Slovakia-Turkey FTA	Slovakia, Turkey	2004	Slovakia joined the EU
Slovenia-Bosnia-Herzegovina FTA	Slovakia, Bosnia-Herzegovina	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Slovenia-EFTA FTA	Slovenia	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Slovenia-North Macedonia FTA	Slovenia, North Macedonia	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Slovenia-Israel FTA	Slovenia, Israel	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Slovenia-Turkey FTA	Slovenia, Turkey	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Slovenia-CEFTA	Slovenia	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Switzerland-Latvia FTA	Switzerland, Latvia	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Switzerland-Estonia FTA	Switzerland, Estonia	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Switzerland-Lithuania FTA	Switzerland, Lithuania	2004	Lithuania joined the EU
Estonia-EU AA	Estonia	2004	Estonia joined the EU
Hungary-EU AA	Hungary	2004	Hungary joined the EU
Latvia-EU AA	Latvia	2004	Latvia joined the EU
Lithuania-EU AA	Lithuania	2004	Lithuania joined EU
Poland-EU AA	Poland	2004	Poland joined EU
Slovakia-EU AA	Slovakia	2004	Slovakia joined EU
Slovenia-EU AA	Slovenia	2004	Slovenia joined EU
Cyprus-EU AA	Cyprus	2004	Cyprus joined EU
Costa Rica-DR FTA	Costa Rica, Dominican Republic	2005	DR-CAFTA
Costa Rica-Trinidad and Tobago FTA	Costa Rica, Trinidad and Tobago	2005	DR-CAFTA
European Economic Community (EC)-Algeria AA	Algeria, EC	2005	Algeria-EU agreement (2005)
South Asia Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA)	Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan	2006	South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA)
Bhutan-India FTA	Bhutan, India	2006	Bhutan-India

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South Asia Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA)	India	2006	South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA)
UAE-Australia FTA negotiations	UAE, Australia	2006	Australia-GCC FTA negotiations
Georgia-Armenia FTA	Georgia, Armenia	2006	Georgia FTA with CEFTA
Georgia-Azerbaijan FTA	Georgia, Azerbaijan	2006	Georgia FTA with CEFTA
Georgia-Kazakhstan FTA	Georgia, Kazakhstan	2006	Georgia FTA with CEFTA
Georgia-Russia FTA	Georgia, Russia	2006	Georgia FTA with CEFTA
Georgia-Turkmenistan FTA	Georgia, Turkmenistan	2006	Georgia FTA with CEFTA
Albania-Bulgaria FTA	Albania, Bulgaria	2007	Bulgaria joined EU
Albania-Romania FTA	Albania, Romania	2007	Romania joined EU
Bosnia and Herzegovina-Romania FTA	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania	2007	Romania joined EU
Bosnia and Herzegovina-Bulgaria FTA	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria	2007	Bulgaria joined EU
Bulgaria-CEFTA	Bulgaria	2007	Bulgaria joined EU
Bulgaria-Israel FTA	Bulgaria, Israel	2007	Bulgaria joined EU
Bulgaria-EFTA	Bulgaria	2007	Bulgaria joined EU
Moldova-Romania FTA	Moldova, Romania	2007	Romania joined EU
Romania-EFTA FTA	Romania	2007	Romania joined EU
Romania-CEFTA	Romania	2007	Romania joined EU
Romania-Israel FTA	Romania, Israel	2007	Romania joined EU
Romania-Turkey FTA	Romania, Turkey	2007	Romania joined EU
Turkey-Bulgaria FTA	Turkey, Bulgaria	2007	Bulgaria joined EU
Chile and Peru: Economic Complementation Agreement	Chile, Peru	2009	Chile-Peru Free Trade Agreement
Singapore-Bahrain FTA	Bahrain, Singapore	2009	GCC-Singapore FTA
Nepal-India FTA	Nepal, India	2009	Nepal-India FTA
Albania-Turkey FTA	Albania, Turkey	2009	EFTA
Mexico-Bolivia Free Trade Agreement	Bolivia	2010	Economic development agreement
Kazakhstan-Belarus FTA	Kazakhstan, Belarus	2010	Kazakhstan-Belarus-Russia FTA
Kazakhstan-Russia FTA	Kazakhstan, Russia	2010	Kazakhstan-Belarus-Russia FTA
Armenia-Russia FTA	Armenia, Russia	2011	Commonwealth of Independent States Free Trade Area (CIS FTA)
Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (ATPA)	Colombia	2012	United States-Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement
ATPA (Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act)	Peru	2012	United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement

Croatia-CEFTA	Croatia	2013	Croatia joined the EU
Croatia-EFTA FTA	Croatia	2013	Croatia joined the EU
Macedonia-Croatia FTA	Macedonia, Croatia	2013	Croatia joined the EU

Sources: Design of Trade Agreements (DESTA). "The Evolution of Trade Agreements." 2019; World Trade Organization, "Regional trade agreements," 2018.

Appendix A.2

Table A-2. List of agreements without replacement, arranged by year (agreement, countries, year, notes)

Agreement	Country	Year	Notes
GATT	China	1950	Cultural Revolution, later rejoined GATT/WTO in 2001.
Ghana-Upper Volta Trade Agreement	Burkina Faso, Ghana	1966	FTA inactive 1966, coincides with Upper Volta coup d'état.
Andean Community (CAN)	Chile	1976	In 1976, Chilean President Augusto Pinochet exited CAN due to "economic incompatibilities."
EAC	Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda	1978	Dissolved in 1978 and re-formed in 2000.
Greenland members of European Communities	Greenland	1985	When Greenland gained its autonomy from Denmark, it voted in 1982 via referendum to withdraw from the European Communities (now EU). As a result, Greenland is outside the EU and can levy duties on EU goods.
USSR-Finland FTA	USSR, Finland	1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union.
COMESA	Lesotho	1997	
COMESA	Mozambique	1997	
ECOWAS	Mauritania	2000	
COMESA	Tanzania	2000	
COMESA	Namibia	2004	
SADC (joined 1997)	Seychelles	2004	Seychelles withdrew its membership due to human and financial constraints; readmitted in August 2008.
Colombia-Mexico-Venezuela Free Trade Agreement (Group of Three, G-3)	Venezuela	2006	In 2006, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez announced Venezuela's departure from the trade agreement due to fears that trade liberalization would damage Venezuela's economy.
CAN	Venezuela	2006	In 2006, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez announced Venezuela's departure from the economic community due to fears that trade liberalization would damage Venezuela's economy.
Russia-Georgia FTA	Russia, Georgia	2006, 2014	Russia suspended its FTA with Georgia after Georgia signed a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) with the European

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			Union. Russia also suspended the FTA in 2006 during the conflict between Russia and Georgia over South Ossetia and Abkhazia.
ECCAS	Rwanda	2007	Rejoined 2015.
COMESA	Angola	2007	
ECOWAS	Guinea	2009	Suspended; sanctions lifted in 2011.
SADC (joined 1997)	Madagascar	2009	Suspension from SADC was lifted in 2014.
ECOWAS	Niger	2009	Suspended; sanctions were lifted in 2011.
Syria-Turkey FTA	Syria, Turkey	2011	Syria suspended its FTA with Turkey after Turkey sanctioned President Assad.
Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (ATPA)	Ecuador	2013	In 2013, the United States did not renew the program after Ecuador became ineligible under the terms of the agreement whereupon Ecuador announced its withdrawal.
Mercosur	Venezuela	2016	In December 2016, Venezuela was suspended from Mercosur. The reason given was that Venezuela had failed to meet its obligations to support human rights and democratic values.
Ukraine-CIS FTA	Ukraine	2016	Ukraine was suspended from the CIS FTA by Russia.
Morocco-EFTA	Western Sahara	2017	Not withdrawn, but in 2017 EFTA determined that Western Sahara did not fall within the reach of this FTA.
UNASUR	Colombia	2019	Colombia withdrew from UNASUR to pursue a new, not yet completed regional agreement.
UNASUR	Brazil	2019	Brazil withdrew from UNASUR to pursue a new, not yet completed regional agreement.
UNASUR	Ecuador	2019	Ecuador withdrew from UNASUR to pursue a new, not yet completed regional agreement.
United Kingdom membership of the European Union	UK	2019	UK voted to withdraw from the European Union in June 2016. The current date set for UK withdrawal from the EU is October 31, 2019.

Sources: Design of Trade Agreements (DESTA), "The Evolution of Trade Agreements," 2019; World Trade Organization, "Regional Trade Agreements," 2018.