A STATE’S SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN THE WTO TO HARMONIZE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES

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ABSTRACT

Harmonizing policies toward a specific State’s environmental policies or the World Trade Organization (WTO)’s economic policies can affect States’ rights to implement and enforce national environmental or economic policies. The State harmonization requirement, which restricts trade unless another State adopts a uniform environmental policy, has the potential to infringe on another State’s right to determine and enforce its own environmental policy. One State’s right to take measures must be balanced with another State’s right to choose national policies under the state sovereignty principle of international law. Meanwhile, WTO harmonization, which requires compliance with obligations under WTO rules and the rulings of WTO Dispute Settlement Bodies (DSBs), considers diversity of States’ value preferences and the authority of States to make their own policy choices. In this context, the WTO requires a balance between a State’s desire to avoid distortion in international competition and another State’s right to enforce environmental policies. In sum, in modern state sovereignty principle, a State is more influenced by other States’ actions or international institutions’ activities because of increased interdependence. Accordingly, both the State and WTO harmonization requirements must be implemented in a way that protects States’ rights of environmental policy choice and enforcement.

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* This paper is based on Chapter 7 of my SJD dissertation, entitled “Dual Facets of Harmonizing Environmental Protection Policies in International Trade, at American University Washington College of Law in 2012. I appreciate academic support and advice by Professors David Hunter, Padideh Ala’i, and William Snape at American University Washington College of Law. I also thank Ms. Erika Lennon’s help edit this paper.
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INTRODUCTION

Environmental problems cannot be resolved “in isolation” because
environmental considerations are intertwined with social and cultural values
and economic development.1 A nation’s environmental regulations and
policies may differ from other countries’ policies on the basis of that
nation’s pollution level, technical and economic capacity, and value
preference.2 Thus, environmental problems are dealt with more efficiently

1. IAN BROWNLIE, PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW 275 (7th ed. 2008).
2. DANIEL C. ESTY, GREENING THE GATT: TRADE, ENVIRONMENT, AND THE FUTURE
NEGOTIATING ISSUES IN THE GLOBAL TRADING SYSTEM 599, 600 (Alan V. Deardorff &
Robert M. Stern eds., 1994)(discussing techniques for managing interdependence)
[hereinafter Jackson 1994]; Org. for Econ. Co-operation & Dev. (OECD), Environmental
Standards: Definitions and the Need for International Harmonization ¶¶ 6, 9 21-27 (1974)
[hereinafter OECD 1974]; David Robertson, Trade and the Environment: Harmonization and
Technical Standards, in INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND THE ENVIRONMENT 309, 312 (Patrick
within a state’s own policy objectives.\textsuperscript{3} International relations require these value preferences to be respected within each country due to the principle of state sovereignty.\textsuperscript{4}

Harmonizing environmental policies toward a specific set of domestic environmental policies or international rules would be contrary to the principle of state sovereignty. When a State exercises its right unilaterally to coerce another State to adopt uniform environmental policies, one State’s right can constrain another State’s right to implement and enforce its own environmental policies.\textsuperscript{5} This State harmonization requirement can threaten the other State’s sovereignty. The State harmonization requirement can also conflict with the World Trade Organization (WTO) harmonization requirement, which tries to balance rights between States. The State harmonization requirement needs to balance a State’s right to implement and enforce environmental policies and obligation to respect other States’ rights.

Harmonizing regulations toward WTO rules can also hurt States’ sovereign rights to determine and enforce their environmental policies. The WTO requires a Member State to abide by WTO obligations\textsuperscript{6} and to implement the ruling of the WTO Dispute Settlement Bodies (DSBs) when it is a party to the dispute.\textsuperscript{7} This WTO harmonization requirement is criticized for overwhelming its Member States’ sovereignty over their domestic economic or environmental policies.\textsuperscript{8} WTO harmonization requires a State to balance its own rights and its obligations under the WTO. The State sovereignty principle grants a State absolute discretion over its implementation of policies within its jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{9} Thus, when a State’s

\begin{itemize}
  \item Brownlie, supra note 1, at 289.
  \item Frederick A. Mann, \textit{The Doctrine of Jurisdiction in International Law}, 1 RECUEIL DES COURS 9 (1964); Brownlie, supra note 1, at 289.
\end{itemize}
environmental policies are significantly challenged by another State’s policy requirement or a WTO institutional requirement, it is critical for the State to argue for respect its sovereignty. Both the State and WTO harmonization requirements can affect States’ rights to implement and enforce national environmental policies. The State harmonization requirement would justify a State’s intervening in other States’ sovereign rights based on the common concern of environmental protection; the WTO harmonization requirement requires Member States to introduce a homogenized trading system, and conform their domestic economic policies to WTO rules.

Neither the State nor WTO harmonization necessarily implies explicit harmonization in international trade. A State does not necessarily enact explicit harmonization requirement under its legislation. Mostly, a State’s regulations do not require foreign producers to adopt the same environmental policies, but a State can take trade measures when its trading partner does not meet requirements under its environmental policies or regulations. The State’s trade measures on the basis of environmental policies can result in the same economic effects as the harmonization requirement. In this context, the State’s trade measures are led by not direct or de jure harmonization, but rather by an indirect or de facto harmonization requirement. Further, this State harmonization requirement will only work “if a country requiring harmonization has a large market” that is big enough to influence the export of other countries. Thus, throughout this paper, the State harmonization discussion largely refers to the de facto harmonization requirement, but also includes the de jure one as a possibility.

Similarly, the WTO does not require its Member States to adopt explicitly the same economic policies and laws. WTO rules do not cover Member States’ harmonization of regulations or standards, but rather provides Member States with a framework for economic policies and rules in international trade. What the WTO requires its Member States to do is to implement their national economic policies and law in accordance with their commitments and obligations under the WTO. Accordingly, throughout this paper, WTO harmonization implies that the WTO Member States implement their economic policies and laws to comply with their concessions or commitment under the WTO.

12. Interview with Padideh Ala’i, Professor, American University Washington College of Law, in Washington D.C. (Jun. 11, 2012) [hereinafter Ala’i interview].
13. Id.
14. Robertson, supra note 2, at 310-11.
15. Jackson 1994, supra note 2, at 600; Ala’i Interview, supra note 12.
This paper discusses these two different scenarios of when and how the State or the WTO harmonization requirement affects a State’s sovereignty to implement and enforce its own domestic environmental policies. This paper is organized as follows: section two discusses the principle of state sovereignty in international law; section three examines a State’s unilateral action affecting other States’ sovereign right to legislate and enforce its environmental policies and laws; and, section four analyzes the WTO harmonization requirement and States’ sovereign right to make environmental policies.

1. THE STATE SOVEREIGNTY PRINCIPLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Sovereignty is a State’s “internal power or constitutional capacity.”16 State Sovereignty represents three aspects: exclusive jurisdiction, state equality, and non-intervention.17 A State has “absolute power over its subjects,” for example, its population and territory internally.18 Sovereignty grants States equality in international relations so a State is not constrained by any other higher powers.19 Thus, no State can intervene in the area of another States’ sovereignty.20 However, this traditional concept of state sovereignty is not entirely acceptable in modern international relations. The absolute character of sovereignty is challenged in certain circumstances related to human rights violations, war crime or terrorism.21 Therefore, States or international organizations can justify intervention into the sovereign territory of another State on the ground of resolving global concerns.

Globalization has also helped change the traditional doctrine of exclusive state sovereignty22 because it has increased political, legal, and economic

16. See Mann, supra note 9, at 9. See also Brownlie, supra note 1, at 289.
17. John H. Jackson, Sovereignty: Outdated Concept or New Approaches, in REDEFINING SOVEREIGNTY IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LAW 3, 4 (Wenshua Shan et al. eds., 2008) [hereinafter Jackson 2008]. See also Vaughan Lowe, Sovereignty and International Economic Law, in REDEFINING SOVEREIGNTY IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LAW 77, 83 (Wenshua Shan et al. eds., 2008); Brownlie, supra note 1, at 289.
19. See Brownlie, supra note 1, at 289; Jackson 2008, supra note 17, at 4, 11.
20. See Brownlie, supra note 1, at 289; Jackson 2008, supra note 17, at 4; c.f. Lowe, supra note 17, at 83 (generally discussing limits of sovereignty).
21. See Jackson 2008, supra note 17, at 13; Lowe, supra note 17, at 80.
22. See Jackson 2008, supra note 17, at 6-10. See generally Jackson 2000, supra note 18. See also Lowe, supra note 17; Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, State Sovereignty, Popular Sovereignty, and Individual Sovereignty: From Constitutional Nationalism to Multilevel Constitutionalism in International Economic Law?, in REDEFINING SOVEREIGNTY IN
limitations. Greater interdependence through globalization increases the influence by other States’ actions and the obligations of international institutions. International institutions may play an important role in coordinating international matters, which are difficult for a nation-state to resolve on its own. This international interdependence engenders tension between traditional state sovereignty and the international regime.

A State’s economic regulatory decisions can come into conflict with the mechanisms for international cooperation when a State’s national policies do not comply with its obligations under the international institutions. For a State to cooperate in international relations, it must concede some of its state sovereignty. For example, States consent to be bound by international legal constraints that arise out of treaties. As such, accepting any treaty reduces a national government’s freedom of action because some actions may be inconsistent with the treaty and, thus would be a violation of international law. WTO Member States’ rights also are constrained because they gave up some of their sovereignty by conferring their rights to the WTO to achieve important policy results.

However, these modern aspects of sovereignty do not necessarily prevail over States’ sovereign rights. A State’s obligations under international law must be recognized to the extent that the State consents. An international organization must exercise its power in a way that is based on each State’s sovereign values because the meaning of sovereignty differs in different States. When an intervention overwhelms State sovereignty to address issues of the global commons, it must be exercised only under international law.
law principles. The following sections discuss whether a State’s sovereign right is constrained by the unilateral action of another State and the obligations of international law.

2. A State’s Unilateral Action Affecting Other States’ Sovereignty

2.1. A State’s Unilateral Action Affecting Other States’ Sovereignty to Enforce Environmental Policies

A State’s unilateral action based on its domestic environmental policies or its international obligations under Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) can constrain other States’ sovereign rights. A State has right to implement its policies and to impose trade restrictions to achieve both its domestic environmental goals and the goals it has taken collectively through MEAs. However, a State’s authority to enforce its environmental policies is limited in international relations when its exercising authority is a unilateral action affecting the sovereign rights of other States. A State’s unilateral action constrains other States’ sovereign rights to regulate and implement their environmental policies when it puts pressure on others to make their national policies more uniform. This unilateral constraint results in a State’s intervening in the environmental policies of other States by using economic rules. A State’s intervening national policies go against the sovereignty principle of international law – that a State’s domestic problems should be solved within its own...
jurisdiction. States and international institutions must “refrain from intervening in the internal or external affairs of other states.”

Therefore, when a State’s unilateral measure potentially infringes on another State’s sovereignty, a balance must exist between a State’s right to take measures and another State’s right to implement its own environmental policies. Here, three different types of balance between States can be considered: first, balance between States’ rights to implement their domestic policies; second, balance between a State’s common concern for environmental conservation and another State’s discretion to choose its own policy; and, third, balance between a State’s right to take environmental measures and its obligation to respect other States’ rights under the WTO.

First, the State harmonization requirement to compel another State to adopt uniform environmental policies must consider the balance between States making their own choices to shape their environmental policies. Under international law and in the WTO, a State is not permitted to take unilateral action to coerce other States to make their domestic policies uniform with its policies, for this can hinder their rights to implement their environmental policies. Thus, balance is required when a State’s policy choice affects another State’s policy. Principle 2 of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (hereinafter Rio Declaration) provides that each State has the sovereign right to choose its own environmental policies on the basis of its national need.

WTO decisions have ruled against a State’s unilateral measures when it affects another State’s right to make policy choices. The Panel of United States-Restrictions on Imports of Tuna (hereinafter US-Tuna), where the U.S. prohibited the import of tuna from Mexico and EEC, which was harvested in a way that adversely affected dolphin. It was noted that a State’s unilateral measures based on the environmental exceptions provided by Articles XX(b) and XX(g) of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 (GATT 1994) can “jeopardize [other States’] rights” under the General

38. BROWNlie, supra note 1, at 292.
39. United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janiero, Braz., June 3-14, 1992, Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, U.N. Doc. A/CONF.151/26/Rev.1 (Vol. I), Annex I (Aug. 12, 1992) [hereinafter Rio Declaration]. In addition, States have to consider its obligation not to damage the environment of other States. Principle 2 says that “[s]tates have . . . the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental and development policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.” Id.
A State’s Sovereign Rights and Obligations in the WTO

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The Appellate Body in United States-Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products (hereinafter US-Shrimp), in which the U.S. banned the import of shrimp harvested in a way that adversely affected sea turtles, recognized that the 1996 Guidelines and certification requirements under Section 609 prevented other countries from executing and implementing their own domestic policies.

Meanwhile, in international trade, some constraints exist that relate to the rights of trading countries because the exporting country must meet the requirements of the importing country to access the importing country’s market. Constraints exist both in one State’s taking coercive unilateral measures and in another State’s accessing the market. In this context, the statement of the Panel in United States-Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products -Recourse to Article 21.5 by Malaysia (hereinafter US-Shrimp (21.5)) is controversial. It noted that, for Malaysia to export shrimp to the United States, it is acceptable to distort Malaysia’s environmental policy priorities to meet the policy requirements of the United States. This statement seems to imply that a certain level of constraint on the exporting State’s policy priority is acceptable in order to respect the importing State’s autonomy to implement its environmental or economic policies. However, the Panel’s choice to use the term “distort” was not appropriate in terms of a State’s national policy priorities or sovereign right. Accordingly, to create a balance between States’ policy choices, a State must respect another States’ autonomy and right to determine and implement their national environmental policies under international law and the WTO.

Second, one State’s measures to implement common concern on environmental conservation should balance with another State’s discretion to make its own policy choice. Trade measures can be allowed when international agreements use economic sanctions to enforce their provisions, preventing transboundary environmental harm. State’s measures are also

45. Esty, supra note 2, at. 19-20, 144, 150. See also GATT Secretariat, Industrial Pollution Control and International Trade 4, L/3538 (June 9, 1971) [hereinafter GATT Report 1971].
permitted when there is no international agreement to address the problem, or when no alternative exists to achieve national environmental policy objectives. However, the notion that the protection of the environment is a common concern as a whole can weaken a nation-state’s autonomy over its conventional jurisdiction. International obligations under MEAs do not necessarily authorize a State the legal justification to take unilateral measures. There needs to be a balance between a State’s common concern for the environmental protection and another State’s discretion of policy choice. Rio Principle 12 finds a balance by encouraging States to rely on international consensus when taking environmental measures to deal with transboundary or global environmental problems. Thus, balance between a State’s common concern and another’s discretion lies in creating international cooperation related to environmental conservation for areas of common concern.

Third, a State’s rights are constrained to the extent necessary to, one, ensure its obligation to respect other States’ rights in the WTO and, two, not excessively exercise discretion in a way that affects other States’ rights to market access in international trade. The WTO encourages its Member States both to exercise their own right to take environmental protection measures and to respect other States’ rights under the WTO. The US-Shrimp Appellate Body confirmed this by ruling that the introductory paragraph of Article XX of the GATT 1994 (Chapeau of GATT Article XX) shows that


47. Jagdish Bhagwati, The Demands to Reduce Domestic Diversity Among Trading Nations, in 1 Fair Trade and Harmonization 9, 10-11 (Jagdish N. Bhagwati & Robert E. Hudec eds., 1996). Some argue that unilateral measures “outside . . . national jurisdiction” to protect the global commons should be acceptable because enforcement of protection of the global commons is recognized as a nation’s obligation under customary international law. Weiss, supra note 10, at 731-33. However, under international law, it is not established yet whether environmental protection is an international responsibility or whether global environmental damage is considered an international crime.


49. Rio Declaration, supra note 39, principle 12 (“States should cooperate to promote a supportive and open international economic system that would lead to economic growth and sustainable development in all countries, to better address the problems of environmental degradation. Trade policy measures for environmental purposes should not constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or a disguised restriction on international trade. Unilateral actions to deal with environmental challenges outside the jurisdiction of the importing country should be avoided. Environmental measures addressing transboundary or global environmental problems should, as far as possible, be based on an international consensus.”).

50. Article XX of the GATT 1994 provides exceptions to general obligations of the GATT and WTO so that WTO Member States can take measures necessary to or relating to environmental protection. To justify trade measures, a Member State must meet both each
WTO Members recognize “the need to maintain a balance of rights and obligations between the right of a Member to invoke one or another of the exceptions of Article XX . . . and the substantive rights of the other Members under the GATT 1994.”51 States’ environmental policy goals are legitimate when they respect other Members’ rights under the WTO.

Meanwhile, a State’s excessive exercise of its rights will not be allowed in the WTO because it can threaten other Member States’ rights to trade freely. Allowing States to enact national environmental policies under the concept of state sovereignty can, in fact, give a State a way to disguise trade protectionism by claiming a legitimate environmental protection goal.52 National governments’ decisions should be given considerable deference, but that deference should not be absolute.53 When a country is granted the absolute discretion to determine its environmental policies, it can abuse this power by using its policies to justify trade protectionism.54 A State’s excessive exercise of its rights will not be allowed in the WTO because it can threaten other member states’ right to trade freely. The WTO Panels and Appellate Bodies have found it necessary to limit Member States’ abuse of national environmental policies.55 The US-Shrimp Appellate Body noted that prohibiting a State’s abuse of its rights is a general principle of international law.56 Accordingly, the WTO requires its Member States to balance a State’s discretion to take environmental measures with another State’s right to access the global market.

In sum, in international relations, a State has the right to implement its environmental policies and to take measures to enforce them. However, this


52. ESTY, supra note 2, at 57; Dunleavy, supra note 22, at 272.
53. ESTY, supra note 2, at 58.
54. Id. at 57-58.
unilateral action is limited to the extent necessary for other States to exercise their rights. A State’s right to take measures on the basis of environmental policy must be balanced with the other States’ autonomy to make environmental or economic policy choices.

2.2. A State’s Unilateral Measures Acting Extraterritorial Jurisdiction for Environmental Protection

States have jurisdiction, which is “the general legal competence of States such as judicial, legislative, and administrative competence within its territory.”57 A State has the authority to regulate and to enforce those regulations within its territory.58 When a State’s law binds the sovereignty of other States, the exercise of law is an “excess of jurisdiction” or extrajurisdiction.59

Jurisdiction is based on the principle of territoriality, which means every State possesses exclusive authority over its nationals within its territory.60 One of the fundamental principles of international law is that a nation’s public law can only be applied and enforced in its territory and that any extraterritorial extension of sovereign power is unjustified.61 Extraterritorial jurisdiction has “significant harmful effects within the territory that asserts jurisdiction.”62 A State cannot take measures or enforce national laws in the territory of another State unless that State consents63 because a State’s extraterritorial action can limit the jurisdiction or sovereign rights of other States.64 A State can exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction only when “its

57. See Brownlie, supra note 1, at 299; see also Mann, supra note 9, at 30; see generally Legal Status of Eastern Greenland (Den. v. Nor.), 1933 P.C.I.J. (ser. A/B) No. 53 (Apr. 5) (recognizing that jurisdiction is one of the most obvious forms of the exercise of sovereign power).
58. See Brownlie, supra note 1, at 299; see also Mann, supra note 9, at 9-15. See Mann, supra note 9, at 9 (distinguishing international jurisdiction from domestic jurisdiction of internal power, constitutional capacity or sovereignty).
59. See Mann, supra note 9, at 12, at 24-28.
60. See Brownlie, supra note 1, at 299; see also Mann, supra note 9, at 24-40.
63. Brownlie, supra note 1, at 299, 309.
64. Peter L. Lailas et al., Daniel C. Esty & David J. van Hoogstraten, Environmental Protection and International Trade: Toward Mutually Supportive Rules and Policies, 16 Harv. Envtl. L. Rev. 271, 340 (1992). Extra-territorial jurisdiction includes nationality, protective, passive-personality, and universal jurisdiction. The nationality principle grants a State the jurisdiction over its nationals within its territory and abroad. The passive-personality principle grants a State the jurisdiction over its national outside territory when its nationals are harmed. The protective principle grants a State the jurisdiction outside territory for its security. Universal jurisdiction grants a State the jurisdiction outside its territory or over non-nationals for international crimes such as genocide, war crimes, piracy, or slavery. See Higgins, supra note 62, at 56-65, 73-74; see also Brownlie, supra note 1, at 300-307.
exercise is not excessive and it does not attempt to enforce its jurisdiction within the territory of another State.”

Extraterritorial jurisdiction will be legitimate in certain circumstances, including three principles: one, the non-intervention principle, second, the proportionality principle, and third, the substantial link. First, a State’s extraterritorial exercise of jurisdiction must not intervene with other States’ jurisdiction. As interdependence between States increases, the absolute application of the principle of territorial jurisdiction becomes difficult. Even though a State cannot enforce its jurisdiction outside its territory, a State may be able to create legal norms, which effectively control conduct outside its territory. In this instance, a State’s extraterritorial exercise of jurisdiction is legitimate only when it does not intervene with the jurisdiction of other States under established international law. Second, a State’s extraterritorial jurisdictional measure must be mutual and proportionate with the other States’ breach of international law. Third, to apply extraterritorial jurisdiction, a State must demonstrate that its exercise of jurisdiction is substantially linked to the subject matter. In the US-Tuna case, there was no “direct link” between “the act of incidental killing of dolphins” and “the act of importing tuna into the United States.” The Panel ruled against the United States’ import restriction because of the lack of a direct link between the “protection of dolphins and import restriction of tuna.” Accordingly, a State should consider these three principles when it exercises jurisdiction extraterritorially.

A State’s unilateral action is not allowed under the established international law and the WTO when such action affects areas outside a State’s jurisdiction. Extraterritorial jurisdiction is distinguished from extra-jurisdiction. Extra-jurisdiction is when a state acts in excess of its own jurisdiction. It is a fundamental principle of international law that a State cannot exercise jurisdiction over nationals and territory with which it “has

65. Higgins, supra note 62, at 73.
66. Id.
67. Brownlie, supra note 1, at 311-12.
68. Mann, supra note 9, at 36-40.
70. Brownlie, supra note 1, at 311-12.
71. Id.
72. Id. at 352-54; Mann, supra note 9, at 43-51.
73. Murase 1995, supra note 61, at 353.
74. Id. at 354.
75. Bhagwati & Srinivasan, supra note 37, at 179.
76. Birnie et al., supra note 46, at 771.
77. Mann, supra note 9, at 37, 43-51.
no absolute concern.” 78 Meanwhile, extraterritorial jurisdiction implies that a country exercises its jurisdiction outside its territory. 79 The US-Tuna (EEC) Panel distinguished extraterritorial jurisdiction from extra-jurisdiction. While the US-Tuna (Mexico) Panel used the term of “extra-jurisdiction,” the US-Tuna (EEC) Panel introduced the term “extraterritorial jurisdiction” regarding environmental conservation. 80 The US-Tuna (Mexico) Panel rejected the parties’ extra-jurisdictional application of GATT Articles XX(b) and XX(g) to protect the environment on the basis that natural resources were only “within the jurisdiction of the importing country under GATT Articles XX(b) and XX(g).” 81

GATT Article XX has been interpreted to allow conditionally national measures when they are for the protection of extraterritorial resources. 82 GATT/WTO decisions recognized the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction to protect the environment in certain circumstances. The Panel in US-Tuna (EEC) and the Appellate Body in US-Shrimp recognized that certain circumstances warrant States using extraterritorial jurisdiction to protect and conserve natural resources under GATT Article XX. 83 The US-Tuna (EEC) Panel noted that “the text of Article XX(g) does not spell out any limitation on the location of the exhaustible natural resource to be reserved [under Article XX(g) and of the living thing to be protected under Article XX(b)].” 84 There, the Panel found that States could regulate only the conduct of their own nationals and vessels outside of their territory to conserve the living things and the exhaustible natural resources under Article XX(b) and XX(g). 85 The Appellate Body in US-Shrimp noted that “there is a sufficient nexus between the migratory species and … the United States [jurisdiction] for the purpose of Article XX(g).” 86 The Appellate Body recognized this nexus only in “specific circumstances,” - the fact that sea turtles can freely “pass in and out of waters subject to the rights of

79. See generally BROWNLEE, supra note 1, at 299-311.
80. US-Tuna (Mexico), supra note 41, ¶¶ 5.25-5.32; US-Tuna (EEC), supra note 41, ¶¶ 5.15-5.33.
81. US-Tuna (Mexico), supra note 41, ¶¶ 5.26, 5.31-.32. The Panel ruled that, since a country can only control production or consumption within its jurisdiction, a trade measure would have to be taken within its jurisdiction under Article XX(g). Id. ¶ 5.31. See also Cheyne, supra note 46, at 452-53.
82. BIRNIE ET AL., supra note 46, at 771.
83. US-Tuna (EEC), supra note 41, ¶¶ 5.15, 20, .31-.33; US-Shrimp Appellate Body Report, supra note 42, ¶ 133.
84. US-Tuna (EEC), supra note 41, ¶¶ 5.15, 20, .31-.33.
85. Id. ¶¶ 5.17-.20, 33. This decision “is based on the active personality jurisdiction under which a State may control the activities of its own citizens.” Thomas J. Schoenbaum, International Trade and Protection of the Environment: The Continuing Search for Reconciliation, 91 AM. J. INT’L L. 280 (1997); Cheyne, supra note 46, at 455.
86. US-Shrimp Appellate Body Report, supra note 42, ¶ 133.
jurisdiction of various coastal States.” Thus, GATT Article XX can permit
a State’s extraterritorial measure when a sufficient link exists between
environmental measures and a State’s policy objective.

These cases conditionally recognized that GATT Articles XX(b) and
XX(g) allow for national measures designed to protect resources using
extraterritorial jurisdictions, but not measures that are extra-jurisdictional. However, the application of extraterritorial jurisdiction is limited. When a
country decides to apply its domestic law extraterritorially, it is a unilateral
decision made by that country, not a decision made with international
agreements. In these instances, extraterritorial application may involve a
government’s unilateral action that goes against a foreign government’s
different policy objective.

In summary, within its own jurisdiction, a State is free to enact
environmental regulations and enforce those regulations related to both
domestic and global concerns. However, a State cannot exercise power
beyond its jurisdiction. In addition, because the theory of state sovereignty
is based on territoriality, a State cannot regulate and implement its domestic
environmental policies outside its territory except in certain instances.
Under international law and the international trade system, a State’s
unilateral action taken outside of its jurisdiction is limited to instances
where a substantial link exists between trade measures and an
environmental policy objective.

3. THE WTO HARMONIZATION REQUIREMENT AND A STATE’S
SOVEREIGNTY

This section examines how WTO harmonization affects state sovereignty
by looking at relationship between the WTO harmonization requirement and a
States’ diversity in value preferences and between a State’s obligations and
rights under the WTO.

3.1. The WTO’s Harmonization and a State’s Diversity of
Environmental Policies

The WTO harmonization requirement is meaningful when it reaches
reconciliation with national economic policy choices. The WTO strives to
expand the harmonized international trading mechanism, which improves
economic development through the reduction of tariffs and trade barriers, and

87. Id.
88. Cheyne, supra note 46, at 453; Schoenbaum, supra note 85, at 280.
89. Murase 1999, supra note 34, at 437.
90. Id.
elimination of discriminatory treatment.\textsuperscript{91} For States to harmonize toward international rule and to eliminate policy differences across borders, they must make concessions related to their sovereignty.\textsuperscript{92} Further, requiring a State to accept internationally harmonized economic rules can preclude it from determining internally optimal economic policies.\textsuperscript{93} National economic policies clash with international economic regulations when national value policy preferences disfavor foreign products.\textsuperscript{94} Thus, the WTO harmonization requirement needs to be reconciled with State’s national policy choices, which are based on diversity in each country.

A uniform legal system between States can be attained by accepting an internationally harmonized system or by introducing the legal system of other States. On the one hand, international instruments can provide States with an internationally harmonized system. On the other hand, the State’s previously introduced legal system can serve as a model for other States’ legal systems, which would also result in uniform or similar legal systems or policies. A uniform legal system or policy, thus, can reflect a State’s willingness to accept previously successful legal systems or policies. However, implementing a uniform legal system and policies in each State will not necessarily be exactly the same because changes can occur in the process of a State accepting and incorporating either international or another State’s legal system or policies into its domestic ones. Every country has its own specific social, cultural, religious, political, and economic priorities.\textsuperscript{95} Thus, any uniform international system must recognize there will be a large degree of diversity due to cultural differences, historical backgrounds, government systems or economic attainment and needs to adjust accordingly.\textsuperscript{96}

In the WTO’s international economic mechanism, it can be controversial to have different treatment on the basis of different value preferences.\textsuperscript{97} In this context, the WTO can be criticized for being a homogenizing force on culture and community.\textsuperscript{98} In Canada-Measures Affecting Exports of Unprocessed Herring and Salmon (hereinafter Canada-Herring and Salmon), the Canadian policy regulating exports of unprocessed salmon and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{92} Dunleavy, supra note 22, at 268-69.
  \item \textsuperscript{93} Leebron, supra note 11, at 65; Dunleavy, supra note 22, at 269.
  \item \textsuperscript{96} Jackson 1994, supra note 2, at 600.
  \item \textsuperscript{97} John H. Jackson, World Trade Rules and Environmental Policies: Congruence or Conflict, 49 WASH. & LEE L. REV. 1227, 1243 (1992).
  \item \textsuperscript{98} Charnovitz, supra note 8, at 56.
\end{itemize}
herring was called into question. This policy was implemented to continue Canada’s longstanding fishery resource preservation and management program, which had existed in Canada’s west coast since 1908. In its defense, Canada noted that each country could have “different national priorities on fisheries.” The Panel recognized “the harvest limitations ‘restrictions on domestic production’ [as measures] within the meaning of Article XX(g),” but ruled against Canada because Canada could preserve fisheries without imposing export prohibitions on them. Similarly, in Thailand-Restrictions on Importation of and Internal Taxes on Cigarettes (hereinafter Thailand-Cigarettes), the Thailand Tobacco Act, which was implemented in 1938, was declared inconsistent with the GATT rules. In both Canada-Herring and Salmon and Thailand-Cigarettes, long-standing policies were declared incompatible with the GATT/WTO. These diverse priorities in national policies raise a question about the extent to which the WTO requires its member states to alter value preferences in social, cultural, political or economic policies to make them more uniform with the WTO’s economic rules.

The WTO does not require its member states to enact and implement the same economic policies and laws. WTO rules do not address Member States’ harmonization of regulations or standards, but rather provides the states with rules for international trade. Except for tariff concessions, WTO Member States are free to legislate, implement, and enforce their domestic policies and laws so long as they are compatible with obligations under the WTO. The Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS Agreement), for example, does not require WTO Members to introduce specific uniformed SPS standards. Similarly, the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT Agreement) does not provide WTO Members with harmonized technical standards. The WTO only requires its Member States to incorporate their commitments and agreements under the WTO into their domestic laws in order to implement those commitments and agreements.

100. Id. ¶ 3.7.
101. Id. ¶¶ 4.4, 4.7.
102. Report of the Panel, Thailand-Restrictions on Importation of and Internal Taxes on Cigarettes, ¶¶ 20, 38, 87, DS10/R (Nov. 7, 1990), GATT B.I.S.D. (37th Supp.) at 200 [hereinafter Thailand-Cigarettes]. Requirements of existing legislation to be effective in the WTO are to: be legislation in the formal sense; predate the Protocol; and, be mandatory in character by its terms or expressed intent. Id. ¶ 83; see also Report of the Panel, Norway-Restrictions on Imports of Apples and Pears, ¶ 5.7, L/6474 (June 22, 1989), GATT B.I.S.D. (36th Supp.) at 306.
103. JACKSON 1994, supra note 2, at 310-11.
104. Jackson 1994, supra note 2, at 600; Ala’i interview, supra note 12.
WTO rules do not constrain States’ authority to determine and implement legitimate environmental policies so long as the policies meet WTO obligations of non-discrimination and market access. The WTO does not preclude its Member States from implementing regulations or taxes to curtail domestic pollution and the activities that contribute to pollution. WTO Members can establish health or environmental policies based on different values and priorities, as it is difficult to require Member States to apply common criteria in their domestic policies in these areas. Constraints under WTO rules are imposed on State’s discriminatory or protectionist measures that are taken unilaterally without negotiating with other Member States. The purpose of non-discrimination obligations under the GATT Articles I and III is for national choices on social, political, and economic policies not to constrain goods in international trade. TBT or SPS measures, subsidies, or quantity quota should be made by balancing the desire to avoid distortions in international competition and the right to enforce national environmental policies. Diversity in regulation between different countries is expected under the WTO trading system unless international agreements exist that provide a common norm.

General exceptions under GATT Article XX are interpreted not to constrain domestic policy goals for health and environmental protection.

111. Mitsuo Matsushita et al., The World Trade Organization: Law, Practice, and Policy 215-16 (2d ed. 2006); Roessler, supra note 109, at 49.
113. Article XI of the GATT 1994 does not allow any trade restrictive measure such as quotas, import or export licenses, or other measures other than tariffs or duties. GATT Article XI:1 provides:

No prohibitions or restrictions other than duties, taxes or other charges, whether made effective through quotas, import or export licences or other measures, shall be instituted or maintained by any contracting party on the importation of any product of the territory of any other contracting party or on the exportation or sale for export of any product destined for the territory of any other contracting part.

116. As for environmental measures, paragraphs (b), (d) and (g) of GATT Article XX are generally invoked. Article XX states:
The Panel in *Thailand-Cigarette* noted that “[GATT Article XX(b)] … allow[s] [Member States] to give priorities to human health over trade liberalization” as long as trade measures meet the “necessity to” requirement under the provision.¹¹⁷ Under GATT Article XX(b), “necessity to” is not interpreted in a way that judges the Member State’s justification of its environmental policies, but instead examines the trade measures that implement the environmental policies.¹¹⁸ The *US-Shrimp* Appellate Body noted that the certification requirement under Section 609 constituted “arbitrary discrimination” under the GATT Article XX Chapeau because it required exporting countries to adopt the same regulatory program as that in the United States without considering the conditions of the exporting countries.¹¹⁹ The Panel in *EC-Measures Affecting Asbestos and Asbestos-Containing Products* (hereinafter *EC-Asbestos*) recognized the non-economic character of GATT Article XX as well. It noted that “certain interests may take precedence over the rules governing international trade and authorizes the adoption of trade measures aimed at preserving these interests while at the same time observing certain criteria.”¹²⁰ Accordingly, GATT Article XX respects non-economic considerations of its Member States’ economic policies.

These legal requirements and the DSBs’ decisions under the GATT/WTO demonstrate that the purpose of WTO harmonization is not to remove the diversity of national value preferences, but to require that national trade measures are consistent with WTO rules.¹²¹ A State’s value preferences are permitted to the extent that they do not threaten the value or reliability of

Subject to the requirement that such measures are *not* applied in a manner which would constitute a means of *arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination* between countries where the same conditions prevail, *or a disguised restriction* on international trade, nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent the adoption or enforcement by any contracting party of measures: . . .

(b) *necessary to* protect human, animal or plant life or health; . . .

d (d) *necessary to* secure compliance with laws or regulations which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Agreement . . . ;

(g) *relating to* the conservation of exhaustible natural resources if such measures are made effective in conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consumption . . . . (emphasis added).

GATT 1994, *supra* note 40, art. XX.

117. *Thailand-Cigarettes,* *supra* note 102, ¶ 73.
121. In this context, the international trade law principle of comparative advantage and the international law principle of state sovereignty have the common goal internationally of allowing a State to adopt its optimal policies that supports diversity of national policies. *See* *Leebron,* *supra* note 11, at 71.
the WTO’s commitment to a free and open market.\textsuperscript{122} If each governmental policy goal or value was accepted as an environmental exception to the WTO, then the international legal system of trade would be threatened.\textsuperscript{123} Accordingly, the WTO harmonization reconciles States’ domestic policies, on the one hand, by the WTO recognizing the diversity of policy choices in each different society; and, on the other hand, States meeting their value preferences for making policy choices in line with the fundamental principles of the WTO.

3.2. A State’s Rights and Contractual Obligations in the WTO

WTO harmonization requires a Member State to comply with obligations under the WTO and parties to a dispute to implement decisions of the WTO DSB. This section discusses whether this WTO harmonization requirement limits a State’s right to determine and enforce its environmental policies.

3.2.1. State Sovereignty and Contractual Obligations in International Law and the WTO

3.2.1.1. State Sovereignty and Contractual Obligations under International Law

The international trading system should not interfere with the ability of nations to determine or employ measures to achieve environmental goals.\textsuperscript{124} In international law, States have the right to determine their own laws and policies and what acts are allowed to take place within sovereign territory.\textsuperscript{125} International instruments cannot hinder a State from freely pursuing its domestic objectives.\textsuperscript{126} The WTO does not have authority to legally challenge national policies.\textsuperscript{127} A State is only bound to the obligations of the

\textsuperscript{122} Hudec 1996b, supra note 6, at 129, 146.
\textsuperscript{123} US-Shrimp Panel Report, supra note 6, ¶ 7.45; Rober E. Hudec, Introduction to 2 FAIR TRADE AND HARMONIZATION: PREREQUISITES FOR FREE TRADE? LEGAL ANALYSIS, supra note 6, at 1, 5.
\textsuperscript{124} Lallas et al, supra note 64, at 271, 335.
\textsuperscript{125} BROWNLEE, supra note 1, at 277. Regarding territorial jurisdiction, the author introduces the concept of “decisional sovereignty” in the Nuclear Test case decision, which stated that a State has right “to determine what acts should take place within its territory.” See Request For An Examination of the Situation in Accordance With Paragraph 63 of the Court’s Judgment of 20 December 1974 in the Nuclear Tests (N.Z. v. Fr.), 1995 I.C.J. 288 (Sept. 22); Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, Advisory Opinion, 1996 I.C.J. 226 (July 8).
\textsuperscript{126} Bhagwati 1993, supra note 3, at 165-66; Daniel A. Farber & Robert E. Hudec, GATT Legal Restraints on Domestic Environmental Regulations, in 2 FAIR TRADE AND HARMONIZATION, supra note 6, at 59, 63.
\textsuperscript{127} ESTY, supra note 2, at 56.
specific international treaties to which it agrees. In the absence of adherence to the WTO agreements, a State is free to deny market access to any other State for any reason and to impose trade restrictions discriminately. In this instance, the State is not bound by the obligations of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN), which prohibits discriminatory treatment between the same goods from different foreign countries, and national treatment, which prohibits discriminatory treatment between the same domestic and foreign goods, and can discriminate against imported products.

However, when a State agrees to an international instrument, some limitations are imposed upon States’ sovereign rights based on the agreement. Thus, accepting any treaty or trade agreement diminishes the freedom of the State to implement domestic policies or take any national actions. When a State agrees to confer its power to an international organization, it agrees to limit its right to exercise the powers conferred to the international organization. Thus, certain types of actions inconsistent with the treaty norms would give rise to an international law violation. WTO Member States are bound by treaty obligations when they accept and agree to WTO agreements. The Panel in US-Shrimp noted that "by accepting the WTO Agreement, Members commit themselves to certain obligations which limit their right to adopt certain measures." WTO Member States must comply with basic obligations of MFN, national treatment, non-quantitative restriction and concession, and obligations under WTO covered agreements. In summary, a State’s sovereignty, as it relates to its ability to make its own domestic policy choices, is constrained to the extent that it accepts and agrees to the WTO Agreement.

128. See BROWNLIE, supra note 1, at 289; Jackson 2008, supra note 17, at 19; Jackson 2000, supra note 18, at 369.
129. Hudec 1996b, supra note 6, at 149.
130. GATT 1994, supra note 40, art. I.
131. GATT 1994, supra note 40, art. III.
133. Hudec 1996b, supra note 6, at 149; SAROOSHI, supra note 7, at 1-2.
134. Jackson 2000, supra note 18, at 380; Dunleavy, supra note 22, at 268.
135. SAROOSHI, supra note 7, at 69.
137. See generally Hudec 1996b, supra note 6, at 116-17.
WTO rules and DSB decisions are binding as international legal obligations. A dispute settlement body’s ruling can extend the powers conferred to an international organization. When the WTO DSB rules that a Member State is violating WTO rules, it creates an international legal obligation requiring that State to change its economic policy, namely the inconsistent measure, to make it consistent with WTO rules.

However, decisions of WTO dispute settlement bodies enforce the existing obligations and do not impose new obligations on Members, nor does it inappropriately limit a Member State’s discretion in legislating. Article 3.2 of the Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes (DSU) provides that “[r]ecommendations and rulings of the DSB cannot add or diminish the rights and obligations provided in the covered agreements.” The dispute settlement mechanism is not designed to fill or create new rules or set forth norms in areas the WTO does not already, for example, environment or labor standards.

Further, the decisions of the DSB are binding only on the States that are parties to the dispute.

The WTO’s jurisprudence exacerbates the tension between internationalism and national sovereignty because WTO decisions can have important effects in a domestic court’s jurisprudence. The Appellate Body in US-Shrimp found that the U.S. Court of International Trade’s decision allowing the import ban was inconsistent with the GATT Article XX Chapeau, and that the import ban should be withdrawn. This decision holds that State courts must consider international law obligations when interpreting national law. The decision that rejected the U.S. domestic court’s ruling casts a question on the extent to which States can exercise their national environmental policies and jurisdiction in the WTO system.

140. Pauwelyn, supra note 7, at 341; Jackson 1997a, supra note 7, at 63-64.
141. SAROOSHI, supra note 7, at 12-13.
142. Pauwelyn, supra note 7, at 341; Jackson 1997a, supra note 7, at 60; SAROOSHI, supra note 7, at 96-97.
144. DSU, supra note 139, art. 3.2.
146. SAROOSHI, supra note 7, at 70.
148. Jackson 1997a, supra note 7, at 64.
150. Jackson 1997a, supra note 7, at 61.
Even though States confer their rights to the WTO, the DSB decisions’ legal effects and the WTO agreements’ limits on Members’ rights can be criticized on the basis that the WTO restricts the sovereign rights of Member States to exercise control over their natural resources via export or import control.\(^{151}\) The next section examines whether the WTO’s multilateral trading system deprives Member States of the right to determine appropriate national environmental policies.

3.2.2. A State’s Right to Determine its Environmental Policies in the WTO

3.2.2.1. WTO Rules on States’ Authority of National Environmental Policies

The WTO recognizes its Member States’ authority to legislate and enforce their national environmental policies and laws. The national treatment obligation under the GATT Article III is interpreted to allow WTO Member States to determine legitimate environmental policies unless those environmental policies are taken with protectionist intent.\(^{152}\) The GATT Article XX provides a State with the right to regulate and implement its policies on public morals, health, and the environment.\(^{153}\) The WTO DSBs’ interpretation of measures “necessary to” protect the environment as “least trade restrictive” under Article XX(b) is criticized as hindering a State’s sovereign right to solve domestic environmental problems.\(^{154}\) Article XX(b), however, allows a State to determine its own environmental policies and the level of desirable protection these policies will require.\(^{155}\) With regard to the level of protection, the Appellate Body in *EC-Asbestos* held that within the meaning of Article XX(b), “WTO Members have the right to determine the level of protection of health that they consider appropriate in a given situation.”\(^{156}\) Thus, States may impose environmental requirements on foreign producers provided the requirement is for the implementation of an environmental policy that meets the requirements of Article XX.\(^{157}\)

The WTO Agreements also recognize its Member States’ choice of environmental policies. The Preamble of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization (WTO Establishing

\(^{151}\) LANG \& HINES, *supra* note 35, at 63-64.


\(^{154}\) Schoenbaum, *supra* note 85, at 277.


\(^{157}\) Hudec 1996b, *supra* note 6, at 116-17, 151.
Agreement)\(^{158}\) incorporates the concept of sustainable development, which was introduced by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987\(^{159}\) and was firmly established by the 1992 Rio Declaration.\(^{160}\) The 2001 Ministerial Declaration (Doha Declaration) reaffirmed the goal of sustainable development in the WTO\(^{161}\) and recognized environmental protection and social development as part of the mandate of an economic system.\(^{162}\) Preamble of the WTO Establishing Agreement also recognizes that members’ respective needs and concerns differ depending on economic development, which affects how each protects the environment.\(^{163}\) Thus, the WTO Establishing Agreement recognizes WTO Members’ right to take appropriate measures to protect the environment.

The WTO covered agreements also provide Member States with the authority to determine their own policies. For example, Article XIV(b) of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) also allows WTO Member

\(^{158}\) WTO Establishing Agreement, \textit{supra} note 85, pmbl. ¶ 1. It provides: The Parties to this Agreement, \textit{recognizing} that their relations in the field of trade and economic endeavour should be conducted with a view to raising standards of living, ensuring full employment and a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, and expanding the production of and trade in goods and services, while allowing \textit{for the optimal use of the world’s resources} in accordance with the \textit{objective} of \textit{sustainable development}, \textit{seeking both to protect and preserve the environment} and to enhance the \textit{means} for doing so in a manner consistent with their respective needs and concerns at different levels of economic development. \textit{Id.} (emphasis added).

\(^{159}\) The most commonly referenced form of sustainable development is the definition by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED: Brundtland Commission). Recognizing the linkage between the environment and economic and social issues, the Brundtland Commission recommended “sustainable development” as “development that meets the needs of the present and future generations” in 1987. \textit{The World Commission on Environment and Development, Our Common Future} 43-46 (1987). The Brundtland Commission emphasized that development should be maintained in a way that balances, reconciles, and integrates economic, environmental, and social priorities. Marie-Claire Cordonier Segger & Markus W. Gehring, \textit{Introduction} to \textit{SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN WORLD TRADE LAW} 5, 5 (Markus W. Gehring & Marie-Claire Cordonier Segger eds., 2005).

\(^{160}\) Principle 3 of the Rio Declaration refers to inter-generational equity in the Brundtland Commission’s Report. It states that “[t]he right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.” \textit{Rio Declaration, supra} note 39, prnc. 3.


\(^{162}\) Segger & Gehring, \textit{supra} note 159, at 21.

\(^{163}\) WTO Establishing Agreement, \textit{supra} note 91, pmbl. Paragraph 1 Preamble to the WTO Establishing Agreement states that parties recognize they are “seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and to enhance the means for doing so in a manner consistent with their respective needs and concerns at different levels of economic development.”
States to adopt or enforce measures “necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health.”

Similarly, the SPS Agreement recognizes a State’s discretion to determine its own appropriate health policies by incorporating the notion of the precautionary principle as an exception to risk assessment and international standards requirements. Article 5.7 of the SPS Agreement allows States to take precautionary measures in the absence of sufficient scientific evidence, rather than waiting for a time when the risk assessment requirement can be met. The precautionary principle provides that States should not allow the absence of full scientific certainty to prevent them from enacting measures to protect the environment. The precautionary principle grants States discretion in their policy making to act in order to prevent any harm to human health or the environment. Article 3.3 of the SPS Agreement also allows Members to adopt appropriate domestic policies to protect the environment with standards that are higher than international standards. The Appellate Body in European Communities-Measures Concerning Meat and Meat Products (hereinafter EC-Hormones) recognized the precautionary principle is reflected in Articles 5.7 and 3.3 and paragraph six of the Preamble of the SPS Agreement. These provisions give WTO Members the discretion to determine their own optimal policies for human health and environmental protection.

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164. General Agreement on Trade in Services art. XIV(b), Apr. 15, 1994, Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, Annex 1B, 1869 U.N.T.S. 183 [hereinafter GATS]. Article XIV(b) of the GATS provides:

Subject to the requirement that such measures are not applied in a manner which would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination between countries where like conditions prevail, or a disguised restriction on trade in services, nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent the adoption or enforcement by any Member of measures . . . necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health.

Id.

165. SPS Agreement, supra note 155, art. 5.7.


168. SPS Agreement, supra note 155, art. 3.3.

The TBT Agreement also permits WTO Members to adopt the appropriate technical regulations to fulfill a legitimate governmental objective related to their environmental policies. The Preamble of the TBT Agreement, provides that “no country should be prevented from taking measures . . . for the protection of human, animal or plant life or health, of the environment.”\textsuperscript{170} Under Article 2.2 of the TBT Agreement, a Member State can adopt a technical regulation to “fulfill a legitimate objective” of the environment.\textsuperscript{171} Article 2.4 of the TBT Agreement permits Member States to adopt and use national standards for technical standards when international standards are absent.\textsuperscript{172} The Appellate Body in \textit{European Communities-Trade Description of Sardines} noted that the TBT Agreement acknowledged the right of WTO members to establish the objectives of their technical regulations.\textsuperscript{173}

The GATT and the WTO have granted members the right to choose their own economic system and trade policies.\textsuperscript{174} but they have not allowed

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{170} Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade preamble ¶ 6, Apr. 15, 1994, Marrakech Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, Annex 1A, 1868 U.N.T.S. 120 [hereinafter TBT Agreement].
\item \textsuperscript{171} \textit{Id.} art. 2.2. Article 2.2 provides:
Members shall ensure that technical regulations are not prepared, adopted or applied with a view to or with the effect of creating unnecessary obstacles to international trade. For this purpose, technical regulations shall not be more trade-restrictive than necessary to fulfil a legitimate objective, taking account of the risks non-fulfilment would create. Such legitimate objectives are, \textit{inter alia}: national security requirements; the prevention of deceptive practices; protection of human health or safety, animal or plant life or health, or the environment.
\item \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{172} \textit{Id.} art. 2.4. It says:
Where technical regulations are required and relevant international standards exist or their completion is imminent, Members shall use them, or the relevant parts of them, as a basis for their technical regulations except when such international standards or relevant parts would be an ineffective or inappropriate means for the fulfilment of the legitimate objectives pursued, for instance because of fundamental climatic or geographical factors or fundamental technological problems.
\item \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{173} Appellate Body Report, \textit{European Communities-Trade Description of Sardines}, ¶ 276, WT/DS231/AB/R (Sept. 26, 2002).
\item \textsuperscript{174} Panel Report, \textit{Italian Discrimination Against Imported Agricultural Machinery}, L/833 (Oct. 23, 1958), GATT B.I.S.D. (7th Supp.) at 60 (Italy extend favorable credit to purchasers of Italian-made tractors and the UK brought action alleging violation of national treatment provision in Article III:4, the Panel found that the GATT does not limit the right of a member State to adopt measures that appeared necessary to it to foster its economic development or to protect a domestic industry, provided that such measures were permitted by the GATT).
members’ measures when they are arbitrary or unjustifiably discriminate, or are a disguised restriction on international trade. While GATT Article XX provides Member States with justification for trade measures necessary to or relating to environmental protection, such measures must not constitute “arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination” nor “a disguised restriction on international trade” under the Chapeau of GATT Article XX. Those principles of non-discrimination or a non-disguised restriction are also embodied in the SPS Agreement, the TBT Agreement, and the GATS. Doha Declaration also noted that Members’ measures should not constitute “arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination” or “a disguised restriction on international trade,” and that those measures should be in accordance with the WTO agreements. In addition to these non-discrimination and non-protectionism principles, a Member State must meet requirements under each covered agreement to justify its trade measures.

These provisional devices impose a certain degree of constraint on WTO Member States’ ability to exercise their rights to defend other Member States’ market-access rights. The purpose of the GATT 1994 and WTO covered agreements is not to guarantee that Members use the domestic policies of specific technical regulations, SPS measures, subsidies, antidumping duties, or countervailing duties, but rather to ensure that these domestic policies do not undermine market access rights. This implies that if the WTO decides to include an Environment Agreement as one of its covered agreements, then the WTO Environment Agreement would regulate environmental measures, not to hinder international trade, but rather to provide a framework for environmental protection in international trade.

In sum, the WTO gives Member States discretion to choose and enforce their optimal environmental policies, though with some limitations based on contractual obligations and legitimate requirements under the GATT 1994 and the WTO agreements.

3.2.2.2. WTO Jurisprudence on States’ Authority of National Environmental Policies

The GATT/WTO dispute settlement bodies have recognized its Member States’ discretion to adopt and implement their own environmental policies. Many GATT/WTO decisions have supported States’ authority of national environmental policies using different expression. For example, both Panels of the US-Tuna (Mexico) and US-Tuna (EEC) noted that a State has right to implement national policies in pursuant to environmental protection goals.

175. See SPS Agreement, supra note 155, pmbl ¶ 1, arts. 2(3), 5(5); TBT Agreement, supra note 170, pmbl ¶ 6; GATS, supra note 164, art. XIV(b).


The *US-Tuna (Mexico)* and *US-Tuna (EEC)* Panels noted that their decisions were based on the “consideration that [they] would affect neither the rights of individual [Member States] to pursue their internal environmental policies and to cooperate with one another in harmonizing such policies, nor the right of [Member States] acting jointly to address international environmental problems.”178 Further, the *US-Tuna (Mexico)* Panel concluded that a State is “free to tax or regulate imported products . . . for environmental purposes” unless its taxes and regulations discriminate against imported products or afford protection to domestic products.179 Here the *US-Tuna (Mexico)* Panel emphasized that non-discriminatory and non-protectionist policies are legitimate for environmental protection.

In *United States-Standards for Reformulated and Conventional Gasoline* (hereinafter *US-Gasoline*), the Panel and Appellate Body stressed the balance States environmental policy goals and WTO rules. The Panel of *US-Gasoline* concluded “WTO Members were free to set their own environmental objectives, but they were bound to implement these objectives through measures consistent with [WTO rules].”180 The *US-Gasoline* Appellate Body also noted in its concluding remarks that “WTO Members have a large measure of autonomy to determine their own policies on the environment . . . , their environmental objectives and the environmental legislation they enact and implement . . . [T]hat autonomy is circumscribed only by the need to respect the requirements of [the GATT] and other covered agreements.”181 The *US-Gasoline* decisions stressed that so long as Member States complied with obligations of the GATT 1994 and WTO covered agreements, States could exercise their environmental autonomy.

The *US-Shrimp* Panel highlighted the importance of securing the multilateral trading system in determining national environmental policies. The *US-Shrimp* Panel emphasized that under the WTO, Member States have “the right . . . to implement the environmental policies of their choice through trade measures, as long as those trade measures do not affect the multilateral system to the point where the WTO Agreement is deprived of its object and purpose.”182 The *US-Shrimp* Panel noted, in its concluding remarks, that “Members are free to set their own environmental objectives. However, they are bound to implement these objectives in such a way that is consistent with their WTO obligations, not depriving the WTO Agreement of its object and purpose.”183 Thus, the *US-Shrimp* Appellate Body, similar to *US-Gasoline* Appellate Body, recognized that States can

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178. US-Tuna (Mexico), supra note 41, ¶ 6.4; see also US-Tuna (EEC), supra note 41, ¶¶ 5.26, 5.37-5.38.
179. US-Tuna (Mexico), supra note 41, ¶ 6.2.
182. US-Shrimp Panel Report, supra note 6, ¶ 6.6; see also id. ¶¶ 7.45, 7.55, 9.1.
183. Id. ¶ 9.1.
adopt their own policies to protect the environment provided that they “fulfill their obligations and respect the rights of other Members under the WTO Agreement.”

Several decisions supported that GATT Article XX grants States right to determine environmental policies in pursuant to the appropriate level of protection in each country. The EC-Asbestos Panel noted that the “necessary to protect” requirement under GATT Article XX(b) does not imply a restriction on Members’ “freedom . . . to take certain measures rather than others.” The EC-Asbestos Appellate Body also recognized WTO Members’ rights to determine the appropriate level of protection under GATT Article XX(b). In Brazil-Measures Affecting Imports of Retreaded Tyres (hereinafter Brazil-Tyres), where Brazil invoked Article XX(b) to justify its ban on imports of retreaded tires, the Panel recalled the EC-Asbestos Appellate Body position, noting that “every WTO Member has the ‘right to determine a level of protection of health that [it considers] appropriate in a given situation’” within the meaning of [GATT] Article XX(b). The Brazil-Tyres Appellate Body also, in determining measures necessary to protect under GATT Article XX(b), observed that “it is within the authority of a WTO Member to set the public health or environmental objectives it seeks to achieve, as well as the level of protection that it wants to obtain, through the measure or the policy it chooses to adopt.” The Appellate Body recognized that it is a fundamental principle that “WTO members have the right to determine the level of protection they consider appropriate” within the meaning of GATT Article XX(b). The Panel in United States-Measures Concerning the Importation, Marketing and Sale of Tuna and Tuna Products [hereinafter US-Tuna Labeling] also followed previous decisions by recognizing that WTO members have the “right to determine the legitimate policies they want to pursue.”

In summary, the goals of the WTO Member States’ environmental policies are considered legitimate as long as they fulfill their obligations and respect other Members’ rights under the GATT 1994 and WTO covered agreements, comply with the fundamental international trade principles of non-discrimination and non-protectionism, and secure the object and purpose of the multilateral trading system. When measures meet these
requirements, they are recognized as “necessary to” or “relating to” achieve an environmental policy objective.

3.3. WTO’s Limited Adjudication to Judge National Environmental Necessity

Under the state sovereignty principle, the WTO cannot interfere with a State’s authority to determine and enforce its national environmental policies and laws within its jurisdiction. Member states of the WTO are constrained only in the application of their national policies and laws to the extent necessary to comply with their obligations under the WTO. Here, the application of national policies must be distinguished from the legislation or enforcement authority of such policies. While constraining the application of national policies and law to not violate WTO rules is acceptable, interfering with national capacity to legislate or enforce policies through the use of WTO rules or a DSBs’ decision is not acceptable under the state sovereignty principle. Accordingly, even though some limitations are imposed on a State’s application of its environmental policies and law, WTO rules and DSBs’ decisions demonstrate that WTO Members possess autonomy to determine, legislate, and enforce their environmental policies and laws to the extent that they are legitimate under the WTO economic rules.

The WTO has limited authority to adjudicate national policy choices and enforcement. Neither the WTO itself nor its DSBs have the power to enforce WTO rules or DSBs’ decisions in WTO Member States. Compliance with WTO obligations or DSBs’ decisions depends on the willingness of Member States or dispute parties to do so. The WTO DSBs, unlike domestic tribunals, cannot enforce their ruling by imposing punishment or fines on parties to the dispute. They only judge whether measures at issue in the dispute are consistent or inconsistent with WTO rules. The method of resolution depends on the parties to the dispute. A certain Member State would have to be “willing to bear the cost of measured retaliation” by injured Member States or withdraw from WTO covered agreements.

WTO Panels and Appellate Bodies cannot judge a country’s political values or the factors it considers to determine what policies are necessary based on the degree of serious environmental harm. The Panel in US-


192. Steger, supra note 177, at 485-86. Professor Steger notes that “the WTO is driven solely by its members acting collectively. . . . The members will not allow the Director-General to have any real power, nor will they delegate any significant policy setting . . . .”; see also Alan O. Sykes, Protectionism as a “Safeguard”: A Positive Analysis of the GATT “Escape Clause” with Normative Speculations, 58 U. Chi. L. Rev. 255, 279 (1991).


Gasoline noted that the task of the Panel was to examine whether “the aspect of the Gasoline Rule found inconsistent with [the GATT] was necessary to achieve the stated policy objectives under Article X(b),” but it was “not the task of the Panel to examine the necessity of the environmental objectives of the Gasoline Rule . . . that the Panel did not specifically find to be inconsistent with [the GATT 1994].”\textsuperscript{195} The Panel emphasized “[i]t was not its task] to examine generally the desirability or necessity of the environmental objectives of the Clean Air Act or the Gasoline Rule. Its examination was confined to those aspects of the Gasoline Rule that had been raised by the complainants under specific provisions of the [GATT 1994].”\textsuperscript{196} The Brazil-Tyres Panel recalled US-Gasoline Panel’s position, noting the “[WTO Panel is not] required to examine the desirability of the declared policy goal as such” and, thus, “[does not have] to assess the policy choice by Brazil to protect human, animal or plant life or health.”\textsuperscript{197} Similarly, the US-Tuna Labeling Panel noted the Panel does not determine “what might be an appropriate level of protection to achieve in relation to the objectives identified by the United States for the information of consumers and the protection of dolphins in relation to the manner in which tuna is caught.”\textsuperscript{198} These decisions demonstrate that WTO DSBs do not have authority to assess environmental objectives of national policies.

The WTO has neither the capability nor the mandate to develop environmental performance standards.\textsuperscript{199} Further, the WTO has no explicit provision regarding environmental protection, conservation or preservation.\textsuperscript{200} Thus, given the lack of substantive rules governing the relationship between trade and the environment, it is inevitable that the WTO DSBs would refuse to decide a case in which it has to do so based on the merits of an environmental policy itself.\textsuperscript{201} The WTO DSBs only rule on whether the measure at issue is taken in accordance with obligations and requirements under the WTO.

**SUMMARY**

Both the State and WTO harmonization requirements must be implemented in a way that protects States’ right of environmental policy choice and enforcement. The State harmonization requirement, which restricts trade unless another State accepts its environmental policy, has the potential to infringe on another State’s right to determine and enforce its

\textsuperscript{195} US Gasoline Panel Report, supra note 50, ¶ 6.22.
\textsuperscript{196} Id. ¶ 7.1.
\textsuperscript{197} Brazil-Tyres Panel Report, supra note 50, ¶ 7.97.
\textsuperscript{198} US-Tuna Labeling Panel Report, supra note 190, ¶ 7.622.
\textsuperscript{199} ESTY, supra note 2, at 178.
\textsuperscript{200} Murase 1999, supra note 34, at 424.
\textsuperscript{201} Id.
own environmental policy. One State’s right to take measures must be balanced with another State’s right to choose national policies under the state sovereignty principle of international law. States’ autonomy must be respected and thus policy choices that infringe on other States are not allowed to balance each State’s rights. If the State harmonization requirement is based on common concern for environmental protection, then it can reach a balance with other States’ autonomy through international cooperation. The WTO encourages balance between a State’s rights and obligations. Because the WTO’s function is to secure its system by providing freedom of trade for its Member States, the WTO’s balancing requirement may constrain one State’s right on a certain level to protect other States’ rights.

WTO harmonization, requiring compliance with obligations under WTO rules and the rulings of WTO DSBs, must consider the diversity of States’ value preferences and the authority of States to make their own policy choices. The WTO cannot judge a State’s choice of policy, but it can judge a State’s application of that policy. The WTO only judges whether a State’s application of its laws and policies is within the WTO rules. In this context, the WTO requires a balance between a State’s desire to avoid distortion in international competition and another State’s right to enforce environmental policies. The WTO cannot judge whether a State’s exercise of right infringes on another’s right. Rather, the WTO judges whether a State’s exercise of rights violates any obligations or concessions under the GATT 1994 and the WTO covered agreement to protect other States’ rights to trade freely within the WTO system.

Further, even though a State is not allowed to infringe on another’s sovereignty under the international law, when it occurs, it becomes a more political than legal issue. This is because the infringing State takes the action despite the fact it knows that it is illegal. International instruments such as the WTO or International Court of Justice (ICJ) may make legal decisions, but they cannot enforce their rulings on the countries nor punish such infringing States.

The modern state sovereignty principle recognizes that a State is more influenced by other States’ actions or international institutions’ activities due to increased interdependence caused by globalization. A State’s rights also are constrained to the extent that a State consents to be bound by treaties or international law. However, these constraints on State’s rights do not overwhelm state sovereignty because international constraints require a State’s agreement. Accordingly, either the State or WTO harmonization must be implemented to respect a State’s sovereign right to make its own environmental or economic policy choices.