

Chapter 5

The World Trade Organization Dispute Settlement Mechanism



Stephanie Switzer

0 Contents

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| 1 | 5.1 Introduction | 2 |
| 2 | 5.2 An Overview of the WTO and Its Dispute Settlement System | 4 |
| 3 | 5.2.1 Operation of the Dispute Settlement System | 4 |
| 4 | 5.3 Significant Environmental Disputes Within the WTO Dispute Settlement System | 17 |
| 5 | 5.3.1 Environmental Provisions in the WTO Covered Agreements | 17 |
| 6 | 5.4 Assessment of the Strengths and Weaknesses of the WTO Dispute Settlement System | |
| 7 | as a Forum for Resolving Disputes Involving Environmental Matters | 32 |
| 8 | 5.5 Conclusions | 34 |
| 9 | References | 35 |

1 **Abstract** The relationship between trade and environmental protection is one that
 2 has provoked much by way of debate. While there is recognition within WTO legal
 3 texts that trade liberalisation can have an impact upon environmental protection,
 4 much of the more contentious issues pertaining to the relationship between trade and
 5 the environment have been left to the WTO dispute settlement system to pronounce
 6 on. This chapter assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the WTO dispute settle-
 7 ment system as a forum for resolving disputes involving environmental matters. This
 8 chapter argues that while the jurisprudence of the WTO dispute settlement system
 9 has been sensitive to the idea that countries should have sufficient policy space to
 10 enact measures for environmental purposes, significant question marks remain over
 11 a number of questions such as how non-WTO law should be treated within the WTO
 12 dispute settlement system. With an increasing range of environmental threats facing
 13 the world, not least the spectre of climate change, change is needed within the WTO
 14 to better ensure a mutually supportive relationship between trade and environmental
 15 protection.

16 **Keywords** Trade and environment · exhaustible natural resources · WTO dispute
 17 settlement · renewable energy · Appellate Body

S. Switzer (✉)

Centre for Environmental Law and Governance, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland
 e-mail: Stephanie.switzer@strath.ac.uk

© T.M.C. ASSER PRESS and the authors 2022

E. Sobenes et al. (eds.), *The Environment Through the Lens of International Courts and Tribunals*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-507-2_5

1

5.1 Introduction

The origins of the modern trading system, as encompassed in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), lie in the aftermath of the 2nd World War with the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947. With 23 original contracting parties, the GATT was to act as a provisional agreement to liberalise tariffs prior to the introduction of a permanent entity for the governance of international trade, the International Trade Organisation (ITO).¹ Due to reluctance on the part of the US Congress to ratify the Havana Charter that would have brought the ITO in effect, the ITO failed to come into being. The result of this was that the ‘temporary’ GATT developed over time an institutional structure, increased its Membership and oversaw eight rounds of trade negotiations. The last of these rounds was the so-called Uruguay Round. Launched at Punta del Este in 1986, the Uruguay round encompassed negotiations on a wide range of areas relevant to trade, including intellectual property, agriculture and subsidies. Perhaps the most important act of the Uruguay Round, however, was the decision to form a World Trade Organisation, which entered into force as an institution in 1995.² The WTO incorporates the original GATT 1947 as part of the GATT 1994,³ which is one of the so-called ‘covered agreements’ of the WTO.

The WTO has, as at December 2020, 164 Members and with the accession of Russia in 2012, includes all major trading nations as Members. The foundational source of WTO law is the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organisation which, while relatively short, notes that all ‘agreements and associated legal instruments included in Annex 1, 2 and 3 ... are integral parts of this Agreement.’⁴

The central focus of this chapter is the operation of the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU), particularly with respect to how the WTO dispute settlement system has dealt with disputes involving environmental matters. The WTO does not have unrestrained free trade as its goal.⁵ Indeed, the preamble to the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO recognises that relations ‘in the field of trade and economic endeavour’ should allow for ‘the optimal use of the world’s resources in accordance with the objective of *sustainable development*, seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and to enhance the means for doing so’.⁶ The compromise recognised in this preambular provision—that growth, whether it be economic

¹ For a background on the formation of the GATT, see Trebilcock and Howse 2005, pp. 23–24.

² Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organisation, 15 April 1994, 1867 UNTS 154, entered into force 1 January 1995 (WTO Agreement).

³ General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Article XX, Oct. 30, 1947, 61 Stat. A-11, 55 UNTS 194, as amended by Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, April 15, 1994, Annex 1A, 1867 UNTS 154, 33 ILM 1125 (hereinafter GATT 1994).

⁴ Annex 1A at present contains 13 agreements relevant to trade in goods, including the GATT 1994; Annex 1B contains the General Agreement on Trade in Services while Annex 1C contains the Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS). Annex 3 contains a Trade Policy Review Mechanism while Annex 2 contains the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU).

⁵ Hoekman 2016, p. 1087.

⁶ WTO Agreement, above n 2, preamble (emphasis added).

50 growth or a rise in living standards—should not be at the expense of the environ-
51 nment or sustainable development more generally, provides important background to
52 understanding the legal compact of the WTO.⁷ The placement of the principle of
53 sustainable development in preambular language means that it operates at the level
54 of general principle and is not binding in the way that other provisions of the WTO
55 agreements are.⁸ However, this preambular statement is accompanied by numerous
56 provisions within the WTO covered agreements which attempt to strike a balance
57 between a Member's 'right to regulate' for environmental purposes with the other
58 trade related goals of the WTO.⁹ There is, however, no specific legal agreement on the
59 relationship between trade and environmental protection and accordingly, important
60 questions of Members' regulatory space to enact environmental measures have—at
61 least in part—been left to the dispute settlement system to deliberate upon.

62 As we will see, the relationship between trade and environmental protection is one
63 that has provoked much by way of debate, including question marks over the relation-
64 ship between WTO law and multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs).¹⁰ The
65 extent to which the WTO dispute settlement system can, and moreover should, apply
66 other provisions of international law so as to 'defragment' the public international
67 law system and ensure the mutual supportiveness of WTO law is a further, related
68 issue, that has arisen in the context of the trade and environment relationship.¹¹ While
69 there is some reference within the WTO legal texts to the fact that trade liberalisation
70 can impact environmental protection, as noted above, much of the more contentious
71 issues pertaining to the relationship between trade and the environment have largely
72 been left—arguably purposely¹²—to the dispute settlement system to pronounce on.

73 Given the above context, the general aim of this chapter is to assess the strengths
74 and weaknesses of the WTO dispute settlement system as a forum for resolving
75 disputes involving environmental matters. The next section (Sect. 5.2) provides an
76 overview of the WTO and its dispute settlement system. This is followed (Sect. 5.3)
77 by a discussion on certain of the more significant disputes that the WTO dispute settle-
78 ment system has heard involving trade and the environment. After this (Sect. 5.4),
79 we will assess strengths and weaknesses of the WTO dispute settlement system as
80 a forum for resolving disputes involving environmental matters. In line with other
81 scholars, it will be argued that the WTO dispute settlement system, and in particular
82 the Appellate Body, have been sensitive to the concerns of certain constituencies that
83 the WTO should provide space for countries to enact measures for environmental
84 purposes with an impact upon trade. However, despite such sensitivity, question

⁷ Trachtman 2017, pp. 273–274.

⁸ Lydgate 2012, p. 624.

⁹ Trachtman 2017, p. 274.

¹⁰ Kulovesi 2016, p. 49.

¹¹ Kulovesi 2016.

¹² Indeed, from the early days of the GATT, certain commentators placed significant prominence on dispute settlement and were 'intrigued' by using it as, 'a format for studying environment and trade issues' see discussion in Brown Weiss 2016, p. 367.

85 marks remain over a number of questions such as to how international law agree-
 86 ments emanating from outside the WTO, such as MEAs, should be treated within the
 87 dispute settlement system. With an increasing range of environmental threats facing
 88 the world, not least the spectre of climate change, change is needed within the WTO
 89 to better ensure a mutually supportive relationship between trade and environmental
 90 protection.

91 **5.2 An Overview of the WTO and Its Dispute Settlement** 92 **System**

93 *5.2.1 Operation of the Dispute Settlement System*

94 At the date of writing,¹³ Members have lodged almost 600 disputes before the WTO
 95 dispute settlement body, with over 350 formal rulings issued.¹⁴ Compared to certain
 96 other international adjudicatory systems such as ITLOS and the ICJ, Members have
 97 made extensive use of the WTO dispute settlement system.¹⁵ This section will provide
 98 an overview of the operation of the dispute settlement system, with consideration
 99 given, *inter alia*, to its jurisdiction, evidentiary requirements, the burden of proof
 100 and issues of applicable law. Where possible, commentary will be entered into on
 101 how these issues interface with the relationship between trade and environmental
 102 protection though a more detailed treatment of such issues will be provided in the
 103 following Section (Sect. 5.3).

104 As noted above, the WTO Understanding on Rules and Procedures for the Settle-
 105 ment of Disputes—known as the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU)—
 106 sets out the governance framework for dispute settlement under the WTO.¹⁶ The
 107 mandate of the WTO dispute settlement system is set out in Article 3.2 DSU as
 108 being: ‘security and predictability to the multilateral trading system. The Members
 109 recognise that it serves to preserve the rights and obligations of Members under the
 110 covered agreements, and to clarify the existing provisions of those agreements in
 111 accordance with the customary rules of interpretation of public international law.’

112 However, while the mandate granted to the WTO dispute settlement at first sight
 113 appears quite broad, the third sentence of Article 3.2 notes the somewhat ‘circum-
 114 scribed’¹⁷ nature of this mandate. The third sentence to Article 3.2 directs that,
 115 ‘(r)ecommendations and rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) cannot add
 116 to or diminish the rights and obligations provided in the covered agreements.’ In

¹³ February 2021.

¹⁴ WTO Dispute Settlement Body.

¹⁵ Van Den Bosche and Zdouc 2017, p. 165.

¹⁶ WTO, Dispute Settlement Rules: Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settle-
 ment of Disputes, Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, Annex 2, 1869
 UNTS 401, 33 ILM 1226 (1994) (DSU).

¹⁷ Van Den Bosche and Zdouc 2017, p. 190.

117 essence, the rulings of the WTO dispute settlement system cannot ‘make law.’
 118 Accordingly, as noted by Devaney, the mandate of the dispute settlement system
 119 is quite constrained when compared with that of the ICJ, with the latter also tasked
 120 with the progressive development of international law.¹⁸

121 The WTO DSB administers the dispute settlement system. The DSB comprises
 122 representatives of all WTO Members. It is essentially the WTO General Council
 123 sitting in another guise.¹⁹ The dispute settlement process commences with a request
 124 for consultations by the complaining Member. In terms of locus standi, only WTO
 125 Members may bring a dispute—and indeed, be the subject of a complaint—before
 126 the dispute settlement system. Interested Members with a substantial interest in the
 127 dispute²⁰ may act as ‘third parties’ to the dispute. The DSU recognises the right to
 128 third parties to be heard and to make submissions.²¹ Only Members may be third
 129 parties.

130 The rules on standing are significant from an environmental perspective; environ-
 131 mental interest groups and indeed international environmental organisations do not
 132 have *locus standi* to bring a dispute to the WTO. They may submit *amicus curiae*
 133 briefs—discussed below—but, as will be argued, this process is quite limited. It
 134 does not, for example, guarantee a right to be heard or a right of access to the dispute
 135 settlement system by non-WTO parties.

136 5.2.1.1 The Consultations and the Panel Stage

137 As noted above, all disputes commence with a request for consultations by the
 138 complaining Member. The consultations stage has proven quite successful in helping
 139 to resolve disputes,²² though in the event that the parties are unable to resolve the
 140 matter through consultations within 60 days of the commencement of consultations,²³
 141 the complaining party may seek formal adjudication before a dispute settlement
 142 Panel. The complainant must provide a written, ‘summary of the legal basis of the
 143 complaint sufficient to present the problem clearly.’²⁴

144 The dispute settlement Panel is an *ad hoc*, as opposed to standing body,²⁵ and
 145 usually consists of three panellists though there is provision for a five Member Panel
 146 if the parties to the dispute so agree.²⁶ A single Panel—as opposed to multiple

¹⁸ Devaney 2016, p. 129.

¹⁹ WTO Agreement, above n 2, Article IV.3.

²⁰ DSU, above n 16, Articles 4.11, 10 17.4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Article 10.

²² Davey 2014, p. 688.

²³ DSU, above n 16, Article on the procedure for consultations.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 6.2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Article 8 on the composition of Panels.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 8(5).

147 Panels—may be established ‘whenever feasible,’²⁷ where two or more Members
148 request the establishment of a Panel in relation to the same matter.

149 The function of the Panel is set down in Article 11 DSU as being to make an
150 objective assessment of the matter before it, including an objective assessment of the facts
151 of the case and the applicability of and conformity with the relevant covered agreements,
152 and make such other findings as will assist the DSB in making the recommendations or in
153 giving the rulings provided for in the covered agreements.

154 The usual ‘terms of reference’ of a Panel require it to examine, ‘*in light of the*
155 *relevant provisions of ... the covered agreements* (emphasis added),’ the claims set
156 out in request by the complaining Member to establish a Panel.²⁸ What this means in
157 practical terms is that a complainant cannot make new claims after the establishment
158 of the Panel.²⁹ While the parties involved may agree to special terms of reference,
159 such agreement is rare.³⁰ The reference to the ‘covered agreements’ of the WTO in
160 Article 11 DSU is notable in that it is clear the focus of the WTO dispute settlement
161 system is very much on WTO law, rather than on clarifying the relationship between
162 WTO law and other areas of international law such as the relationship between WTO
163 law and MEAs. While issues of jurisdiction and applicable law are discussed further
164 below, the circumscribed nature of the Panel’s remit, as set down in Article 11 DSU,
165 is to be noted at this juncture.

166 The DSU sets out quite detailed provisions in respect of the timelines to govern
167 dispute settlement proceedings. Panel proceedings are tasked, as a ‘general rule’ to
168 take no more six months—three in urgent cases such as those involving perishable
169 goods—and should ‘(i) no case exceed nine months.’³¹ While the emphasis in the
170 DSU upon strict timescales can be contrasted with the ICJ and ITLOS,³² in practice,
171 and in part due to the increased complexity of disputes being brought before the WTO
172 dispute settlement system, these timeframes are oftentimes exceeded.³³ Notably,
173 there is no fast-track procedure for disputes involving environmental concerns though
174 to the extent a dispute involving environmental aspects would be considered as
175 ‘urgent’, the parties could avail of the more compressed timeframe of three months
176 for Panel proceedings set out in the DSU.³⁴

177 Once the parties have had an opportunity to make submissions and the Panel has
178 deliberated on the issues before it, the Panel will issue its report to the parties involved
179 in the dispute. The report is then circulated to the wider Membership before publi-
180 cation on the WTO website.³⁵ Panel reports are not binding until formal adoption

27 Ibid., Article 9(1).

28 Ibid., Article 7.1.

29 Van Den Boscche and Zdouc 2017, p. 220.

30 Ibid., p. 221.

31 DSU, above n 16, Articles 12.8 to 12.9.

32 Subedi 2010, p. 180.

33 Davey 2014, p. 691.

34 See e.g. DSU, above n 16, Article 12.8.

35 Van Den Boscche and Zdouc 2017, pp. 277–278.

181 by the DSB. The DSU mandates that adoption occurs within 60 days of the publi-
 182 cation unless there is either a consensus against its adoption (the so-called ‘negative
 183 consensus’ or ‘reverse consensus’ rule) or the complaining party or the defending
 184 Member lodges an appeal.³⁶ In other words, in the absence of an appeal, adoption
 185 of Panel reports is quasi-automatic. This is a significant change from the practice of
 186 dispute settlement under the precursor to the WTO, the GATT, in respect of which
 187 panel reports were only adopted if all parties—including the losing party—agreed to
 188 adoption. The now infamous *Tuna—Dolphin* GATT panel reports—discussed below
 189 in Sect. 5.3.1.1—which are considered a nadir in the relationship between trade and
 190 environmental, were in fact not adopted, a situation which is highly unlikely to arise
 191 nowadays given the negative consensus rule. Therefore a ruling which was funda-
 192 mentally at odds with environmental norms—while very unlikely to arise in prac-
 193 tice—would nevertheless almost certainly be adopted due to the reverse consensus
 194 rule.

195 5.2.1.2 The Appellate Body Stage

196 The WTO Appellate Body hears appeals from the Panel stage. In contrast to the Panel,
 197 the Appellate Body is a standing body. As noted by Van Den Bossche and Zdouc, the
 198 WTO dispute settlement system is one of only a handful in the international system
 199 to make provision for appellate review.³⁷ While establishment of an Appellate Body
 200 within the WTO was something of an afterthought,³⁸ in its early days, it was praised
 201 as the ‘jewel in the crown’ of the trading system.³⁹ Around 70% of Panel reports
 202 have been appealed.⁴⁰

203 The DSU directs that the Appellate Body shall have seven Members, each with
 204 four-year terms, renewable once.⁴¹ Divisions of three Appellate Body Members hear
 205 appeals. Only the parties—not including third parties—to a dispute can appeal a Panel
 206 report⁴² and appeals can only be lodged on the basis of ‘issues of law covered in the
 207 Panel report and legal interpretations developed by the Panel.’⁴³ Members cannot
 208 appeal findings of fact and there is no remand authority for the Appellate Body to
 209 refer issues back to the Panel for further assessment.⁴⁴ In terms of its mandate, the
 210 Appellate Body ‘may uphold, modify or reverse the legal findings and conclusions
 211 of the Panel.’⁴⁵

³⁶ DSU, above n 16, Article 16.4.

³⁷ Van Den Bossche and Zdouc 2017.

³⁸ Van den Bossche 2005.

³⁹ Creamer 2019.

⁴⁰ Bacchus and Lester 2020, p. 186.

⁴¹ DSU, above n 16, Article 17.2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 17.4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17.6.

⁴⁴ See discussion in Pierola 2005, pp. 193–216.

⁴⁵ DSU, above n 16, Article 17.13.

212 All WTO Members are required to agree—or at least not disagree—on the appoint-
 213 ment of individuals to the Appellate Body. Since 2016, the US has blocked the
 214 appointment of new Members as well as the reappointment of existing Appellate
 215 Body Members with the result that since December 2019, the Appellate Body has
 216 ceased to have enough Members to function.⁴⁶ While the causes of the so-called
 217 Appellate Body crisis are outside the scope of this chapter,⁴⁷ the lack of a function-
 218 ing Appellate Body has (at least) two practical consequences for the operation of
 219 the WTO. The first consequence relates to the adoption of Panel reports; while WTO
 220 Members are still utilising the dispute settlement process,⁴⁸ the Dispute Settlement
 221 Body cannot adopt if an appeal is lodged.⁴⁹ There is nothing to prevent the losing
 222 side from appealing ‘into the void’,⁵⁰ thereby effectively blocking the adoption of
 223 the Panel report and rendering it devoid of legal force.

224 Numerous proposals have been made to avoid appeals being lodged into the
 225 ‘void.’ These include that at the outset of a dispute, parties agree not to appeal.⁵¹
 226 Certain Members have also moved forward to develop an alternative arbitration
 227 forum as a ‘stop-gap’⁵² alternative to the Appellate Body through the creation of a
 228 multi-party interim appeal arbitration arrangement—the MPIA.⁵³ Article 25(1) DSU
 229 provides the legal authority for the creation of the MPIA. This provision offers the
 230 possibility, ‘for expeditious arbitration within the WTO as an alternative means of
 231 dispute settlement which can facilitate the solution of certain disputes that concern
 232 issues that are clearly defined by both parties’ with the procedures to be followed
 233 under arbitration required to be agreed by the parties involved.⁵⁴

234 As at December 2020, the EU and 22 other Members are participants to the
 235 MPIA.⁵⁵ The participating parties to the MPIA have agreed, ‘to resort to arbitration
 236 under Article 25 of the DSU as an interim appeal arbitration procedure ... so long
 237 as the Appellate Body is not able to hear appeals of Panel reports in disputes among

⁴⁶ Three Appellate Body members are required to hear appeals; Article 17.1 DSU. By December 2019, the number of Appellate Body members had reduced to one. For discussion, see Hoekman and Mavroidis 2020b.

⁴⁷ And indeed, these causes have been well documented elsewhere; see, for example, Hoekman and Mavroidis 2020a.

⁴⁸ At the date of writing, the most recent request for consultations was November 2020; see WTO 2020b.

⁴⁹ In full, DSU, above n 16, Article 16.4, ‘(w)ithin 60 days after the date of circulation of a panel report to the Members, the report shall be adopted at a DSB meeting unless a party to the dispute formally notifies the DSB of its decision to appeal or the DSB decides by consensus not to adopt the report’.

⁵⁰ As, for example, has already occurred; see WTO, *United States—Countervailing Measures on Softwood Lumber from Canada—Notification of an appeal by the United States under article 16 of the Understanding on Rules and Procedures governing the Settlement of Disputes*, Panel Report, 29 September 2020, WT/DS533/5.

⁵¹ WTO 2020a.

⁵² European Commission 2020a.

⁵³ WTO 2020c.

⁵⁴ DSU, above n 16, Article 25(2).

⁵⁵ European Commission 2020b.

238 them due to an insufficient number of Appellate Body Members.⁵⁶ The parties
 239 involved have already appointed ten arbitrators under the MPIA,⁵⁷ which largely
 240 mirrors WTO processes with, for example, three arbitrators appointed to arbitrations.
 241 While the creation of the MPIA as a stopgap is outside the scope of this chapter, it
 242 is nonetheless important to note its significance to the multilateral trade system. If
 243 it ends up hearing ‘appeals’ on matters pertaining to trade and environment, much
 244 critical attention will be paid to the resulting jurisprudence.

245 5.2.1.3 Jurisdiction

246 Leaving aside the issue of the Appellate Body crisis for now, and as summarised
 247 by Van Den Bosche and Zdouc, the jurisdiction of the WTO dispute settlement
 248 system is compulsory, exclusive and contentious.⁵⁸ A compulsory aspect of WTO
 249 Membership is acceptance of the jurisdiction of the dispute settlement system as
 250 part of the ‘package deal’ of WTO Membership.⁵⁹ The lack of exceptions to such
 251 compulsory jurisdiction has led Subedi, for example, to remark that the dispute
 252 settlement system of the WTO is the ‘only truly compulsory system currently extant in
 253 the international field.’⁶⁰ Jurisdiction is exclusive in the sense that Members *may only*
 254 seek redress of violations of WTO obligations or other nullification or impairments
 255 of benefits through recourse to the WTO dispute settlement.⁶¹ Finally, the WTO
 256 dispute settlement system only operates when there is an actual ‘live’ dispute between
 257 Members; in contrast with the ICJ, it does not enjoy any form of advisory jurisdiction.
 258 Accordingly, in the absence of an actual dispute, there is no scope, for example, for
 259 a Member to seek an advisory opinion on the WTO legality of a proposed of trade-
 260 impacting environmental measure. Arguably, this may have a chilling effect on the
 261 willingness of Members to utilise trade measures to pursue environmental goals.

⁵⁶ WTO 2020d, para 1.

⁵⁷ WTO 2020e.

⁵⁸ Van Den Bosche and Zdouc 2017, pp. 168–169.

⁵⁹ Ibid. This may be compared with the ICJ which under Article 36 of the ICJ Statute cannot force States to accept jurisdiction; see e.g. ICJ, *and East Timor (Portugal v Australia)*, Judgment, 30 June 1995, ICJ Reports 1995, p. 90.

⁶⁰ Subedi 2010, p. 179. Subedi does, of course, recognise that dispute settlement under the 1982 UNCLOS does have compulsory aspects, but argues that, ‘both in terms of the number of cases referred to the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) and other arbitral tribunals and the significant exceptions to compulsory jurisdiction’ mean that the WTO is the ‘only truly’ compulsory system internationally.

⁶¹ Van Den Bosche and Zdouc 2017, p169, drawing on Article 23.1 DSU which notes that, ‘When Members seek the redress of a violation of obligations or other nullification or impairment of benefits under the covered agreement or an impairment of any objectives of the covered agreements, they *shall* have recourse to, and abide by, the rules and procedures of this Understanding’ (emphasis added).

262 5.2.1.4 Mutually Acceptable Solutions

263 Formal adjudicatory proceedings *are not* the optimal outcome sought by the DSU.
 264 Rather, as noted in Article 3.7 DSU, ‘A solution *mutually acceptable* to the parties to
 265 a dispute and consistent with the covered agreements is clearly preferred (emphasis
 266 added).’ Other mechanisms to resolve a dispute are available under the DSU,
 267 including good offices, conciliation and mediation.⁶² Such processes are voluntary
 268 under the DSU,⁶³ and unlike under the Law of the Sea Convention,⁶⁴ and indeed
 269 many other treaties, the WTO DSU contains no formalised provisions on concilia-
 270 tion.⁶⁵ The only relevant mention(s) of conciliation and mediation are made in Article
 271 5(6); that the Director General of the WTO may offer, in an *ex officio* capacity, good
 272 offices, conciliation or mediation and the provision in Article 24(2) that, ‘Director-
 273 General or the Chairman of the DSB shall, upon request by a least-developed country
 274 Member offer their good offices, conciliation and mediation with a view to assisting
 275 the parties to settle the dispute, before a request for a Panel is made.’ Such processes
 276 are ‘almost never used.’⁶⁶ In addition, while in principle, the parties to a dispute may
 277 request the establishment of a working party—and this certainly occurred in the early
 278 days of the GATT 1947—there is no formal mention made within the DSU of either
 279 working parties or processes for their establishment.⁶⁷ Recourse to arbitration under
 280 Article 25 DSU is also possible though Members have seldom used this provision.⁶⁸
 281 The creation of the MPIA will almost certainly change this.

282 Finally, other mechanisms such as the raising of ‘specific trade concerns’ under the
 283 WTO Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) and Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures
 284 (SPS) Committees also provide Members with various fora to air and indeed settle
 285 disputes informally in these areas of WTO law.⁶⁹ More generally, WTO committee
 286 work may allow for grievances to be aired and settled before they reach the more
 287 formal stage of dispute settlement proceedings governed by the DSU.⁷⁰ While the
 288 more informal role played by WTO committees will not be considered further in this
 289 piece, it is important to underscore the importance of this largely ‘hidden’⁷¹ aspect
 290 of WTO governance in helping to resolve trade conflicts. In line with the practice
 291 of others commentators in the arena of trade and environmental protection,⁷² this

⁶² DSU, above n 16, Article 5(1).

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Tanaka 2018, p. 288.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Note that certain commentators such as Georges Abi-Saab would argue that the GATT 1947 dispute settlement system was akin to a conciliation system; see Abi-Saab 2005, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Busch and Pelc 2014, p. 408.

⁶⁷ Merrills 2005, p. 217.

⁶⁸ See WTO, *United States—Section 110(5) of the US Copyright Act—Recourse to Arbitration under Article 25 of the DSU*, Award of the Arbitrators, 9 November 2001, WT/DS160/ARB25.

⁶⁹ WTO 2018; Horn et al 2013.

⁷⁰ WTO 2018; Horn et al. 2013.

⁷¹ Lang and Scott 2009.

⁷² See Cosby and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 289.

chapter therefore does not seek to denigrate the utility and moreover effectiveness of specific trade concerns though due to the confines of space, the focus of this chapter is on disputes on trade and environment protection heard before the dispute settlement system. Further attention is given to the role of the Committee on Trade and Environment below (Sect. 5.3.1).

5.2.1.5 Applicable Law

In terms of applicable law, Article 7 DSU sets out the ‘terms of reference’ for a Panel and instructs it to, ‘address the relevant provisions in any covered agreement or agreements cited by the parties to the dispute.’ At least two competing interpretations exist as to the scope of this provision; that a Panel may *only* apply the WTO covered agreements when arbitrating on a dispute *or* that it lays out a minimum requirement and does not preclude reference to non-WTO rules by a Panel.⁷³ Pauwelyn, who espouses the latter view, notes that the practice of the Panel and Appellate Body has been such that they have not limited themselves to considering only WTO law in their deliberations.⁷⁴ Accordingly, both Panel and Appellate Body reports have at times referred to the general principles of international law,⁷⁵ customary international law⁷⁶ as well as non-WTO law Treaties.⁷⁷ As we shall see, references to such non-WTO sources have included Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES).⁷⁸

As noted above, Article 3.2 DSU directs that the underpinning purpose of the dispute settlement system is the settlement of disputes ‘in accordance with customary rules of interpretation of public international law.’⁷⁹ By extension, the Appellate Body has noted that WTO law, ‘is not to be read in clinical isolation from public international law.’⁸⁰ The Appellate Body has recognised that Articles 31 and 32 of the Vienna Convention of the Law of Treaties (VCLT) constitute the customary rules of interpretation of public international law. Despite this recognition, and the inclusion therein of the principle of systemic integration under VCLT Article 31(3)(c) which states that, ‘(t)here shall be taken into account, together with the context: (a)ny relevant rules of international law applicable in the relations between the parties’, there is still a lack of certainty as to how non-WTO norms can be taken into account

⁷³ See discussion in Pauwelyn 2008, p. 7.

⁷⁴ See generally Pauwelyn 2008, p. 7.

⁷⁵ See discussion in Cameron and Gray 2001, pp. 248–298.

⁷⁶ See discussion in Cameron and Gray 2001, pp. 248–298.

⁷⁷ See generally Pauwelyn 2008, pp. 7–8.

⁷⁸ Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, 3 March 1973, 993 UNTS 243, entered into force 1 July 1975 (CITES).

⁷⁹ See discussion in Pauwelyn 2008, pp. 7–8.

⁸⁰ WTO, *United States—Standards for Reformulated and Conventional Gasoline*, Appellate Body Report, 29 April 1996, WT/DS2/AB/R, p. 17 (*US—Gasoline*).

322 in WTO jurisprudence.⁸¹ While numerous commentators⁸² have called for greater
 323 recourse under the dispute settlement system to the principle of systemic integration,
 324 the Appellate Body has been rather circumspect in its approach to this issue, clarifying
 325 that, ‘a delicate balance must be struck between, on the one hand, taking due account
 326 of an individual WTO Member’s international obligations and, on the other hand,
 327 ensuring a consistent and harmonious approach to the interpretation of WTO law
 328 among all WTO Members.’⁸³ Indeed, as we will see in our discussion of the dispute
 329 of *US—Shrimp*, there is a lack of clarity as to when, and more significantly, how, a
 330 Panel or Appellate Body will consider and apply relevant provisions of MEAs.⁸⁴

331 While non-WTO law may be referred to and indeed used as an aid to interpre-
 332 tation within the WTO dispute settlement system, it is unlikely that other sources
 333 of international law *will* be held to have modified existing WTO rights and obliga-
 334 tions, or that a party to a non-WTO Agreement can invoke its terms as a defence
 335 to a violation of WTO rules.⁸⁵ Accordingly, in *Peru – Agricultural Products*, the
 336 Appellate Body held that other treaties do not modify WTO obligations pursuant to
 337 Article 41 of the VCLT. Article 41 provides for *inter se* agreements to modify multi-
 338 lateral treaties between certain of the parties only. The non-application of Article 41
 339 VCLT was because ‘the WTO Agreements contain specific provisions addressing
 340 amendments, waivers, or exceptions ... which prevail over Article 41.’⁸⁶ While the
 341 dispute concerned a regional trade agreement between Peru and Guatemala that Peru
 342 claimed allowed it to maintain non-WTO compliant agricultural duties, it is likely the
 343 case that MEAs would not in general be considered capable under the WTO dispute
 344 settlement system of modifying the rights and obligations of Members under WTO
 345 law.⁸⁷

346 Finally, the dispute settlement system may hear disputes brought, ‘pursuant to the
 347 consultation and dispute settlement provisions of the agreements listed in Appendix
 348 1 to the [DSU].’⁸⁸ In other words, the *jurisdiction* of the Panel and the Appellate
 349 Body is such that it may only hear claims related to one or more of the WTO covered
 350 agreements but jurisdictional concerns are separate from questions of the *applicable*
 351 *law* that a Panel or the Appellate Body may consider in a particular dispute.⁸⁹

⁸¹ Kulovesi 2016, p. 57.

⁸² See e.g. Kulovesi 2016.

⁸³ WTO, *European Communities and Certain Member States—Measures Affecting Trade in Large Civil Aircraft*, Appellate Body Report, 18 May 2011, WT/DS316/AB/R, paras 844–845.

⁸⁴ Kulovesi 2016, p. 57.

⁸⁵ C.f. Pauwelyn 2003, pp. 473–491.

⁸⁶ WTO, *Peru—Additional Duty on Imports of Certain Agricultural Products*, Appellate Body Report, 31 July 2015, WT/DS457/AB/R, para 5.112; cited and discussed in Trachtman 2017, p. 302.

⁸⁷ See Trachtman 2017, pp. 302–303.

⁸⁸ DSU, above n 16, Article 1.

⁸⁹ See generally Pauwelyn 2008, p. 7.

352 5.2.1.6 Burden of Proof

353 The DSU is silent on a number of important issues, including the burden of proof
 354 applicable under the dispute settlement system.⁹⁰ However, in *US—Wool Shirts and*
 355 *Blouses*, the Appellate Body noted that, ‘various international tribunals, including the
 356 International Court of Justice, have generally and consistently accepted and applied
 357 the rule that the party who asserts a fact, whether as a claimant or the respondent, is
 358 responsible for providing proof thereof.’⁹¹ It is therefore for the complaining party to
 359 establish a prima facie case in relation to its claims. Once the complaining party has
 360 met the requirement, it is for the defending party to rebut the prima facie case.⁹² In
 361 respect of the invocation of an exception, the party invoking that particular exception
 362 owes the burden of proof. As Grando notes, however, both the Appellate Body and
 363 Panel have struggled with defining what is and is not an exception⁹³ though GATT
 364 Article XX, which as we will see is a central provision in the relationship between
 365 trade and the environment is firmly recognised as an affirmative exception.⁹⁴

366 5.2.1.7 The Standard of Review, Fact-finding and Evidence

367 In terms of the standard of review to be employed, Article 11 DSU requires the Panel
 368 to, ‘make an objective assessment of the matter before it, including an objective
 369 assessment of the facts of the case and the applicability of and conformity with
 370 the relevant covered agreements’.⁹⁵ While there is no provision within the DSU
 371 in respect of rules of evidence, the Panel is empowered under Article 13 DSU to
 372 ‘seek information and technical advice from any individual or body which it deems
 373 appropriate ... (and to) seek information from any relevant source and ... consult
 374 experts to obtain their opinion on certain aspects of the matter.’ While the latter
 375 provision may seem to be quite far reaching,⁹⁶ and indeed, potentially beneficial in
 376 cases involving environmental protection, Panels have not fully utilised their broad

⁹⁰ Though a small number of provisions exist within individual WTO covered agreements directly allocating the burden of proof, e.g. Article 10.3 of the Agreement on Agriculture; see Grando 2010, p. 152.

⁹¹ WTO, *US—Measures Affecting Imports of Woven Wool Shirts and Blouses from India*, Appellate Body Report, 25 April 1997, WT/DS33/AB/R, 335 (*US—Wool Shirts and Blouses*).

⁹² WTO, *United States—Sections 301–310 of the Trade Act of 1974*, Panel Report, 25 January 2000, WT/DS152/R, para 7.14. For an excellent discussion on fact-finding and the burden of proof under WTO law, see Grando 2010.

⁹³ Grando 2010, pp. 153–154.

⁹⁴ WTO, *US—Wool Shirts and Blouses*, above n 91, para 337.

⁹⁵ Note that Article 17.6 of the WTO Anti-Dumping Agreement sets out a special standard of review to be applied to anti-dumping investigations; this shall not be considered in this chapter.

⁹⁶ An example of a panel consulting experts pursuant to its authority under Article 13 DSU can be found in WTO, *United States—Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*, Panel Report, 15 May 1998, WT/DS58/R, paras 5.1 et seq. (*US—Shrimp (Panel Report)*).

377 fact-finding authority and instead have relied largely on evidence submitted to them
378 by the parties.⁹⁷

379 The Appellate Body has directed that Members are ‘under a duty and an obligation
380 to “respond promptly and fully” to requests made by Panels for information under
381 Article 13.1 of the DSU’⁹⁸ and Panels may draw inferences from facts, ‘including the
382 fact that (a Member) had refused to provide information sought by the Panel.’⁹⁹ The
383 Appellate Body’s mandate is, ‘limited to issues of law covered in the Panel report and
384 legal interpretations developed by the Panel’, and so it does not have a fact finding
385 role as such, instead relying on evidence submitted to the Panel.¹⁰⁰ As noted above,
386 the Appellate Body does not have remand authority to remand a dispute back to a
387 Panel.

388 Of particular note is that both the Panel and the Appellate Body have the authority
389 to consider *amicus curiae* briefs. This power is not explicitly set out in the DSU.
390 Instead, this authority derives from, *inter alia*, a broad reading of Article 13 DSU (the
391 right of a Panel to seek information)¹⁰¹ and Article 17.9 DSU (the right of the Appel-
392 late Body to draw up its own procedures for review).¹⁰² While certain commentators
393 have noted the potential of *amicus curiae* briefs to open up, ‘a green cosmopolitan
394 public sphere that seeks more reflexive modernization and facilitates horizontal
395 forms of regime accountability’,¹⁰³ in practice both the Panel and the Appellate
396 Body have been relatively circumspect in considering briefs received. As argued by
397 Squatrito, briefs considered primarily are those endorsed by one of the disputing
398 Members as well as those that cohere with the previous findings of the dispute settle-
399 ment system.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, there are limits to which *amicus curiae* briefs will be
400 accepted and considered, thereby limiting the potential of environmental groups and
401 organisations to influence disputes involving environmental concerns.

402 5.2.1.8 Precedent

403 There is no formal system of precedent within the WTO dispute settlement system
404 and the findings of both the Appellate and the Panel are not binding, ‘except with

⁹⁷ Devaney 2016, p. 132 and 140–141. Note that there are also special expert bodies established under a number of the covered agreements; see discussion in Devaney 2016, pp. 138 to 139.

⁹⁸ WTO, *Canada—Measures Affecting the Export of Civilian Aircraft*, Appellate Body Report 2 August 1999, WT/DS70/AB/R, para 187 (*Canada—Aircraft*).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, para 203.

¹⁰⁰ Devaney 2016, p. 141.

¹⁰¹ See WTO, *United States—Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*, Appellate Body Report, 12 October 1998, WTO/DS58/AB/R, para 108 (*US—Shrimp (Appellate Body Report)*).

¹⁰² WTO, *United States—Imposition of Countervailing Duties on Certain Hot-Rolled Lead and Bismuth Carbon Steel Products Originating in the United Kingdom*, Appellate Body Report, 10 May 2000, WTO/DS138/AB/R, para 39.

¹⁰³ Eckersley 2007.

¹⁰⁴ See generally Squatrito 2018.

405 respect to resolving the particular dispute between the parties to that dispute.’¹⁰⁵
 406 It is also to be remembered that Article 3.2 DSU is explicit in its direction that,
 407 ‘(r)ecommendations and rulings of the DSB cannot add to or diminish the rights and
 408 obligations provided in the covered agreements’ of the WTO. However, at the same
 409 time, the Appellate Body has held that, ‘absent cogent reasons, an adjudicatory body
 410 will resolve the same legal question in the same way in a subsequent case.’¹⁰⁶ By
 411 extension, the Appellate Body has directed that in respect of Panel proceedings, ‘to
 412 rely on the Appellate Body’s conclusions in earlier disputes is not only appropriate,
 413 but is what would be expected from Panels, especially where the issues are the
 414 same’.¹⁰⁷

415 5.2.1.9 Enforcement

416 Unlike in certain other systems of international dispute settlement, provisional
 417 measures are not available under the WTO DSU.¹⁰⁸ This is particularly relevant
 418 for environmental disputes since in other international fora, provisional measures do
 419 play an important role in the domain of environmental protection.¹⁰⁹

420 Following a dispute, and assuming a Panel or the Appellate Body finds inconsis-
 421 tency with a provision of a covered agreement, ‘it shall recommend that the Member
 422 concerned bring the measure into conformity with that agreement.’¹¹⁰ Unless either
 423 side lodges an appeal, and as noted above, the DSB automatically adopt reports of the
 424 Panel unless there is a consensus among the Parties against adoption.¹¹¹ Similarly,
 425 in respect of the adoption of reports of the Appellate Body, Article 17.14 DSU sets
 426 out that,

427 An Appellate Body report shall be adopted by the DSB and unconditionally accepted by the
 428 parties to the dispute unless the DSB decides by consensus not to adopt the Appellate Body
 429 report within 30 days following its circulation to the Members.

430 As noted above, however, the Appellate Body is no longer functional, raising
 431 concerns that the losing side to a Panel report could lodge an appeal effectively into

¹⁰⁵ WTO, *Japan—Taxes on Alcoholic Beverages*, Appellate Body Report, 1 November 1996, WT/DS8/AB/R, WT/DS10/AB/R, WT/DS11/AB/R 14, p. 97 at 107–108.

¹⁰⁶ WTO, *United States—Final Anti-Dumping Measures on Stainless Steel from Mexico*, Appellate Body Report, 30 April 2008, WT/DS344/AB/R, para 160, (*US—Stainless Steel (Mexico)*).

¹⁰⁷ WTO, *United States—Sunset Reviews of Anti-Dumping Measures on Oil Country Tubular Goods from Argentina—Recourse to Article 21.5 of the DSU by Argentina*, Appellate Body Report, 17 December 2004, WT/DS268/AB/RW, para 188.

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion on provisional measures within international legal processes more generally, see Miles 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Miles 2017.

¹¹⁰ Article 19(1) DSU.

¹¹¹ DSU, above n 16, Article 16.4.

432 the ‘void’, thereby preventing the report’s adoption.¹¹² Under the MPIA, the DSB is
 433 notified of arbitrations but does not formally adopt them.¹¹³

434 **5.2.1.10 Surveillance, Compensation and Suspension of Concessions**

435 Leaving aside for now the legal and practical issues associated with the current Appel-
 436 late Body crisis, under the ‘normal’ functioning of the dispute settlement system, the
 437 DSB performs a surveillance function in respect of the implementation of Panel and
 438 Appellate Body reports. In the event that immediate compliance is not possible, the
 439 Member concerned is given a ‘reasonable period of time’ to implement the findings
 440 of the Panel or Appellate Body and bring itself into compliance. If the parties cannot
 441 agree as to what constitutes a ‘reasonable period of time’, arbitration may be sought
 442 with a maximum of fifteen months acting as a starting point for the arbitrator.¹¹⁴ The
 443 parties can see further recourse to dispute settlement, including to the original Panel,
 444 in the event of disagreement on whether implementation has in fact occurred.¹¹⁵

445 Should the reasonable period of time expire and the losing side have failed to
 446 bring itself into compliance, the complainant may seek compensation on a voluntary
 447 basis from the defendant.¹¹⁶ Compensation is relatively uncommon, in part because
 448 it requires agreement from the losing party but also because its application must be
 449 consistent with the covered agreements. The practical consequence of this is that
 450 compensation needs to be applied, *inter alia*, on a Most-favoured nation basis.¹¹⁷

451 In the absence of mutual agreement on compensation, the Member concerned
 452 may seek authorisation from the DSB to ‘suspend’ concessions. In real terms, this
 453 gives the Member the right to enact trade retaliation. Trade retaliation cannot be
 454 instituted unilaterally without the authorisation of the DSB. It is also prospective and
 455 cannot therefore take into account prior damage. The general principle governing the
 456 suspension of concessions is that it should be in the same sector as any violation or
 457 nullification and impairment occurred but if it would not be practical or effective to
 458 do so, suspension of concessions in another sector—so-called cross retaliation—may
 459 be authorised.¹¹⁸

460 As underscored in Article 21.1 DSU, ‘Compensation and the suspension of
 461 concessions or other obligations are temporary measures ... neither ... is preferred
 462 to full implementation of a recommendation to bring a measure into conformity
 463 with the covered agreements.’ While arguably the possibility of the suspension of

112 Pauwelyn 2019.

113 MPIA, Annex 1, para 16.

114 DSU, above n 16, Article 21.3(c).

115 *Ibid.*, Article 21.5.

116 *Ibid.*, Article 22.2.

117 See discussion in Van Den Bosche and Zdouc 2017, p. 204.

118 Busch and Pelc 2014.

464 concessions gives the WTO dispute settlement system ‘teeth’ that certain other inter-
465 national dispute settlement processes do not have, the system been used only infre-
466 quently¹¹⁹ and has been the subject of extensive criticism.¹²⁰ Indeed, the WTO itself
467 has no enforcement powers and instead operates as a decentralised system of self-
468 enforcement.¹²¹ In addition, the system of retaliation is ill suited to provide a remedy
469 for environmental harms, focused as it is on trade, as opposed to other harms.

470 **5.3 Significant Environmental Disputes Within the WTO** 471 **Dispute Settlement System**

472 Having provided an overview of the operation of the WTO dispute settlement system,
473 our attention now turns to the specific issue of how the WTO dispute settlement
474 system has dealt with issues pertaining to the relationship between trade and envi-
475 ronment. This section will commence with a short introduction to the various envi-
476 ronmental provisions in the WTO agreements before a discussion is then engaged
477 in on certain WTO key disputes that have dealt with environmental concerns. It is to
478 be noted that the confines of space preclude a discussion of all disputes dealing with
479 issues related to the environment. However, it is intended that the selected disputes
480 will help to draw out certain of the key themes applicable to discussions on the
481 treatment of environmental protection under the dispute settlement system.

482 **5.3.1 Environmental Provisions in the WTO Covered** 483 **Agreements**

484 There is no freestanding agreement on Trade and Environment within the WTO. At
485 the same time, however, and as underscored by Hoekman, the WTO does not have
486 unrestrained free trade as its goal.¹²² Sustainable development as well as preserva-
487 tion and protection of the environment feature prominently in the preamble to the
488 Marrakesh Agreement establishing the WTO. In addition, numerous provisions exist
489 within the WTO ‘covered’ agreements allowing Members to enact measures for envi-
490 ronmentalesque purposes which would otherwise be in breach their WTO obligations.
491 Under the TRIPS Agreement, for example, Members may exclude from patentability
492 inventions, ‘the prevention within their territory of the commercial exploitation of
493 which is necessary ... to protect human, animal or plant life or health or to avoid

119 Ibid.

120 See e.g. Davey 2014.

121 Busch and Pelc 2014.

122 Hoekman 2016, p. 1087.

494 serious prejudice to the environment...'¹²³ A further example can be found under
 495 the TBT Agreement in respect of which Members are required to ensure that technical
 496 regulations 'are not more trade restrictive than necessary to fulfil a legitimate
 497 objective, taking into account the risks non-fulfilment would create.' Such legitimate
 498 objectives are noted under the TBT Agreement to include 'protection of human
 499 health or safety, animal or plant life or health, or the environment' though it is to be
 500 noted that this list is not exhaustive.

501 Perhaps the most well-known provision of WTO law associated with a Member's
 502 right to regulate for environmental purposes is Article XX of the GATT. A wealth of
 503 case law related to the relationship between trade and environment exists in respect
 504 of the operation of the GATT Article XX defence. It is often used as a justification
 505 either for a breach of the so-called national treatment provision outlined in GATT
 506 Article III and the most-favoured nation clause in GATT Article I.1, or the prohibition
 507 of quantitative restrictions set out in GATT Article XI.

508 In essence, GATT Article XX grants Members policy space to enact measures
 509 that would otherwise be in breach of a Member's obligations under the GATT so
 510 long as the measure in question is justifiable under one of the subparagraphs of
 511 GATT Article XX as well as the provisions of its chapeau. To expand, the chapeau
 512 to GATT Article XX directs that a measure may only pass muster under one of
 513 the subparagraphs of GATT Article XX to the extent that it is, 'not applied in a
 514 manner which would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination
 515 between countries were the same conditions prevail, or a disguised restriction on
 516 international trade.' In this way, the GATT Article XX exception attempts to carefully
 517 circumscribe the relationship between a Member's obligations under the GATT and
 518 its right to regulate. Should a Member seek to rely on the GATT Article XX defence,
 519 the Panel/Appellate Body will firstly assess whether the measure in question falls
 520 within one of the subparagraphs of the Article XX and assuming that it does, the
 521 examination will then turn to whether the measure fulfils the requirements of the
 522 chapeau.¹²⁴

523 In terms of the subparagraphs of GATT Article XX most relevant to environmental
 524 protection, GATT Article XX(b) allows for measures 'necessary to protect human,
 525 animal or plant life or health' while Article XX(g) provides legal cover for measures
 526 'relating to the conservation of exhaustible natural resources if such measures are
 527 made effective in conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consump-
 528 tion.' Article XX(a) further provides an exception for measures 'necessary to protect
 529 public morals.'¹²⁵

¹²³ WTO, Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, Apr. 15, 1994, Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, Annex 1C, 1869 UNTS 299, 33 ILM 1197 (1994), Article 27.2.

¹²⁴ WTO, *US—Gasoline*, above n 80, p. 22.

¹²⁵ This defence was relevant in the dispute of WTO, *EC—Seal Products*, Appellate Body Report, 22 May 2014, WT/DS400/AB/R, WT/DS401/AB/R. The protection of animal welfare by the EU was accepted as a matter of public morality and was thereby able to avail of the GATT Article XX(a) defence, albeit the particular measures in question failed to pass muster under the chapeau to GATT Article XX.

530 Notably, while, as we will see below, the text of GATT Article XX(a), (b) and
 531 (g) can and indeed have been interpreted to allow for otherwise GATT violating
 532 measures to be taken for environmental ends, it must also be underlined that there is
 533 no explicit reference in the text of GATT Article XX environmental protection more
 534 generally, nor to more specific environmental concerns such as climate change.¹²⁶
 535 With very limited exceptions, the GATT Article XX defence is only available as a
 536 defence to a breach of the GATT. It is not therefore available to justify a breach of,
 537 for example, the provisions of the WTO Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing
 538 Measures.¹²⁷

539 In addition to the numerous provisions of the WTO covered agreements which
 540 attempt to grant Members policy space to enact environmental measures which would
 541 otherwise be in breach of their WTO obligations, the WTO Committee on Trade and
 542 Environment also provides an institutional forum for discussions of the relationship
 543 between trade and environmental protection.¹²⁸ Under the WTO Doha Round
 544 launched in 2001, a Special Session of the Committee on Trade and Environment
 545 was tasked, inter alia, to negotiate on, ‘the relationship between existing WTO rules
 546 and specific trade obligations set out in multilateral environmental agreements.’
 547 A large number of multilateral environmental agreements allow for trade related
 548 measures¹²⁹ and the Doha Round negotiations were to be conducted ‘with a view
 549 towards enhancing the mutual supportiveness of trade and environment.’¹³⁰ To date,
 550 negotiations have not concluded.

551 5.3.1.1 Discussion and Analysis of Key Disputes Relating 552 to Environmental Concerns

553 Arguably, the most appropriate starting point to assess the treatment of environmental
 554 concerns under the dispute settlement system of the trade regime is *Tuna-Dolphin*.
 555 These infamous disputes were conducted under the GATT 1947, and were litigated
 556 on before the coming into force of the WTO as an institution. Nevertheless, they
 557 are significant in that they set the scene for the later confrontation of trade and
 558 environmental issues in the WTO.

¹²⁶ On this note, see Cima 2018, pp. 668–669.

¹²⁷ See discussion in Feld and Switzer 2012.

¹²⁸ For a discussion of the operation of the Committee on Trade and Environment, see Sinha 2013 and Teehanke 2020. See also WTO, Decision on Trade and Environment, Ministerial Decision of 14 April 1994, 33 ILM 1267 (1994).

¹²⁹ WTO 2017.

¹³⁰ WTO, Ministerial Declaration of 14 November 2001, WTO Doc. WT/MIN(01)/DEC/1, 41 ILM 746 (2002), para 31.

559 *Tuna—Dolphin*

560 In the GATT Panel report of *Tuna – Dolphin*¹³¹ (first dispute), the GATT Panel was
 561 required to consider the GATT legality of a US import embargo applied to tuna,
 562 depending upon where the tuna was caught and the particular method used to catch
 563 the tuna. While there was no doubt that aspects of the measure constituted a breach of
 564 GATT Article XI:1, which prohibits the imposition of quantitative restrictions,¹³² the
 565 more pertinent question for the Panel was the applicability of the GATT Article XX(b)
 566 and (g) defences to the US measure. In a controversial finding, the Panel held that the
 567 unilateralism inherent in the US measure was such that it could not find a safe harbour
 568 under GATT Article XX(b) with a similar finding made in respect of GATT Article
 569 XX(g).¹³³ In the view of the Panel, the risks of allowing such unilateralism were
 570 simply too great to the trading system; doing so could fundamentally undermine the
 571 rights of the contracting parties under the GATT.¹³⁴ As contended by Howse: ‘[t]he
 572 Panel based its decision on an intuition that trade measures to protect the environment
 573 might somehow open the door to “green” protectionism, thereby threatening the
 574 market access negotiated in the GATT framework’.¹³⁵

575 A second *Tuna—Dolphin* Panel¹³⁶ dealing with a similar set of facts came to the
 576 same conclusion and struck down the measure at issue, albeit the second Panel’s
 577 interpretation of the freedom of contracting parties to enact measures with potential
 578 impact upon other parties was slightly broader than the first Panel.¹³⁷ While under
 579 the pre-WTO system of dispute settlement the losing party could block the adoption
 580 of a Panel report and neither GATT Panel report was adopted, their combined effect
 581 was such as to introduce a concern among environmentalists that free trade would
 582 always trump other concerns such as environmental protection.¹³⁸ As we will see,
 583 the *Tuna-Dolphin* reports are now considered something of an ‘outlier’¹³⁹ in terms
 584 of the WTO jurisprudence on trade and environment, with the implication of the first

¹³¹ GATT *United States – Restrictions on the Imports of Tuna*, Dispute Panel Report, 3 September 1991, unadopted, BISD 39S/155 (*Tuna-Dolphin (1991)*).

¹³² *Ibid.* paras 5.17–5.19.

¹³³ The panel was also asked to consider the compliance of dolphin safe labelling requirements but found they were not incompatible with US obligations under the GATT; GATT, *Tuna-Dolphin (1991)*, above n 131, paras 5.41–5.44.

¹³⁴ GATT, *Tuna-Dolphin (1991)*, above n 131, para 5.27.

¹³⁵ Howse 2002, p. 491.

¹³⁶ GATT, *United States—Restrictions on Import of Tuna*, Dispute Panel Report, 16 June 1994, 33 ILM 839 (1994).

¹³⁷ As noted by Howse 2002, p. 491 (footnote 9), while the first panel had introduced a jurisdictional limitation on the freedom of action of contracting parties under GATT Article XX, this limitation was dealt with differently by second panel; p. 491. According to Howse, in the, ‘second Tuna/Dolphin ruling, the panel rejected the territorial limitation that the first Tuna/Dolphin panel had placed on Article XX, instead suggesting that Article XX(b) and (g) could not apply to measures that would only be effective in protecting the environment were other countries to change their policies’.

¹³⁸ Howse 2002, p. 491.

¹³⁹ Cosby and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 289.

585 Panel's findings that the GATT was a sort of, 'centralized authority, the permission
586 of which was required to pursue the social agenda at home'¹⁴⁰ now firmly rejected.

587 *US—Shrimp*

588 With the coming into force of the WTO, the scene was set for a confrontation
589 between the trade community and environmentalists. The WTO dispute of *US—*
590 *Shrimp* provided the first significant opportunity for the Appellate Body in partic-
591 ular to establish its approach to the relationship between trade and environmental
592 protection.¹⁴¹

593 The dispute of *US—Shrimp* concerned what in essence was an import ban imposed
594 by the United States on shrimp caught using methods liable to produce high levels of
595 mortality in sea turtles. Since 1990, US domestic trawlers had been required to install
596 turtle excluder devices (TEDs) and/or introduce so-called 'tow time restrictions'.¹⁴²
597 In 1989, the US Congress also enacted legislation requiring that only shrimp from
598 countries certified as having a regulatory programme for turtle protection similar to
599 that of the US or a fishing programme with no risk to turtles could be imported,
600 with certification to take effect by 1991 and every year thereafter.¹⁴³ A later set
601 of regulations, together with a 1995 court case,¹⁴⁴ led to a general import ban on
602 shrimp from countries whose fleet did not employ TEDs together with a certification
603 programme.¹⁴⁵

604 The complainants in the dispute, India, Malaysia, Thailand and Pakistan, alleged
605 numerous breaches of the GATT that they contended were not justifiable either under
606 GATT Article XX(b) or (g). The Panel found a breach of GATT Article XI¹⁴⁶—
607 the prohibition on quantitative restrictions—and agreed with the complainants that
608 this breach was not justified under GATT Article XX. The Panel rejected the GATT
609 Article XX defence on the basis of a narrow reading of the GATT Article XX chapeau.
610 As summarised by the Appellate Body, the Panel held that:

611 [i]f an interpretation of the chapeau of Article XX were followed which would allow a
612 Member to adopt measures conditioning access to its market for a given product upon the
613 adoption by exporting Members of certain policies, including conservation policies, GATT
614 1994 and the WTO Agreement could no longer serve as a multilateral framework for trade
615 among Members as security and predictability of trade relations under those Agreements
616 would be threatened.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Cosby and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 294.

¹⁴¹ Though earlier disputes had dealt with issues pertaining to trade and environmental protection; e.g. WTO, *US—Gasoline*, above n 80. The confines of space preclude an exhaustive analysis of all disputes dealing with environmental issues.

¹⁴² WTO, *US—Shrimp (Panel Report)*, above n 96, paras 2.6 & 2.17.

¹⁴³ WTO, *US—Shrimp (Panel Report)*, paras 2.7–2.8.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, paras 2.8–2.10.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, paras 2.11–2.16.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, para 7.13. Indeed, the US did not dispute this aspect of the complainants' argument.

¹⁴⁷ WTO, *US—Shrimp (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 101, para 112.

617 In essence, according to the Panel, the unilateral aspects of the US measure
 618 were such that the measure was bound to fail under the scrutiny of the chapeau
 619 to GATT Article XX. On appeal, the Appellate Body agreed that the US measures
 620 were not justifiable under GATT Article XX. Significantly, however, the Appellate
 621 Body diverged from some of the central reasoning of the Panel. It found that:

622 conditioning access to a Member's domestic market on whether exporting Members comply
 623 with, or adopt, a policy or policies unilaterally prescribed by the importing Member may, to
 624 some degree, *be a common aspect of measures falling within the scope of one or another of*
 625 *the exceptions* (under GATT Article XX) [emphasis added].¹⁴⁸

626 The Appellate Body continued that:

627 it is not necessary to assume that requiring from exporting countries compliance with, or
 628 adoption of, certain policies (although covered in principle by one or another of the excep-
 629 tions) prescribed by the importing country, renders a measure a priori incapable of justi-
 630 fication under Article XX. Such an interpretation renders most, if not all, of the specific
 631 exceptions of Article XX inutile, a result abhorrent to the principles of interpretation we are
 632 bound to apply.¹⁴⁹

633 Described by Cosbey and Mavroidis as, 'one of the most remarkable U-turns on
 634 trade and environment,' the above findings of the Appellate Body underlined that
 635 a trade measure enacted for environmental purposes should not be struck down on
 636 the narrow grounds that it is unilateral.¹⁵⁰ This marked a significant divergence from
 637 the findings of the GATT Panel in *Tuna-Dolphin*, which notably the Appellate Body
 638 failed to cite.

639 While the US lost the dispute (albeit it was successful in later Article 21.5 DSU
 640 compliance proceedings), the findings of the Appellate Body in respect of why
 641 are instructive for better understanding this foundational jurisprudence on the trade
 642 and environment nexus. In addition to its clarification that unilateralism may be a
 643 'common aspect of measures' falling within the scope of GATT Article XX, the
 644 dispute is also significant for the Appellate Body's interpretative approach to the
 645 meaning of exhaustible natural resources under GATT Article XX(g). Adopting a
 646 dynamic and evolutionary interpretation¹⁵¹ of this phrase, the Appellate Body held
 647 that:

648 [t]he words of Article XX(g), "exhaustible natural resources", were actually crafted more
 649 than 50 years ago. They must be read by a treaty interpreter in the light of contempo-
 650 rary concerns of the community of nations about the protection and conservation of the
 651 environment.¹⁵²

652 Accordingly, and with reference to the principle of sustainable development
 653 embodied in the preamble to the WTO Agreement, the Appellate Body held that

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, para 121.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Cosbey and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 289.

¹⁵¹ WTO, *US—Shrimp (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 101, para 130.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, para 128.

654 living natural resources that Members sought to conserve could fall within the legal
 655 scope of exhaustible natural resources.¹⁵³ This was significant as the complainants
 656 had alleged that only mineral and non-living resources such as oil and gas would be
 657 considered as ‘exhaustible’ within the context of GATT Article XX (g).¹⁵⁴ In adopting
 658 its evolutionary interpretation of this phrase, the Appellate Body drew inspiration
 659 from a range of international instruments, including Article 56 of the United Nations
 660 Convention on the Law of the Sea. This refers to natural resources as ‘either living
 661 on non-living.’

662 In terms of whether the sea turtles that the US sought to protect are ‘exhaustible
 663 natural resources’, the Appellate Body again turned to other sources of international
 664 law as context for its examination. It noted that under Annex 1 of the Convention
 665 on International Trade of Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES),
 666 all seven species of sea turtle are noted as being ‘species threatened with extinction
 667 which are or may be affected by trade.’¹⁵⁵ Given this listing, the Appellate Body
 668 held that ‘the exhaustibility of sea turtles would in fact have been very difficult to
 669 controvert.’¹⁵⁶

670 The dispute was also significant for the Appellate Body’s examination of the
 671 function of the chapeau to Article XX. While the Appellate Body rejected the notion
 672 that unilateralism was prohibited *per se* under GATT Article XX, it underlined that
 673 the chapeau is the embodiment of a recognition of the requirement to strike a balance
 674 between the right of Members to utilise the exceptions under GATT Article XX(a) to
 675 (g), and the need to protect the rights of other Members from being impeded upon.¹⁵⁷
 676 The Appellate Body found that the US measure did in fact constitute unjustifiable
 677 discrimination – thereby failing to adhere to the fundamental requirements of the
 678 chapeau. One aspect of such discrimination was that the US imposed a blanket
 679 obligation on countries intending to import into the US in that they had to adhere to
 680 the same requirements as that imposed on US domestic trawlers.¹⁵⁸ In the view of
 681 the Appellate Body:

682 [w]e believe that discrimination results not only when countries in which the same conditions
 683 prevail are differently treated, but also when the application of the measure at issue does not
 684 allow for any enquiry into the appropriateness of the regulatory programme for the conditions
 685 prevailing in those exporting countries.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, paras 128–131.

¹⁵⁴ See discussion in WTO, *US—Shrimp (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 101, para 127. For a useful overview of more recent jurisprudence in respect of GATT Article XX(g), see Chi 2014.

¹⁵⁵ CITES, above n 78, Article II.1, cited in WTO, *US – Shrimp (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 101, para 132.

¹⁵⁶ WTO, *US – Shrimp (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 101, para 132.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* para 156; in full; ‘we consider that it embodies the recognition on the part of WTO Members of 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, specified in paragraphs (a) to (j), on the one hand, and the substantive rights of the other Members under the GATT 1994, on the other hand’.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, para 161.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, para 165.

686 Furthermore, while the US had engaged in negotiations on the measure with
 687 respect to western countries, the same was not the case in relation to the complainants,
 688 with the Appellate Body questioning whether, ‘across-the-board negotiations with
 689 the objective of concluding bilateral or multilateral agreements’¹⁶⁰ had been engaged
 690 in. While there is no ‘free standing duty to negotiate outlined in GATT Article XX’,
 691 according to Howse,

692 (1) undertaking serious negotiations with some countries and not with others is, in circum-
 693 stances such as these, “unjustifiable discrimination,” and (2) that a failure to undertake serious
 694 negotiations may be closely connected with, and indeed part and parcel of, various discrim-
 695 inatory effects of a scheme, and may reinforce or perhaps even tip the balance towards a
 696 finding that those discriminatory effects amount to “unjustifiable discrimination” within the
 697 meaning of the chapeau.¹⁶¹

698 There is much to praise in respect of the decision in *US – Shrimp*, not least the
 699 Appellate Body’s reliance upon the provisions of other sources of international law
 700 as relevant context for the interpretation of WTO law. However, Kulovesi notes that
 701 while this was indeed a welcome development, the Appellate Body could have done
 702 more to clarify the nature of the relationship between WTO law and MEAs and other
 703 instruments of international environmental law.¹⁶² Accordingly, the Appellate Body
 704 failed to delineate whether it was obligated to rely upon these other sources of law,
 705 or whether such a move was a voluntary act on its part.¹⁶³ While greater clarity could
 706 have been offered by the Appellate Body on this issue,¹⁶⁴ the dispute at least did
 707 offer an insight into the sensitivities of the Appellate Body to concerns, ‘that trade
 708 liberalisation and environmental protection agendas are irreconcilable.’¹⁶⁵

709 *Brazil—Tyres*¹⁶⁶

710 The pertinent facts of this dispute centre upon the imposition by Brazil of an import
 711 ban on retreaded tyres.¹⁶⁷ The ban had been imposed due to both environmental and
 712 health concerns relating to the accumulation and disposal of used tyres.¹⁶⁸ In essence,
 713 retreaded tyres have a shorter lifespan than new tyres. Retreaded tyres accumulate
 714 as waste at a faster level than is the case for new tyres. Waste tyres also form ideal
 715 breeding grounds for mosquitos, contributing to outbreaks of serious diseases such
 716 as malaria and dengue fever. Burning waste tyres also produces toxic gases. The
 717 complainant, the European Communities, argued that the ban contravened GATT

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, para 166.

¹⁶¹ Howse 2002, p. 505.

¹⁶² Kulovesi 2016, p. 57.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Kulovesi 2016.

¹⁶⁵ See discussion in Stephens 2009, p. 344.

¹⁶⁶ WTO, *Brazil—Measures Affecting Imports of Retreaded Tyres*, Appellate Body Report, 3 December 2007, WT/DS332/AB/R (*Brazil – Tyres (Appellate Body Report)*).

¹⁶⁷ McGrady 2009 provides a useful analysis of this dispute.

¹⁶⁸ WTO, *Brazil—Measures Affecting Imports of Retreaded Tyres*, Panel Report, 12 June 2007, WT/DS332/R, para 7.53 (*Brazil—Tyres (Panel Report)*).

718 Article XI:1. Brazil sought to justify the ban pursuant to GATT Article XX(b) as
 719 being ‘necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health.’ The ban did not,
 720 however, extend to all imported retreaded tyres as following a 2002 ruling by a
 721 MERCUSOR Panel, an exception was made for a specific type of retreaded tyres
 722 from Mercosur countries. Local retreaders had also successfully used the Brazilian
 723 court system to apply for preliminary injunctions against the import ban to import
 724 casings.¹⁶⁹ These exceptions would ultimately prove problematic for Brazil’s GATT
 725 Article XX defence.

726 At first instance, the Panel held that the import ban did breach GATT Article XI:1
 727 and while it held that the measure could be provisionally justified under GATT Article
 728 XX(b), it found that the effect of the preliminary injunctions was such as to undermine
 729 the requirements of the GATT Article XX chapeau. The Panel found, however, that
 730 the MERCUSOR exception did not breach the conditions of the chapeau, a finding
 731 that the European Communities went onto appeal.

732 In *Brazil—Tyres*, the Appellate Body underscored the ‘fundamental principle’ that
 733 WTO Members have the right to determine their own desired level of protection.¹⁷⁰ In
 734 examining the compliance of the Brazil’s measures under GATT Article XX(b), the
 735 Appellate Body drew on its previous jurisprudence in the dispute of *US – Gambling*
 736 so as to elaborate more fully on the meaning of ‘necessary’ in the text of GATT
 737 Article XX(b). In doing so, the Appellate Body quoted *US—Gambling* to note that,

738 [the] weighing and balancing process inherent in the necessity analysis "begins with an
 739 assessment of the ‘relative importance’ of the interests or values furthered by the challenged
 740 measure" and also involves an assessment of other factors, which will usually include "the
 741 contribution of the measure to the realization of the ends pursued by it" and "the restrictive
 742 impact of the measure on international commerce."¹⁷¹

743 In essence, the requirement of necessity mandates analysis of the ‘importance
 744 of the interests or values at stake, the extent of the contribution to the achievement
 745 of the measure’s objective, and its trade restrictiveness.’¹⁷² In terms of the neces-
 746 sity analysis required under Article XX(b), a measure need not be indispensable to
 747 be considered as ‘necessary’ but rather must make a ‘material contribution to the
 748 achievement of the objective’ at issue.¹⁷³ Such a material contribution need not be
 749 assessed quantitatively.¹⁷⁴ Assuming this threshold test is met, a comparison must
 750 then be made with other possible alternative measures and the extent to which these
 751 might be less trade restrictive while also contributing to achievement of the objective

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, para 7.140.

¹⁷⁰ *Brazil—Tyres (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 166, para 210.

¹⁷¹ WTO, *United States—Measures Affecting the Cross-Border Supply of Gambling and Betting Services*, Appellate Body Report, 7 April 2005, WT/DS285/AB/R, para 306, cited in *Brazil—Tyres (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 166, para 143.

¹⁷² *Brazil – Tyres (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 166, para 178.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, para 150.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, para 146.

752 in question.¹⁷⁵ Any such comparison must be carried out in light of the importance
753 of the objective in question.¹⁷⁶

754 Notably, the Appellate Body went on to ‘rank’ particular objectives, agreeing with
755 the Panel that protection of human health is ‘both vital and important to the highest
756 degree’¹⁷⁷ while protection of the environment is merely noted as being ‘import-
757 tant.’¹⁷⁸ While the Appellate Body ultimately agreed with the Panel that the import
758 ban was necessary within the meaning of GATT Article XX(b),¹⁷⁹ the basis for such
759 ranking is unclear,¹⁸⁰ and raises concerns as to the underpinning ideological stance of
760 the Appellate Body in seemingly ranking protection of the environment as less vital
761 than the protection of human health.¹⁸¹ Indeed, such an anthropocentric approach also
762 fails to grasp the complex interlinkages between human and environmental health
763 and how such concerns cannot be neatly siloed.

764 Leading on from the above, while the Appellate Body agreed with the findings of
765 the Panel that the measure was necessary, it overturned the Panel’s findings that the
766 MERCOSUR exception met the requirements of chapeau. The Appellate Body held
767 in respect of the legal test under the chapeau, discrimination would be arbitrary or
768 unjustifiable if, ‘the reasons given for this discrimination bear no rational connection
769 to the objective falling within the purview of a paragraph of Article XX.’¹⁸² The
770 MERCOSUR exception, in essence, failed to demonstrate a rational connection to
771 the public health goals that the import ban sought to fulfil. According to the Appellate
772 Body:

773 we have difficulty understanding how discrimination might be viewed as complying with
774 the chapeau of Article XX when the alleged rationale for discriminating does not relate to
775 the pursuit of or would go against the objective that was provisionally found to justify a
776 measure under a paragraph of Article XX.¹⁸³

777 What is notable about this finding is that a full, rather than selective import ban,
778 would undoubtedly have passed muster before the Appellate Body,¹⁸⁴ putting paid to
779 the notion that the jurisprudence of the WTO dispute settlement system will always
780 rule in favour of more, as opposed to less trade.¹⁸⁵

781 *Canada—Renewable Energy*

782 This dispute, in fact two parallel cases brought by the European Union and Japan,
783 arose from the imposition by Ontario of domestic content requirements for certain

175 Ibid., para 178.

176 Ibid.

177 Ibid., para 179. See discussion in Andersen 2015, p. 397.

178 Ibid., para 179. See discussion in Andersen 2015, p. 397.

179 Ibid., para 210.

180 Andersen 2015, p. 397.

181 For a general discussion on such issues, see Andersen 2015.

182 *Brazil—Tyres (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 166, para 227.

183 Ibid., para 227.

184 Cosbey and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 299.

185 Ibid.

784 generators of renewable energy in order to be eligible for a feed-in tariff programme
 785 (FIT).¹⁸⁶ The programme was designed to increase the levels of renewable elec-
 786 tricity within the Ontario energy supply system.¹⁸⁷ Entities participating in the FIT
 787 programme were paid a guaranteed price under a 20 or 40-year contract for every
 788 kilowatt-hour of eligible electricity generated.¹⁸⁸ An additional requirement under
 789 the FIT programme for ‘minimum required domestic content levels’ was applied
 790 to the development and construction of facilities for energy generation from solar
 791 photovoltaic (PV) and wind power.¹⁸⁹

792 In the dispute, the EU and Japan claimed that the domestic content requirements
 793 applicable to solar photovoltaic and wind power generation facilities constituted a
 794 prohibited subsidy as defined by Article 3.1(b) and Article 3.2 of the Agreement on
 795 Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM). These provisions prohibit, ‘subsidies
 796 contingent, whether solely or as one of several other conditions, *upon the use of*
 797 *domestic over imported goods* (emphasis added).’ The complainants also alleged a
 798 violation of the national treatment obligation under GATT Article III:4 and Article
 799 2.1 of the Agreement on Trade Related Measures (TRIMS). Both the Panel and
 800 the Appellate Body upheld the claim that the local content requirements at issue
 801 violated GATT Article III:4 and thus by extension, constituted a violation of TRIMS
 802 Article 2.1. Canada had attempted to rely on the Article III:8(a) GATT derogation for
 803 government procurement, an argument which was not upheld.¹⁹⁰ In addition, both
 804 the Panel and the Appellate Body failed to find a violation of the SCM, albeit in
 805 respect of certain aspects of the dispute, they adopted different reasoning. It is the
 806 SCM dimension of the dispute that has sparked the most commentary.

807 Under the WTO SCM, a subsidy exists when, ‘there is a financial contribution
 808 by a government or any public body within the territory of a Member (and ...) a
 809 benefit is thereby conferred.’¹⁹¹ A benefit is conferred when the recipient receives
 810 a financial contribution more advantageous than that available on the market.¹⁹²
 811 By extension, ‘(t)hat a financial contribution confers an advantage on its recipient
 812 cannot be determined in absolute terms, but requires a comparison with a benchmark,

¹⁸⁶ There has been extensive discussion of this dispute in the literature. See, for example, Espa and Durán 2018; Farah 2015; Farah and Cima 2013; Cosbey and Mavroidis 2014a; Davies 2015; Dawson 2019; Weber and Koch 2015.

¹⁸⁷ WTO, *Canada—Certain Measures Affecting the Renewable Energy Generation Sector*, Appellate Body Report, 24 May 2013, WT/DS412/AB/R (*Canada—Renewable Energy (Appellate Body Report)*); WTO, *Canada—Measures Relating to the Feed-In Tariff Program*, Appellate Body Report, 24 May 2013, WT/DS426/AB/R (*Canada—Feed-In Tariff Program (Appellate Body Report)*) para 4.17.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, paras 4.21–4.23.

¹⁹⁰ The reasoning of the Appellate Body in respect of the legal interpretation of Article III:8(a) was arguably narrower than that employed by the Panel; see discussion in Charnovitz and Fischer 2015.

¹⁹¹ See WTO, Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures, Apr. 15, 1994, Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, Annex 1A, 1869 UNTS 14, Article 1 for the definition of a subsidy.

¹⁹² WTO, *Canada—Renewable Energy (Appellate Body Report)*; WTO, *Canada—Feed-In Tariff Program (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 187, para 5.163.

813 which, in the case of subsidies, derives from the market.¹⁹³ In other words, key to
 814 the definition of a benefit is the task of defining the benchmark of the relevant
 815 market. The Panel was not satisfied that a separate market existed for electricity
 816 from wind or solar PV. The Panel instead found that the relevant market was that for
 817 all electricity¹⁹⁴ but that no such competitive market for wholesale electricity actually
 818 existed or could reasonably be achieved in Ontario due to the levels of intervention
 819 required to achieve a satisfactory diversity in sources of supply for electricity.¹⁹⁵
 820 Instead, the Panel observed that one way to assess whether a benefit existed was via,
 821 ‘the relevant rates of return of the challenged ... contracts with the relevant average
 822 cost of capital in Canada.’¹⁹⁶ However, in the absence of required information, the
 823 Panel was unable to complete its analysis and therefore was unable to uphold the
 824 complainants’ contentions that a benefit existed.¹⁹⁷

825 On appeal, the Appellate Body did not uphold the appellants’ claims that a benefit
 826 did in fact exist but proceeded along different lines to that of the Panel. The Appellate
 827 Body rejected that the relevant benchmark was the wholesale market for electricity as
 828 a whole and instead found that the relevant market benchmarks should take account
 829 of existence of a separate market for solar PV and wind electricity sector.¹⁹⁸ However,
 830 in the view of the Appellate Body, ‘where a government creates a market, it cannot
 831 be said that the government intervention distorts the market, as there would not be
 832 a market if the government had not created it’.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, for the Appellate
 833 Body, it was the market for renewable electricity that should provide the benchmark
 834 against which the existence of a benefit should be assessed.²⁰⁰ In this respect, ‘the
 835 relevant question is whether wind and solar electricity suppliers would have entered
 836 the renewable electricity market given those targets but absent the FIT program, not
 837 whether they would have entered the blended electricity wholesale market without
 838 the subventions.’²⁰¹ However, in the absence of full exploration of relevant evidence
 839 by the Panel, the Appellate Body was unable to complete the analysis in respect of

¹⁹³ Ibid., para 5.164.

¹⁹⁴ WTO, *Canada—Certain Measures Affecting the Renewable Energy Generation Sector*, Panel Report, 19 December 2012, WT/DS412/R, (*Canada—Renewable Energy (Panel Report)*); WTO, *Canada—Measures Relating to the Feed-in Tariff Program*, Panel Report, 19 December 2012, WT/DS426/R (*Canada—Feed-In Tariff Program (Panel Report)*), para 7.318.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., paras 7.318–7.327.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., para 7.327.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., para 7.328.

¹⁹⁸ WTO, *Canada—Renewable Energy (Appellate Body Report)*; WTO, *Canada—Feed-In Tariff Program (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 187, para 5.190. In essence, the ‘proper benchmark for wind- and solar PV-generated electricity should take into account the Government of Ontario’s definition of the energy supply-mix as including wind- and solar PV-generated electricity, which implies the existence of separate markets for wind- and solar PV-generated electric’ para 5.204.

¹⁹⁹ WTO, *Canada—Renewable Energy (Appellate Body Report)*; WTO, *Canada—Feed-In Tariff Program (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 187, para 5.118.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., para 5.187.

²⁰¹ Charnovitz and Fischer 2015, p. 198.

840 whether a benefit existed and so was unable to assess whether the scheme in question
841 constituted a prohibited subsidy.²⁰²

842 The legal test employed by the Appellate Body in this dispute made it virtually
843 ‘impossible’ for the FIT programme to constitute a subsidy within the meaning of
844 the WTO Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM).²⁰³ This was
845 because, the Appellate Body, ‘in effect, moved the goalpost by redefining the market
846 to be electricity from renewable sources. As a result, the question of whether the
847 prices paid in the FITs are above market prices no longer has an obvious answer’²⁰⁴
848 and certainly a much less obvious answer than one if the relevant market had been
849 the wholesale electricity as a whole. Cosbey and Mavroidis have commented on the,
850 ‘significant legal acrobatics that the (Appellate Body) had to employ to avoid finding
851 that a FIT—a widespread and effective tool of climate change mitigation policy—was
852 a subsidy.’²⁰⁵ Of significance within this acrobatic jurisprudence is that the Appellate
853 Body did not attempt to justify its reasoning by reference to the policy distinction
854 between the two types of electricity production at issue within the dispute; i.e. their
855 respective impacts of renewable energy on the one hand, and electricity powered
856 by fossil fuels on the other, on *climate change emissions*.²⁰⁶ While attempting to
857 illustrate its environmental *bona fides* by directing that, “fossil fuel resources are
858 exhaustible, and thus fossil energy needs to be replaced progressively if electricity
859 supply is to be guaranteed in the long term,”²⁰⁷ the Appellate Body would have been on
860 firmer ground, at least from an environmental law perspective, to have focused on the
861 climate change aspects of the move away from fossil fuels, rather than emphasising
862 the exhaustibility of conventional fuels.²⁰⁸

863 More generally, the dispute leaves open important questions as to the mutual
864 supportiveness of the international trade and climate regimes.²⁰⁹ Indeed, it has been
865 argued that while the legal acrobatics performed by the Appellate Body here so as
866 to avoid a finding that the FIT scheme constituted a subsidy was likely the result
867 of a desire to ensure the mutual supportiveness of WTO law with the demands of
868 the environmental community, a finding of a subsidy may well have prompted a
869 more focused and detailed discussion on the need for, ‘reasonable environmental
870 exceptions in the SCM Agreement’.²¹⁰ This would undoubtedly be more beneficial
871 than having to rely on ‘judicial creativity’ on an ongoing basis.²¹¹

²⁰² WTO, *Canada—Renewable Energy (Appellate Body Report)*; WTO, *Canada – Feed-In Tariff Program (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 187, paras 5.245–5.246.

²⁰³ See Espa 2019, p. 989.

²⁰⁴ Charnovitz and Fischer 2015, p. 204.

²⁰⁵ Cosbey and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 298.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ WTO, *Canada—Renewable Energy (Appellate Body Report)*; WTO, *Canada—Feed-In Tariff Program (Appellate Body Report)*, above n 187, para 5.186.

²⁰⁸ Charnovitz and Fischer 2015, p. 208.

²⁰⁹ See e.g. Kulovesi 2016. For more a general discussion, see also Amerjee and Nakul Nayak 2014.

²¹⁰ Charnovitz and Fischer 2015, pp. 207–209.

²¹¹ Ibid. See also Bigdeli 2014.

872 *US—Tuna II*

873 The *US—Tuna II* dispute centred upon US labelling requirements for use of the
 874 terminology of ‘dolphin safe’ when tuna is sold in the US.²¹² In 2008, Mexico brought
 875 a dispute to the WTO alleging that the US, in its ‘dolphin safe’ labelling requirements,
 876 had breached numerous provisions of the TBT and the GATT. The US ‘dolphin safe’
 877 labelling requirements distinguished between tuna depending upon where it was
 878 caught and the fishing method used.²¹³ The essence of these requirements was that
 879 tuna caught in the eastern tropical pacific (ETP) using purse seine nets to set on or
 880 encircle dolphins would not be eligible for the ‘dolphin safe’ label. This was the case
 881 even if no dolphins were killed or injured in the process. The requirements at issue
 882 had a particular impact upon the Mexican tuna fleet.

883 The Panel in *US—Tuna II* found that the labelling regime constituted a technical
 884 regulation and therefore fell within the purview of the TBT Agreement. However, the
 885 Panel considered that there had been no breach of the non-discrimination obligation
 886 under Article 2.1 TBT.²¹⁴ However, the Panel did uphold Mexico’s complaint that
 887 the US labelling requirement was a violation of Article 2.2 TBT as it was ‘more trade
 888 restrictive than necessary to fulfil a legitimate objective.’

889 On appeal, the Appellate Body upheld the Panel’s finding that the labelling regime
 890 constituted a technical regulation but reversed the Panel’s finding that it constituted a
 891 breach of Article 2.2 TBT. The Appellate Body found, however, that the US regime
 892 *was* in breach of its obligations under Article 2.1 TBT, reversing the Panel’s findings
 893 on that issue. Article 2.1 TBT requires that any like imported product be granted
 894 ‘no less favourable treatment’ in comparison with a liked domestic product. The
 895 Appellate Body held that in respect of the obligation contained in Article 2.1 TBT,
 896 ‘technical regulations may pursue legitimate objectives but must not be applied in a
 897 manner that would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination.’²¹⁵
 898 The Appellate Body found that the difference in labelling regime, depending upon
 899 the fishing methods used and where the tuna was caught was not sufficiently justified
 900 by the US. In essence, whereas the risk from setting on dolphins in one particular
 901 area—the Eastern Tropical Pacific—was fully internalised within the US regime, the
 902 same could not be said for tuna caught outside of the ETP using different fishing

²¹² There has been extensive discussion of this dispute in the literature. See, for example Fagundes Cezar 2018; Crowley and Howse 2014; Howse and Levy 2013; Kelly 2014.

²¹³ WTO, *United States—Measures Concerning the Importation, Marketing and Sale of Tuna and Tuna Products*, Panel Report, 15 September 2011, WT/DS381/R (*US—Tuna II (Panel Report)*) paras 2.9 to 2.26.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, paras 6.41 to 6.44. The Panel exercised judicial economy in respect of Mexico’s claims under GATT Article I:1 and III:4. This was because it considered that, ‘in addressing all aspects of Mexico’s claims under the TBT Agreement, including, but not limited to, its discrimination claims, we have addressed Mexico’s claims in a manner sufficient to resolve the dispute.’

²¹⁵ WTO, *United States—Measures Concerning the Importation, Marketing and Sale of Tuna and Tuna Products*, Appellate Body Report, 16 May 2012, WT/DS381/AB/R (*US—Tuna II (Appellate Body Report, Appellate Body Report)*) para 213.

903 methods.²¹⁶ Accordingly, the regulation applicable to non-ETP tuna fishing was
 904 insufficiently calibrated to the risks involved and hence was too lax.²¹⁷ The lack of
 905 calibration according to the risk profile involved hence led to the Appellate Body's
 906 finding of a breach of the 'no less favourable treatment' obligation set out in Article
 907 2.1 TBT.

908 In response to the Appellate Body's findings, the US instituted a number of
 909 changes to its labelling regime, including the introduction of a requirement that
 910 in respect of tuna caught *outside* the ETP using purse seine nets, certification would
 911 be required to confirm that no dolphins were killed or seriously injured in the process.
 912 Additional tracking and verification requirements were also added for tuna caught
 913 *within* the ETP. Compliance proceedings under Article 21.5 DSU were subsequently
 914 taken in respect of the new requirements. Breaches of Articles I:1 and III:4 of the
 915 GATT were found by both the Panel and the Appellate Body though again, the find-
 916 ings were based on different legal grounds. In relation to whether the measure in
 917 question could be justified under GATT Article XX, the Appellate Body found that
 918 the conditions of the chapeau were not satisfied. In addition, both the Panel and the
 919 Appellate Body again struck down the US regime as being a breach of Article 2.1
 920 TBT, albeit for different reasons. The reasoning here was similar to its first findings
 921 in the dispute and concerned the calibration of risk in respect of dolphin injury and
 922 mortality.²¹⁸ Further changes were made to the US regime with a view to improving
 923 the risk calibration of the measure, and in a second set of compliance proceedings,
 924 the measure finally passed muster before both the Panel and the Appellate Body.²¹⁹

925 The facts and indeed legal analysis engaged in in *US—Tuna II* are undoubtedly
 926 complex. However, some preliminary points can be made in respect of the anal-
 927 ysis engaged in in the dispute and its contribution to the coherence of trade and
 928 environment jurisprudence. Of particular note is the Appellate Body's focus on the
 929 concept of risk calibration in its non-discrimination analysis under TBT Article 2.1.
 930 While it is not to be denied that there was indeed a lack of even-handedness to the
 931 US measure,²²⁰ rather than the 'risk-based approach constraining WTO decision-
 932 making, it might even reasonably appear that an emphasis on risk unshackled adju-
 933 dicators from principled constraints.'²²¹ This is because, '(a)s soon as one distinction
 934 was addressed, there seemed to be another problematic one to be found.'²²² Further-
 935 more, as articulated by Coglianesi and Sapir, the Appellate Body provided little

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, para 297; 'The US measure fully addresses the adverse effects on dolphins resulting from setting on dolphins in the ETP, whereas it does "not address mortality (observed or unobserved) arising from fishing methods other than setting on dolphins outside the ETP".'

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ For a useful discussion on the issue of risk calibration, see Coglianesi and Sapir 2017.

²¹⁹ For a useful summary, see https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds381_e.htm Accessed 18 December 2020.

²²⁰ Coglianesi and Sapir 2017.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

²²² *Ibid.*

936 by way of clarification to guide policy makers²²³ on how to manage the process of
 937 risk calibration. It is one thing to direct that measures should be calibrated in accord-
 938 dance with the different profiles of risk that may exist, but it is an entirely different
 939 task to provide useful guidance on such calibration processes. In the absence of
 940 such guidance, profound potential exists for a chilling effect to occur. Furthermore,
 941 while the dispute was—eventually—heralded as a ‘win’ for environmental protec-
 942 tion, ‘Mexican tuna producers ... responded to this dispute by diversifying their
 943 export destinations rather than changing their methods to increase their US market
 944 share.’²²⁴ Accordingly, while the *legal* results of the dispute were such that US efforts
 945 to reduce the practice of ‘setting on’ dolphins were ultimately upheld, in real terms,
 946 the US regulatory efforts also likely brought about trade diversion of Mexican exports
 947 to other jurisdictions without such stringent—and costly—requirements.²²⁵

948 As explored further below, the jurisprudence of the Panel and of the Appellate
 949 Body has many positive aspects in respect of helping to fashion a jurisprudence more
 950 responsive to environmental concerns. However, and as demonstrated by *US—Tuna*
 951 *II*, problems do remain, a fact that will be further elucidated in the succeeding section
 952 which attempts to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the WTO dispute settlement
 953 system as a forum for resolving disputes involving environmental matters.

954 **5.4 Assessment of the Strengths and Weaknesses** 955 **of the WTO Dispute Settlement System as a Forum** 956 **for Resolving Disputes Involving Environmental** 957 **Matters**

958 It is important to underscore that there has been little by way of legal change within the
 959 WTO in respect of the relationship between trade and environmental protection.²²⁶
 960 However, as demonstrated above and as argued by Cosbey and Mavroidis, ‘(t)he
 961 case law, by contrast, has showed a significant and welcome evolution... (with) the
 962 dominant trend (being) toward deference towards nationally enunciated objectives
 963 and the measures chosen to achieve them, even where those measures are trade
 964 restrictive.’²²⁷ Such deference marks a considerably *volte face* from the dark days of
 965 the GATT era *Tuna-Dolphin* litigation.

966 Despite the failure of the Doha Round environmental mandate negotiations to
 967 conclude, commentators such as Quick would argue against the feasibility and more-
 968 over need for further negotiations on the relationship between trade and environ-
 969 mental protection, pointing to the dispute settlement system’s ability to ‘get the job

223 See generally Coglianesi and Sapir 2017.

224 See generally Baroncini and Brunel 2020.

225 See discussion in Baroncini and Brunel 2020.

226 Cosbey and Mavroidis 2014b, p. 300.

227 Ibid.

970 done.²²⁸ In a similar vein, Howse has noted the ability of the jurisprudence of the
 971 WTO dispute settlement to deftly strike the balance between trade liberalisation on
 972 the one hand, and the protection of sensitive interests on the other.²²⁹ In the view of
 973 Howse, the Appellate Body has very much crafted its own role, separate from that of
 974 the WTO ‘insider’ community. A central underpinning vision of the Appellate Body
 975 was that ‘a kind of fundamental balance or equilibrium between an inherent right to
 976 regulate and specific disciplines on its use’ existed within the WTO Agreements.’²³⁰

977 While, however, the Appellate Body has managed to dampen some of the more
 978 vehement critiques of how environmental concerns are treated under the WTO
 979 dispute settlement, its jurisprudence is not absent of problems. The Appellate
 980 Body’s ‘ranking’ of values in *Brazil—Tyres*, for example, evokes an anthropocentric
 981 approach which may devalue the position of environmental protection more gener-
 982 ally. Furthermore, while the reference to various MEAs in *US—Shrimp* is seemingly
 983 positive, more generally, the jurisprudence of the WTO dispute settlement system
 984 does not provide, ‘a solid basis for constructive interaction between the international
 985 trade and environmental regimes.’²³¹ As discussed above, there seems little scope
 986 for the WTO dispute settlement system to allow MEAs to be utilised as in a way
 987 that modifies the rights and obligations of Members, leading to greater potential for
 988 a conflict between WTO law and environmental law.²³²

989 Leaving it to the dispute settlement system to delineate the appropriate relation-
 990 ship between trade and environmental protection is additionally problematic in that
 991 we are reliant upon the ‘right’ disputes being brought to influence state behaviour.
 992 To exemplify, we now have a rich—if still incomplete—jurisprudence on support
 993 measures for renewable energy, albeit one that saw the Appellate Body engage in
 994 considerable legal acrobatics to avoid a finding of that a subsidy existed. However,
 995 we have no case law on support for environmentally destructive fossil fuels.²³³

996 In a similar vein to Howse, Trachtman praises the ‘good instincts’ of the Appel-
 997 late Body and credits it, together with the influence of the wider trade community,
 998 for generally making decisions sensitive to the environment.²³⁴ However, he argues
 999 that too much emphasis has been placed on such good instincts due to a lack of an
 1000 internally coherent body of jurisprudence on the relationship between trade and envi-
 1001 ronment. This jurisprudential incoherence poses significant risks of what Trachtman
 1002 refers to as a, ‘virtual environmental disaster in Geneva.’²³⁵ Trachtman criticises two
 1003 particular aspects of this jurisprudence; the tendency of Appellate Body findings to
 1004 apply in an overly broad manner, such as to invalidate sound environmental regu-
 1005 lation, while also at the same time, providing too little of a rationale for allowing

228 Quick 2013, p. 981.

229 Howse 2016, p. 9.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

231 Kulovesi 2011, pp. 81 to 82.

232 Trachtman 2017, p. 304.

233 Asmelash 2015.

234 Trachtman 2017, p. 274.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 274.

1006 violations.²³⁶ For example, and as elaborated upon above, while the focus on the cali-
 1007 bration of risk which underpinned the *US—Tuna II* case law may at first sight appear
 1008 ‘rational’, the lack of clarity over its invocation has the potential to result in incoher-
 1009 ence.²³⁷ To the extent that the jurisprudence of the WTO dispute settlement system
 1010 helps to shape Member’s perceptions of the meaning of WTO law,²³⁸ such a lack of
 1011 clarity over the application of a particular measure could result in a chilling effect.
 1012 Furthermore, and perhaps more fundamentally, leaving the debate on trade and envi-
 1013 ronment to be developed within and by the dispute settlement system will only get
 1014 us so far,²³⁹ particularly because the Appellate Body has, particularly recently, been
 1015 largely comprised of former government officials; ‘trade insiders’ as it were.²⁴⁰ It is
 1016 difficult to envisage trade insiders pushing a ‘strong critique’²⁴¹ of current jurispru-
 1017 dence on the relationship between trade and environmental protection. Accordingly,
 1018 it may be a case of ‘too much is never enough’ in respect of the dispute settlement
 1019 system’s treatment of trade and environmental protection. In addition, procedural
 1020 issues, such as the lack of provisional measures, further limit the practical impact of
 1021 the WTO dispute settlement system as a bulwark against environmental degradation.

1022 5.5 Conclusions

1023 Considerable uncertainty currently exists over the future trajectory of WTO dispute
 1024 settlement. The Appellate Body system is no longer functioning. To the extent that
 1025 the task of resolving the relationship between trade and environment has fallen to
 1026 the WTO dispute settlement system, the system has been able to move beyond the
 1027 dark days of the GATT Panel reports in *Tuna-Dolphin*. The Appellate Body in partic-
 1028 ular has been able to craft a jurisprudence that recognises the fundamental right of
 1029 Members to regulate to protect interests such as environmental protection. However,
 1030 the jurisprudence of the WTO dispute settlement system in respect of the trade and
 1031 environmental protection is not without its flaws. Moreover, the current Appellate
 1032 Body crisis blows into stark relief the risks inherent in the relationship between
 1033 trade and environment being produced by the dispute settlement system. With an
 1034 increasing range of environmental threats facing the world, not least the spectre of
 1035 climate change, it is clear that change is needed within the WTO to better ensure a
 1036 mutually supportive relationship between trade and environmental protection.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 273–275.

²³⁷ Drawing on insights from the excellent piece by Coglianese and Sapir 2017.

²³⁸ Busch and Pelc 2014, p. 412. See also Izaguerri and Lanovoy 2013.

²³⁹ See generally Trujillo 2013.

²⁴⁰ Pauwelyn 2016.

²⁴¹ See generally Offor 2020. See also Boisson de Chazournes 2016.

References

- 1037
- 1038 Abi-Saab G (2005) The WTO Dispute Settlement and General International Law. In: Yerxa R, B
1039 Wilson (eds) *Key Issues in WTO Dispute Settlement: The First Ten Years*. Cambridge University
1040 Press, Cambridge, pp 7–12
- 1041 Amerjee A, Nayak N (2014) A “Heated” Debate: The WTO’s Climate Question. *Trade, Law and*
1042 *Development* 6:1–8
- 1043 Andersen H (2015) Protection of Non-Trade Values in WTO Appellate Body Jurisprudence: Excep-
1044 tions, Economic Arguments, and Eluding Questions. *Journal of International Economic Law*
1045 18:383–405
- 1046 Anon (2019) United States Continues to Block New Appellate Body Members for the World Trade
1047 Organization, Risking the Collapse of the Appellate Process. *American Journal of International*
1048 *Law* 113:822–831
- 1049 Asmelash H B (2015) Energy Subsidies and WTO Dispute Settlement: Why Only Renewable
1050 Energy Subsidies Are Challenged. *Journal of International Economic Law* 18:261–285
- 1051 Bacchus J, Lester S (2020) The Rule of Precedent and the Role of the Appellate Body. *Journal of*
1052 *World Trade* 54:183–198
- 1053 Baroncini E, Brunel C (2020) A WTO Safe Harbour for the Dolphins: The Second Compliance
1054 Proceedings in the US–Tuna II (Mexico) case. *World Trade Review* 19:196–215
- 1055 Bigdeli S Z (2014) Clash of Rationalities: Revisiting the Trade and Environment Debate in Light
1056 of WTO Disputes over Green Industrial Policy. *Trade, Law and Development* 6:177–209
- 1057 Boisson de Chazournes L (2016) WTO and Non-Trade Issues: Inside/Outside WTO. *Journal of*
1058 *International Economic Law* 19:379–381
- 1059 Busch M, Krzysztof P (2014) Dispute Settlement in the WTO. In: Martin L L (ed) *The Oxford*
1060 *Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp
1061 1–19
- 1062 Cameron J, Gray K R (2001) Principles of International Law in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.
1063 *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 50:248–298
- 1064 Cezar R F (2018) The Politics of “Dolphin-Safe” Tuna in the United States: Policy Change and
1065 Reversal, Lock-in and Adjustment to International Constraints (1984–2017). *World Trade Review*
1066 17:635–663
- 1067 Charnovitz S, Fischer C (2015) Canada-Renewable Energy: Implications for WTO Law on Green
1068 and Not-So-Green Subsidies. *World Trade Review* 14:177–210
- 1069 Chi M (2014) “Exhaustible Natural Resource” in WTO Law: GATT Article XX(g) Disputes and
1070 Their Implications. *Journal of World Trade* 48:939–966
- 1071 Chisik R, Fang C (2020) Cross-retaliation and International Dispute Settlement. [https://ideas.repec.
1072 org/p/rye/wpaper/wp078.html](https://ideas.repec.org/p/rye/wpaper/wp078.html) Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1073 Cima E (2018) Promoting Renewable Energy Through FTAs? The Legal Implications of a New
1074 Generation of Trade Agreements. *Journal of World Trade* 52:663–695
- 1075 Coglianesi C, Sapir A (2017) Risk and Regulatory Calibration: WTO Compliance Review of the
1076 US Dolphin-Safe Tuna Labeling Regime. *World Trade Review* 16:327–348
- 1077 Cosbey A, Mavroidis P C (2014a) A Turquoise Mess: Green Subsidies, Blue Industrial Policy and
1078 Renewable Energy: The Case for Redrafting the Subsidies Agreement of the WTO. *Journal of*
1079 *International Economic Law* 17:11–47
- 1080 Cosbey A, Mavroidis P C (2014b) Heavy Fuel: Trade and Environment in the GATT/WTO Case
1081 *Law. Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law* 23:288–301
- 1082 Creamer C (2019) From the WTO’s Crown Jewel to its Crown of Thorns. *AJIL Unbound* 113:51–55
- 1083 Crowley M A, Howse R (2014) *Tuna-Dolphin II: a legal and economic analysis of the Appellate*
1084 *Body Report*. *World Trade Review* 13:321–355
- 1085 Davey W J (2014) The WTO and Rules-Based Dispute Settlement: History, Evolution, Operational
1086 Success and Future Challenges. *Journal of International Economic Law* 17:679–700
- 1087 Davies A (2015) The GATT Article III:8(a) Procurement Derogation and *Canada – Renewable*
1088 *Energy*. *Journal of International Economic Law* 18:543–554

- 1089 Dawson A (2019) Safeguarding the Planet? Renewable Energy, Solar Panel Tariffs, and the World
 1090 Trade Organization's Rules on Safeguards. *Trade, Law and Development* 11:334–371
- 1091 Devaney J (2016) *Fact Finding Before the International Court of Justice*. Cambridge University
 1092 Press, Cambridge
- 1093 Eckersley R (2007) A Green Public Sphere in the WTO?: The Amicus Curiae Interventions in the
 1094 Transatlantic Biotech Dispute. *European Journal of International Relations* 13(3):329–356
- 1095 Espa I, Marín Durán G (2018) Renewable Energy Subsidies and WTO Law: Time to Rethink the
 1096 Case for Reform Beyond *Canada – Renewable Energy/Fit Program*. *Journal of International*
 1097 *Economic Law* 21:621–653
- 1098 European Commission (2020a) Interim appeal arrangement for WTO disputes becomes effective.
 1099 <https://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=2143> Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1100 European Commission (2020b) The WTO multi-party interim appeal arrangement gets operational.
 1101 <https://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=2176> Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1102 Farah P D (2015) WTO and Renewable Energy: Lessons from the Case Law. *Journal of World*
 1103 *Trade* 49:1103–1116
- 1104 Farah P D, Cima E (2013) Energy Trade and the WTO: Implications for Renewable Energy and the
 1105 OPEC Cartel. *Journal of International Economic Law* 16:707–740
- 1106 Graewert T (2008) Conflicting Laws and Jurisdictions in the Dispute Settlement process of Regional
 1107 Trade Agreement and the WTO. *Contemporary Asia Arbitration Journal* 1:287–334
- 1108 Grand M (2010) *Evidence, Proof, and Fact Finding in WTO Dispute Settlement*. Oxford University
 1109 Press, Oxford
- 1110 Hoekman B M, Mavroidis P C (2020a) Preventing the Bad from Getting Worse: The End of the
 1111 World (Trade Organization) As We Know It? https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/faculty_scholarship/2606 Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1112 Hoekman B (2016) The World Trade Order: Global Governance by Judiciary? *European Journal*
 1113 *of International Law* 27:1083–1093
- 1114 Hoekman B M, Mavroidis P C (2020b) To AB or Not to AB? Dispute Settlement in WTO Reform.
 1115 *Journal of International Economic Law* 23:1–20
- 1116 Horn H, Mavroidis P C, Wijkstrom, E N (2013) In the Shadow of the DSU: Addressing Specific
 1117 Trade Concerns in the WTO SPS and TBT Committees. *Journal of World Trade* 47: 729–759
- 1118 Howse R (2002) The Appellate Body Rulings in the *Shrimp/Turtle* Case: A New Legal Baseline
 1119 for the Trade and Environment Debate. *Columbia Journal of Environmental Law* 27:489–519
- 1120 Howse R (2016) The World Trade Organization 20 Years On: Global Governance by Judiciary.
 1121 *European Journal of International Law* 27:9–77
- 1122 Howse R, Levy P I (2013) The TBT Panels: *US-Cloves, US-Tuna, US-COOL*. *World Trade Review*
 1123 12:327–375
- 1124 Kelly T (2014) Tuna-Dolphin Revisited. *Journal of World Trade* 48:501–524
- 1125 Kulovesi K (2011) *The WTO Dispute Settlement System: Challenges of the Environment,*
 1126 *Legitimacy and Fragmentation*. Kluwer, Alphen aan den Rijn
- 1127 Kulovesi K (2014) International Trade Disputes on Renewable Energy: Testing Ground for
 1128 the Mutual Supportiveness of WTO Law and Climate Change Law. *Review of European,*
 1129 *Comparative & International Environmental Law* 23:342–353
- 1130 Kulovesi K (2016) International Trade: Natural Resources and the World Trade Organisation. In:
 1131 Morgera E, Kulovesi K (eds) *Research Handbook on International Law and Natural Resources*.
 1132 Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp 46–65
- 1133 Lang A, Scott J (2009) The Hidden World of WTO Governance. *European Journal of International*
 1134 *Law* 20:575–614
- 1135 Lydgate E (2012). Sustainable development in the WTO: From mutual supportiveness to balancing.
 1136 *World Trade Review* 11:621–639
- 1137 McGrady B (2009) Necessity Exceptions in WTO Law: Retreaded Tyres, Regulatory Purpose and
 1138 Cumulative Regulatory Measures. *Journal of International Economic Law* 12:153–173
- 1139 Merrills J G (2005) *International Dispute Settlement*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- 1140

- 1141 Miles C A (2017) *Provisional Measures before International Courts and Tribunals*. Cambridge
1142 University Press, Cambridge
- 1143 Offor I (2020) *Animals and the Impact of Trade Law and Policy: A Global Animal Law Question*.
1144 *Transnational Environmental Law* 9:1–24
- 1145 Pauwelyn J (2003) *Conflict of Norms in Public International Law: How WTO Law Relates to Other*
1146 *Norms of International Law*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- 1147 Pauwelyn J (2008) *How to Win a WTO Dispute Based on Non-WTO Law? Questions of Jurisdiction*
1148 *and Merits*. In: Griller S (eds) *At the Crossroads: The World Trading System and the Doha Round*.
1149 Springer, Vienna, pp 1–53
- 1150 Pauwelyn J (2016) *The WTO 20 Years On: ‘Global Governance by Judiciary’ or, Rather, Member-*
1151 *driven Settlement of (Some) Trade Disputes between (Some) WTO Members?* *European Journal*
1152 *of International Law* 27:1119–1126
- 1153 Pauwelyn J (2019) *WTO Dispute Settlement Post 2019: What to Expect?* *Journal of International*
1154 *Economic Law* 22:297–321
- 1155 Pierola F (2005) *The Question of Remand Authority for the Appellate Body*. In: Mitchell D A (ed)
1156 *Challenges and Prospects for the WTO*. Cameron May, London, pp 193–216
- 1157 Quick R (2013) *Do We Need Trade and Environment Negotiations or Has the Appellate Body Done*
1158 *the Job?* *Journal of World Trade* 47:957–983
- 1159 Sinha M (2013) *An Evaluation of the WTO Committee on Trade and Environment*. *Journal of World*
1160 *Trade* 47:1285–1322
- 1161 Spiegel-Feld D, Switzer S (2012) *Whither Article XX? Regulatory autonomy under non-GATT*
1162 *agreements after China—raw materials*. *Yale Journal of International Law Online* 38:16–30
- 1163 Squatitro T (2018) *Amicus Curiae Briefs in the WTO DSM: Good or Bad News for Non-State*
1164 *Actor Involvement?* *World Trade Review* 17:65–89.
- 1165 Stephens T (2009) *International Courts and Environmental Protection*. Cambridge University Press,
1166 Cambridge
- 1167 Subedi S P (2010) *The WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism as a New Technique for Settling*
1168 *Disputes in International Law*. In: French D et al (eds) *International Law and Dispute Settlement:*
1169 *New Problems and Techniques*. Hart, Oxford, pp 173–190
- 1170 Tanaka Y (2018) *The WTO Dispute Settlement System*. In: Tanaka Y (ed) *The Peaceful Settlement*
1171 *of International Disputes*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 275–310
- 1172 Trachtman J P (2017) *WTO Trade and Environment Jurisprudence: Avoiding Environmental*
1173 *Catastrophe*. *Harvard International Law Journal* 58:273–309
- 1174 Trebilcock M J, Howse M (2005) *The Regulation of International Trade*. Routledge, Abingdon
- 1175 Trujillo E (2013) *A Dialogical Approach to Trade and Environment*. *Journal of International*
1176 *Economic Law* 16:535–585
- 1177 Van den Bossche P (2005) *From Afterthought to Centrepiece: The WTO Appellate Body and its*
1178 *Rise to Prominence in the World Trading System*. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abs](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=836284)
1179 [tract_id=836284](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=836284) Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1180 Van den Bossche P, Zdouc W (2017) *The Law and Policy of the World Trade Organization: Text*
1181 *Cases and Materials*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- 1182 Weber R H, Koch R (2015) *International Trade Law Challenges by Subsidies for Renewable Energy*.
1183 *Journal of World Trade* 49:757–780
- 1184 Weiss E B (2016) *Integrating Environment and Trade*. *Journal of International Economic Law*
1185 19:367–369
- 1186 WTO (2017) *Matrix on Trade-Related Measures Pursuant to Selected Multilateral Environmental*
1187 *Agreements - Note by The Secretariat*. [https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/FE_Search/FE_S_S](https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/FE_Search/FE_S_S006.aspx?Query=%28%28%20@Symbol=%20wt/cte/w/160/rev.5%20%29%29&Language=ENGLISH&Context=FomerScriptedSearch&languageUIChecked=true)
1188 [006.aspx?Query=%28%28%20@Symbol=%20wt/cte/w/160/rev.5%20%29%29&Language=](https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/FE_Search/FE_S_S006.aspx?Query=%28%28%20@Symbol=%20wt/cte/w/160/rev.5%20%29%29&Language=ENGLISH&Context=FomerScriptedSearch&languageUIChecked=true)
1189 [ENGLISH&Context=FomerScriptedSearch&languageUIChecked=true](https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/FE_Search/FE_S_S006.aspx?Query=%28%28%20@Symbol=%20wt/cte/w/160/rev.5%20%29%29&Language=ENGLISH&Context=FomerScriptedSearch&languageUIChecked=true) Accessed 23 December
1190 2020
- 1191 WTO (2018) *Addressing Tensions and Avoiding Disputes: Specific Trade Concerns in the*
1192 *TBT Committee*. https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/reser_e/ersd201811_e.pdf Accessed 23
1193 December 2020

- 1194 WTO (2020a) DDG Wolff urges start of “serious discussion” on WTO reforms. https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news20_e/ddgaw_30oct20_e.htm Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1195
- 1196 WTO (2020b) Hong Kong, China initiates dispute complaint against US origin marking requirements. https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news20_e/ds597rfc_03nov20_e.htm Accessed 23
- 1197
- 1198 December 2020
- 1199 WTO (2020c) Multi-Party Interim Appeal Arbitration Arrangement Pursuant to Article 25 of
- 1200 the DSU. https://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2020/march/tradoc_158685.pdf Accessed 23
- 1201 December 2020
- 1202 WTO (2020d) Statement on A Mechanism for Developing, Documenting and Sharing Practices
- 1203 and Procedures in The Conduct Of WTO Disputes. https://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2020/april/tradoc_158731.pdf Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1204
- 1205 WTO (2020e) Statement on a Mechanism for Developing, Documenting and Sharing Practices
- 1206 and Procedures in the Conduct of WTO Disputes. [https://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2020/august/tradoc_158911.12-Suppl.5%20\(002\).pdf](https://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2020/august/tradoc_158911.12-Suppl.5%20(002).pdf) Accessed 23 December 2020
- 1207
- 1208 WTO Dispute Settlement. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/dispu_e.htm Accessed 23
- 1209 December 2020

1210 **Stephanie Switzer** is a senior lecturer and Co-Director of the University of Strathclyde’s Centre

1211 for Environmental Law and Governance, Glasgow, Scotland. The author wishes to thank Iyan

1212 Offor and Mitchell Lennan for their help, discussions and advice in preparing this chapter. Any

1213 errors are the author’s own.

MARKED PROOF

Please correct and return this set

Please use the proof correction marks shown below for all alterations and corrections. If you wish to return your proof by fax you should ensure that all amendments are written clearly in dark ink and are made well within the page margins.

| <i>Instruction to printer</i> | <i>Textual mark</i> | <i>Marginal mark</i> |
|--|---|---|
| Leave unchanged | ... under matter to remain | Ⓟ |
| Insert in text the matter indicated in the margin | ∧ | New matter followed by ∧ or ∧ [Ⓢ] |
| Delete | / through single character, rule or underline or ┌───┐ through all characters to be deleted | Ⓞ or Ⓞ [Ⓢ] |
| Substitute character or substitute part of one or more word(s) | / through letter or ┌───┐ through characters | new character / or new characters / |
| Change to italics | — under matter to be changed | ↙ |
| Change to capitals | ≡ under matter to be changed | ≡ |
| Change to small capitals | ≡ under matter to be changed | ≡ |
| Change to bold type | ~ under matter to be changed | ~ |
| Change to bold italic | ≈ under matter to be changed | ≈ |
| Change to lower case | Encircle matter to be changed | ≠ |
| Change italic to upright type | (As above) | ⊕ |
| Change bold to non-bold type | (As above) | ⊖ |
| Insert 'superior' character | / through character or ∧ where required | Υ or Υ under character e.g. Υ or Υ |
| Insert 'inferior' character | (As above) | ∧ over character e.g. ∧ |
| Insert full stop | (As above) | ⊙ |
| Insert comma | (As above) | , |
| Insert single quotation marks | (As above) | Ƴ or ƴ and/or ƶ or Ʒ |
| Insert double quotation marks | (As above) | ƶ or Ʒ and/or Ʒ or ƶ |
| Insert hyphen | (As above) | ⊥ |
| Start new paragraph | ┌ | ┌ |
| No new paragraph | ┐ | ┐ |
| Transpose | └┐ | └┐ |
| Close up | linking ○ characters | Ⓞ |
| Insert or substitute space between characters or words | / through character or ∧ where required | Υ |
| Reduce space between characters or words | | ↑ |