Contents

	efac kno	e wledgments	xii xv
PA	RT	I INTRODUCTION	1
]	Defi	ning 'social trade regulations'	1
		gorizing social trade regulations: law-disabling, law-supporting	,
ä		law-creating	2
		'Law-disabling' trade regulations	3
	2.		3
	3.	5 5	3
	4.	Examples	4
1.	Th	e social impacts of trade	7
	1.	Impacts of trade as a social and economic phenomenon	7
	2.	Impacts of trade as a legal system	9
2.	Th	e evolving character of the international legal system	12
	1.		12
		Multilateralism	14
		Unilateralism	17
	4.	International community	19
PA	RT	II TRADE REGULATION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW	23
3.	Un	ilateral trade regulation and the United Nations Charter	
	pri	nciples	27
	1.	5 J	28
	2.	Prohibition on the use of force	36
		(a) Trade regulations as economic coercion?	38
		(b) Economic coercion as use of force?	39
	_	i. Economic coercion as 'aggression'?	41
	3.	Prohibition on intervention	42
		(a) Legal status of non-intervention	44
		(b) Critics of non-intervention as a legal norm	45

ı

	4.	Prot	on of humans: the law of international human	
		right	s and international humanitarian law	54
		(a)	Short overview of international human rights law	54
		` _	i. The UN Declaration on Human Rights	56
			ii. The International Covenant on Civil and Political	
			Rights	56
			iii. The International Covenant on Economic, Social	
			and Cultural Rights	56
		(b)	Legitimacy of social trade regulations and human	
		` ,	rights law	57
			i. Human rights as a goal of social trade regulation	57
			ii. Human rights as a limit on social trade regulation	58
		(c)	Short overview of international humanitarian law	58
		(d)	Legitimacy of social trade regulations and	
			humanitarian law	60
		(e)	Humanitarian law v. human rights law limits to social t	rade
			regulation	63
4.			al trade regulation, the law of state responsibility and	
			of treaties	68
	1.		reloping the law of remedies in international law: the	60
			rnational law on state responsibility	69
		(a)	Codification of the law of state responsibility	70 70
			i. History of codification	/0
			ii. The 2001 Articles on responsibility of states for	71
			internationally wrongful acts	/1
			(1) Each state is responsible for its violations of international law	72
				12
			(2) Responsibility does not depend on the source of the violated obligation	72
			(3) State responsibility arises only from wrongful	12
			violations	73
		(b)		73
		(0)	i. The approach	74
			ii. Consequences of a wrongful act	75
			(1) Rights of the injured state	75
			(2) Rights of states other than the injured state	76
			(3) Violator's duties	77
			iii. Countermeasures	79
			(1) The approach	80
			(2) When is an action a countermeasure?	81

Contents	vii

			iv. Wha	at is the legal consequence of an action's	
				racterization as a countermeasure?	82
			v. Lim	its on the use of countermeasures	83
			(1)	Substantive limits	83
			(2)	Procedural limits	84
				ntermeasures as instruments of progressive	
				elopment of law?	85
		(c)	Unansw	vered questions on state responsibility	86
			i. 'Soli	darity' countermeasures	87
			ii. The	legality of retorsion	89
			iii. Proc	edural norms for dispute settlement	91
			iv. Resp	consibility for actions of individuals	93
	2.	The	Vienna (Convention on the Law of Treaties	95
PA	RT.	Ш	SOCIAL	TRADE REGULATIONS IN WTO LAW	99
	1.	WT	O Law in	the international legal system	100
5.	W	ΓΟ ο	bligations	affected by Members' use of social trade	
		ulatio			101
	1.			he WTO Social Trade Regulation problematic	102
		(a)	Import	- -	103
		` '	-	market access	103
			(1)	GATT Article XI	103
			(2)	GATT Article II and Article XXVIII	103
			(3)	Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade	
				(TBT), Articles 2.2 and 2.4	103
			(4)	Agreement on the Application of Sanitary	
				and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS), Articles	
				2, 3, and 5	104
			(5)	The Agreement on Agriculture	105
			(6)	General Agreement on Trade in Services	
				(GATS), Article XVI	106
			ii. For	non-discrimination	106
			(1)	GATT Article I	106
			(2)	GATT Article XIII	107
			(3)	GATT Article III	107
			(4)	Agreement on Import Licensing Procedures (ILP)	108
			(5)	The SPS Agreement's Article 2.3	108
			(6)	The TBT Agreement's Article 2	108
			(7)	GATS Article II	110

		(8) GATS Article XVII	110						
		(b) Export controls	111						
		(c) Financial asset restrictions	112						
		(d) Denial of development assistance	113						
	2.	Exceptions to WTO obligations: how much spielraum for							
		social trade regulations?	115						
		(a) Policy exceptions	115						
		(b) Security exceptions	123						
6.	Le	Legal remedies for violations of WTO law							
	1.	The understanding on the rules and procedures governing							
		the settlement of disputes (DSU)	131						
		(a) Who may use the WTO's dispute settlement							
		mechanism?	133						
		(b) Procedural rules	133						
		i. Mutually satisfactory agreements: consultation							
		requirement	133						
		ii. The panel process	134						
		iii. The appellate process	136						
	2.	The cause of action in WTO law: nullification and							
		impairment of expected benefits	137						
		(a) Trade system damage	137						
		(b) Types of nullification or impairment	140						
		i. Violation	140						
		ii. Non-violation	142						
		iii. Situation complaint	145						
	3.	Remedies	146						
		(a) Violation claim	146						
		(b) Remedies as countermeasures	149						
		i. Compensation or restitution in kind?	150						
		ii. Remedies for a finding of non-violation							
		nullification and impairment	153						
		iii. Remedies for a finding of the existence of a							
		nullifying or impairing 'situation'	154						
7.	So	cial trade regulations in the WTO dispute settlement system:							
		oking at the evidence	157						
	1.		15						
		(a) Protection of the environment	158						
		i. United States – Superfund	159						
		ii. United States – Auto Taxes	162						
		iii United States - Reformulated Gasoline	16						

Contents ix

	iv.	Braz	zil – Tyres	170			
(b)	Protection of human, animal or plant life or health						
	i.		nan health	172			
		(1)	Thailand – Cigarettes	172			
			EC – Hormones	176			
		(3)	EC – Asbestos	180			
		(4)	Brazil – Tyres	181			
	ii.	Aniı	mal life or health	183			
		(1)	US – Tuna (Tuna – Dolphin)	183			
		(2)	US – Shrimp (Shrimp – Turtles)	187			
		(3)	Australia – Salmon	191			
	iii.	Plan	nt health	199			
		(1)	Japan – Agricultural Products	199			
		(2)	Japan – Apples	202			
(c)	Cu	ltura	l protection	213			
	i.	Med	lia and entertainment as culture:				
		cine	matographic films and periodicals	214			
	ii.		ada – Periodicals	216			
	iii. Social norms and tradition as culture: alcohol						
		case	s and leather	220			
		(1)	Japan – Alcohol	221			
		(2)	Korea – Alcoholic Beverages	224			
		(3)	Chile – Alcoholic Beverages	225			
		(4)	Certain products from Hong Kong	225			
		(5)	Japan – Leather	226			
	iv.	Disc	cussion	228			
		(1)	What is culture?	231			
		(2)	Culture as a process of community				
			dialogue	235			
	v.	Prot	ection of public morals	237			
		(1)	US – Gambling: the case	237			
		(2)	The report's interpretation of 'necessary to				
			protect public morals'	238			
(d)	De	velop	pment	240			
	i.		elopment as more than economics	241			
	ii.	EC-	- Generalized System of Preferences	246			
		(1)	Enabling clause as exception to or exclusion				
			from MFN?	251			
		(2)	Enabling clause's non-discrimination				
			requirement	255			
Ass	essm	ent		259			
(2)	Dro	tecti	oniem	260			

2.

		(b)	The chilling effect of protectionism as a	
			primary goal	262
PA	RT	IV .	ANALYSIS	267
8.	Но	w car	a WTO Member pursue a social goal with trade	
	reg	ulatio	ons?	269
	1.	Leg	al approaches	269
		(a)	Intra-WTO solutions	269
			i. Judicial action	269
			(1) Conformity to WTO legal standards	270
			Follow the rules	270
			Shrinking the 'likeness' definition	270
			PPMs	270
			Further distinguishing criteria	272
			Re-assessing non-discrimination	273
			(2) Interpretation of WTO texts on exceptions to	
			WTO obligations	275
			(3) Treating social trade regulations as 'special	
			cases'	277
		(b)	· ·	283
			i. Ministerial declaration	284
			ii. Conclusion of an Understanding	284
			iii. Decision	285
			iv. Legislative interpretation	286
			v. Waiver	287
			vi. Amendment	288
		(c)	•	289
			i. Mainstreaming	289
	_	_	ii. Withdrawal from membership	291
	2.		ra-WTO solutions	292
		(a)	Granting jurisdiction over dispute settlement to a	•••
			'secular' international court	292
	_	(b)	Establishing a hierarchy of international law norms	294
	3.		n-legal solutions	300
			Revolution	300
		(b)	Civil disobedience	302
9.			a modality to decide when trade measures can be used	
			e social goals?	307
	1.	Cas	e-specific analysis	307

	Contents	xi
2.	Equitable solutions	308
	(a) Ways of using equity	308
	(b) Use of equity contra legem	309
3.	Concluding comments	314
Index		317