Pakistan’s Trade and Environment Related Interests and Suggested Positions to be discussed at the Geneva WTO Ministerial Negotiations

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Pakistan’s Trade and Environment related Interests and Suggested Positions for the Geneva WTO Ministerial Negotiations
Faisal Haq Shaheen

The increasing liberalization of the Multilateral Trading System along with other external factors continue to influence and shape Pakistan’s global economic position. Currently the Asian market ripple effects, increased imports and falling exports are the predominant trade factors. The cross cutting issue of trade and environment continues to be a hindrance for developing world efforts at gaining increased market access and will require close monitoring by Pakistan. Fortunately for developing countries, the Northern environmental agenda was stopped at the Seattle ministerial by solid resistance from a unified South. The reality, however, is that trade and environment issues will continue to be part of the agenda during the next and future round of WTO negotiations.

This policy brief summarizes relevant positions that Pakistan could articulate in future negotiations when responding to trade and environment issues. While the intent of the paper is to outline external strategies that Pakistan could take, internal strategies will also be covered to a lesser degree in order to treat overlap and emphasize the need for inter agency and inter sectoral co operation. It is hoped that a more co operative, research supported, phased and monitored approach to trade and environment issues will assist Pakistan and the developing world to integrate into the global economy while achieving sustainable development goals and objectives.

The Committee on Trade and Environment
Following the first round of talks in Uruguay, trade and environment issues were divided into two groups:
- The consistency of trade measures taken for environmental purposes with the WTO rules
- The environment and trade liberalization issues.

The WTO Committee on Trade and Environment is discussing various agenda items on issues related to trade and environment within the WTO agreements. Developing countries are of the opinion that the environmental acts and clauses that are being introduced by developed nations do not serve to encourage environmentally friendly industrial development, production and process methods world wide, but rather raise market barriers to developing world export access into their markets. Environmentalists, who have fought for tough environmental legislation on the home front, are afraid of a foreign led ‘race to the bottom' market behavior should environmental concerns be left out of the WTO agreements. These environmental issues, along with other social issues, continue to be pushed into the trade agenda event though the trade and environment group is still at the committee level and no agreement has been drafted.

The Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE) and Developing Countries
While not all issues are of interest to developing nations, a few stand out as pertinent to developing country concerns as they embody direct or indirect effects on market access, technology transfer and development efforts as a whole.
Trade Measures taken pursuant to Multi lateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs)

There is no consensus in the CTE as to how to bend or modify rules of the multilateral trading system to accommodate trade measures taken pursuant to an MEA. Both WTO and MEA mechanisms encourage the avoidance of disputes, and several ideas have been generated that would largely provide guidelines for the use of WTO consistent trade measures, particularly, those controlled by an MEA and those taken pursuant to an MEA. It is feared that siphoning all concerns to a dispute settlement process will affect the existing balance of WTO rights and obligations and contribute to a chilling effect on the trade promotion opportunities of developing countries that export a wide variety of natural resource based products.

Trade Effects of Environmental Measures

The majority of the CTE's work is on the trade effects of environmental measures. They are currently working on analyzing eco-labeling schemes, life cycle approaches (LCAs) and similar programs as well as their relationship to WTO provisions and to the Technical Barriers to Trade Agreement (TBT) in particular. The transparency provisions in the TBT (code of good practice for standardizing bodies) provide a reference point to the further work of the CTE in enhancing the transparency of eco labeling and other environment and trade related measures. The CTE, in this context, underlines the particular importance of ensuring fair access of foreign producers to eco labeling schemes and a central database from which all WTO members may access notifications of trade related environmental measures. While this will make it easier for developing nations to observe and discern between clauses and acts that affect their relevant industries, it sets a dangerous precedent as to how environmental measures will be used.

Market Access and Environment

Environmental measures on market access, in relation to developing countries, have been discussed and there is a serious concern that environmental measures and requirements may adversely affect developing country competitiveness and market access opportunities, especially of the small and medium sized enterprises. The environmental benefits of trade liberalization, including the removal of trade restriction and distortions, are emphasized by the CTE as per the proposals from the developing world. Furthermore, the CTE recognizes the importance of market access opportunities in assisting developing countries to access foreign markets, generate resources and then implement adequate developments and environmental policies determined at the national level, diversify economies and provide income generating activities for the poor. The tying of the National Conservation Strategy to such a clause would ensure that Pakistan was granted market access. Communication could conceivably be opened up with a World Environment Organization or an international monitoring body to ensure that progress is made on the issues that were being targeted as benefiting from sustainable industrial development. For example, diversifying funds generated from revenue should be directed to local industry and poverty alleviation, around the sustainably developing market player, rewarding the entity and helping the regional environment within the area. This immediate and direct attachment of market access, to government objectives and social goals, could keep small cells and clusters of industrial development progressing towards sustainable industrial development and help them feel the benefits of their compliance to international market access. This could conceivably build momentum for the sustainable development process.

Export of Domestically Prohibited Goods

The CTE has recognized concerns expressed by developing and least developed nations who are seeing exports of products to them, which are banned in the home countries of their MNCs. It is important that technical assistance and transfer of technology, related to such goods, be allowed to build capacity and the ability to restrict them. The role of such technology transfer would be to tackle the environmental problems at their source and avoid unnecessary trade restrictions to the products
that are not harmful. While WTO members are encouraged to provide assistance in the form of technical assistance to other members, little result has been achieved thus far. A fund, or a global World Environment Organization could possibly contain and carry out such a responsibility. Some capacity building is required in Pakistan to avoid cases such as Monsanto entering Pakistan’s market unchallenged to promote terminator technology.

The Precautionary Principle

The idea at the heart of the precautionary principle is that where human activities may have damaging effects decision makers should not wait for full scientific proof before taking appropriate protective measures. In other words, the precautionary principle places a high price on inaction. It offers:

- A guide to decision making after strategic issues and problems have been dealt with,
- Offers ideas to every day management,
- A distinguished function of the principle of prevention allows it to co-operate when there is sufficient scientific evidence. The precautionary version has a scientific aspect but offers a precautionary, layman type approach and is easily adopted by industry lobbyists,
- A technique that does not address complexities but provides an overly political decision about the balance of risks involved.

The appropriate balance struck between the burden and risk involves social choices. The key to proper decision-making is to involve all key stakeholders, including the public, in the policy implications and choices surrounding the application.

The precautionary principle allows governments to make internal, sovereign choices based on what they feel best for the interests of their social infrastructure and people. However, it can be used as an unfair barrier to imports and trade, especially from the developing world, if abused. The extension that tips the scale again in favor of the resource rich country is that the dispute settlement process, which involves heavy investment in legal costs, is the only outlet for cases of disagreement.

Conflict arises in using the precautionary principle when it comes to the actual determination of risk.

- Whose assessment of risk is the final/official assessment of risk based on? Developing countries have legitimate concerns and technical issues, in terms of capacity to measure, monitor and report at the requisite level, that may be expected by the developed world is a problem for LDCs.
- Whose level, version and standard of science is used? Industry funded research has played an important role in some international environmental policy development but it’s growing use needs to be cautioned against, as many anti green and industry manipulated NGOs are strategically undermining progress being made by environmentally friendly and concerned institutes and organizations. Independent research is the key.
- Whose standards are used? As such, levels are also bought out by political ideals and philosophies. For example, the water quality standards in one country may differ from those in another, so when international agreements or contracts are specified/imposed, whose are used?

Dispute Settlement Process

The work of the CTE has covered the ‘burden of proof’ issue to a great extent, and has applied it to the dispute settlement process. So far, the principle tends to support a reversal of the burden of proof. The Northern position varies. The EU pushes the precautionary principle on Genetically Modified Organisms while the US is downplaying it to ensure that there is no presumption in favor of trade at the expense of scientific assessment. Where developing nations are concerned, the
associated risk is that a growth sector of a particular market will be stifled or subdued due to the high costs of scientific investment and in research to support the settlement required documentation. A body that could serve as a link between industry/government/NGO to monitor all of these issues and serve as a hub for information research, information transfer and dissemination will be needed.

Other issues associated with the precautionary principle are as follows:

- The Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants;
- The bio safety protocol;
- The agreement on General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade;
- The agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT), where standards that differ from country to country can potentially be used as barriers to market access;
- The agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures (SPS). This agreement allows countries to take measures against diseases that are promoted by certain trade as long as proper risk assessment is conducted.

All of these separate negotiations and conventions are being pushed for incorporation into the WTO.

An issue pertaining to the precautionary principle that has not been addressed yet is how to synchronize it with the special and differential treatment (SDT) clauses of developing nations. The ability of developing nations to access science and meet the standards of proper Northern risk assessment presents a huge challenge. Developing nations need to be wary of the very real link between trade and environment and the precautionary principle and its being used as a form of protectionism. At the same time, the role of science, erring on the side of safety, cost benefit analysis and review and transparency are all essential to ensure that the evolution of such a process is fair to both North and South.

Eliminating Subsidies

The major benefit of looking at environmental impacts of subsidies for developing nations will be a push to eliminate the perverse subsidies that are used in the developed world which distort market forces and are anti free trade. For example, there are subsidies which support U.S. firms to grow a version of basmati rice (‘jasmati’ rice) in the deserts of California, which contributes to desertification by using unsustainable irrigation practices. There is also a linkage with TRIPs in this scenario that needs to be addressed and is discussed later.

A phased, and gradual principle needs to be adopted by developing nations in removing subsidies. For example, in the case of removing subsidies for pesticides from the agricultural sector; advance notice needs to be given, alternatives need to be integrated into farming practices, a grace period must be given and ample monitoring to ensure proper follow up.

Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights and Biodiversity – amend vs. eliminate

The inclusion of intellectual property rights (IPRs) in the GATT and now their presence in the WTO agreements basically amounts to restricting trade and guaranteeing profits for big businesses from developed countries at the cost of consumers, worldwide. The result is a creation of limited monopolies, restrictions and barriers to technology transfer. This will translate into high social costs to developing nations, particularly in the pharmaceutical and agro based sectors. Article 27.3b needs to be amended to do the following:

- Protect traditional farmers knowledge and practices;
- Protect food sovereignty;
- Exclude life forms and allow for sui generis laws (be consistent with Convention on Biological Diversity);
Lower protection patents from 20 years to at least 5 years (depending upon socio economic scenarios);
• Provide longer transition period to allow developing countries to set up the requisite machinery for granting patents;
• Differentiate between discovery and invention to protect developing countries and exclude life saving drugs from the WHO list.

70 countries have not yet complied with the current stipulations of the TRIPs agreement (a deadline that was effective 31/12/99). Review must take place soon to avoid any retaliatory actions stemming from the yet to be reviewed implementations.

Within the trade and environment context, the TRIPs agreement needs to ensure that the following elements of sustainable development and aid to the South are not hindered or stalled. The CTE must examine the impacts of the TRIPs agreement on the following:

• The generation of environmentally sound technologies and access to and the transfer for these technologies,
• The treatment of environmentally unsound technology
• The provision of incentives for the conservation and sustainable use of biological resources and the equitable sharing of their use, including relation to knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous peoples and local communities.

Recommendations

As mentioned in the introduction, the positions that Pakistan could take internationally need to be supported by strategies at the national and provincial levels in order to ensure that sustainable development objectives are met, through binding trade and environment issues.

An Internal Pakistani position

The following points summarize the elements that Pakistan could include in a sustainable development framework to ensure that trade and environment issues are addressed:

• Following the turtle excluder device case that Pakistan and other Pacific Rim countries won against the U.S. and their environmental lobby; almost all of the fishermen within the shrimp industry are installing turtle excluder devices in their catch nets. This interesting contradiction necessitates an examination of the possible elements of such a precedent and its real outcome. This makes the impact that case law has on real market behavior questionable.
• What institutional elements are required to facilitate our industries installation of environmentally sound technology? Are we simply throwing up smokescreens to buy time when we complain of costs? Research in the areas of increasing exports of leather and textiles produced data that suggested that costs are extremely low in implementing mitigation measures. Real cost data must be generated at the sector level to communicate whether or not mitigation costs are absorbable or not.
• Only in the non-availability of incentives for environmentally friendly behavior should government, embark on command and control type of mechanisms. Market based instruments have been proven to work better in contemporary regulatory frameworks as compared to the more adversarial, state structures of the past. Incentives need to be instituted locally and for imports to drive industry towards sustainable technology and address the higher increases in dirty industries in developing countries as compared to those in developed countries. The creation of a segregated tariff structure that favors environmentally friendly imports and technologies could curb the growing number of dirty technologies and industries within Pakistan. Such an offsetting factor would be useful as a lot of inefficiency, generated by a highly protective trade regime, has increased the use of
dirty technologies in industrial and energy production in Pakistan. Furthermore, high duties in the past have resulted in old vehicles being retained with adverse impacts on pollution.

- Research, advocacy and networking within the sphere of environmental research and technology needs to take place to identify whether we are capable of protecting our environment with local means, as per the commitments and goals outlined in the NCS, or whether we really need technical assistance. A hybrid research and networking institute could serve as a hub for industrialists (export market concerns), resource experts (all sectors), NGOs (collaborative research, long term monitoring) and government representatives (Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Economics, Ministry of Agriculture) to collaborate, generate and assess options that utilize best available environmental technologies in responding to trade and environment issues close to the ground. This inter governmental agency/body could also monitor the database recommended by the CTE and inform and disseminate information to policy makers and affected industries before grace periods expire and market access is threatened.

- Implement layers of local laws and policies that will protect Pakistan’s farmers, indigenous trades (especially the vulnerable and informal SMEs) and the environment from bio piracy and unsustainable development of the agricultural sector by MNCs and TNCs.

- Encourage industrial participation and awareness as a whole, especially with respect to export led growth. Identify firms in sectors that are large enough to register their internal management systems to the ISO 14,000 standards and congruently, identify growth constraints that when removed, will allow for increased revenue to offset registration costs. Insist on financial and technical assistance to develop our own internationally recognized body for certification.

An External position

The following positions need to be articulated by Pakistan and like-minded nations at the next WTO ministerial.

- There is, naturally, a need to monitor and manage these issues on a global scale, independent of a trade related forum. A World Environment Association should be set up to create and manage Multi Lateral Environmental Agreements and take ownership of linkages.

- As transpired in an NGO organized session at UNCTAD X, there is much disagreement between NGOs of the North and South on the issue of linking trade and environment as well as labour standards to the WTO. There is consensus however, that such issues need to be left to expert organizations that have been working on them for some time, namely the ILO, UNEP/UNCTAD and others.

- Pakistan’s sovereign organizations (Government organizations, Inter Government Organizations, NGOs), that are active in international networks, need to engage their counterparts in the North and make them aware of Southern positions and effects that linkages will have closer to the ground. Ideally, cooperation and collaboration between Northern and Southern NGOs could result in alternative mechanism that could promote sustainable development without hindering Southern development. Pakistan should engage developing nations with similar interests in discussions to formulate specific proposals and positions to advance their objectives. Such a tactic should be pursued modeled in South Asia through the sharing of resources and encouragement of dialogue between different partners both in the public and NGO sectors. This will ensure more coordinated and better thought out positions during negotiations. A tactic that might result from such unity may be to encourage a system of ‘proxy votes’ so that countries may transfer their voting power to likeminded countries. This will ensure inclusion of poorer, resource strapped nations in negotiations where if they cannot be present, their vote will at least count.

- At the holistic level, Pakistan should support politics that will reduce the WTO to the level of another global institution (without broad sweeping powers) and make it accountable to its member countries. Any WTO trade and environment related action should be used as a last
resort (although we would not want it used at all) and must be supported by adequate MEA based research (UNEP/UNCTAD sponsored).

- Pakistan should lobby for clauses and rules that will ensure that any future trade and environment related work of the CTE will involve participation from all countries with effective participation coming from nations belonging to different geographical biomes and regions at different stages of economic and social development.

- The CTE must arrive at a clear and distinct separation of what constitutes a multilateral action in the framework of an MEA and from unilateral or plurilateral action. Paragraph 174 as a whole needs to be clarified and monitored, to assure that the relationship between WTO provisions, the Multilateral Trading System (MTS) and the MEAs are not in conflict and do not serve as protectionist barriers. The necessity for tests to monitor the impact of environment measures on trade needs to be given to UNCTAD/UNEP like forums (follow the example in paragraph 176). Furthermore, such information should lead to the use of a principle of subsidiarity whereby the lowest jurisdical level of action consistent with effectiveness should be given authority.

- The precautionary principle within the WTO context requires some work. Specific concerns that Pakistan should express include the following:
  - When do WTO rules have an impact on domestic regulation? We need a proper balance between trade and precautionary disciplines. To what extent are dispute panels in the future going to be prepared to look inside the national regulatory process? The best approach should lie with the ‘deference principle’, i.e. in the idea that the WTO should accord deference to the policy choices of its members and especially take into account the capabilities of the developing nations.
  - The link between the rules of the multilateral trading system and general principles of international law needs to be examined. In this instance, the issue is to what extent the WTO rules and dispute settlement should take the precautionary principle into account on the basis that it has become a general principle of international law.
  - Mandatory eco labeling, PPM based restrictions and other exclusionary devices should not be imposed on resource strapped Southern economies as this would hinder the developing efforts of firms and of course, stall the efforts at recovery by sick firms. Life Cycle Assessment expertise does not lie within the CTE’s mandate. Eco-labeling, while being linked to consumer awareness, may have trade effects that should be monitored. Where is eco-labeling beneficial? What is its market potential and what are the potential trade effects?

- A multilateral fund should be created on the lines under the Montreal Protocol for helping developing and least developed countries to acquire clean, environmentally sound (patented) technologies and practices (in accordance with Agenda 21 provisions).

- Oppose any attempt to amend Article XX of the GATT to incorporate a specific “environment window” for taking unilateral trade measures to protect domestic environment, which may act as “disguised protectionism”. This has particular implications for exports in textiles.

- The issue of Bio Piracy needs to be addressed to protect indigenous farmers and traditional knowledge from MNCs that wish to patent such knowledge, both in the local market and internationally.

- There should be attempts to make the notification procedures for setting international standards for goods and services more transparent so that developing and least developed countries’ exports are compatible with international standards, and compliance processes can be made easier.

- Developed countries should provide zero tariff access to all products produced by LDCs. It should also be complemented by technical assistance, whose funds could assist in:
  - Linking trade promotion activities to the environment
  - Providing training for environmental impact assessment
• Cooperation among producers to attain economies of scale and access to technology
• Increasing consumer awareness, tied to specific industry efforts on sustainable industrial developments.

Developed countries have not been taking seriously their commitments made under the heading of *Special and Differential Treatment (SDT)* at the time of signing the Marrakesh Declaration. A stocktaking exercise needs to be taken during the third ministerial conference. In addition, a clause/understanding needs to be included so that no ‘strings or future concessions’ are attached to SDT, a stand-alone issue/s, as is being implied in the statements made in Seattle. The link between market access, environmental degradation and poverty needs to be emphasized in making a stronger case for increased market access to generate funds for environmental protection.

• Trade and environment is a sophisticated issue whose impacts and distortions will differ from country to country and region to region. In order to address environmental issues without incurring adverse effects on trade, policies need to be premised on *individual study and work at the local level by expert organisations (UNCTAD/UNEP)*. Such a forum should also be empowered with a dispute settlement mechanism to remedy concerns.

• Pursuing a *phased negotiation* strategy (Najam, 1999) will allow the South, especially with respect to trade and environment issues, to monitor implementation of agreements with expertise, close to the ground, and identify such negative impacts before their effects become severe. In order for such a shift in mentality, the North needs to drop the traditional sanctions based theory of inducing change.

• Pakistan should push for *increased transparency at the early stages of the development* of any new international standards. This will enable Southern standards associations to voice their concerns and incorporate their views into draft standards during the design process.

• Developed countries should exercise voluntary *restraint on dumping of domestically prohibited goods and toxic substances* in the developing countries and LDCs. They should not shift or relocate their dirty industries into developing and least developed countries, taking advantage of the pollution haven.

• There needs to be more emphasis placed on the *superior degree of sustainability that is achieved with traditional, labour intensive, indigenous businesses*; rather than with modernized, capital intensive industry. Environmental economics and ecological ‘foot printing’ has proven time and time again that the more labor intensive and seemingly more polluting industries of the South are relatively more sustainable on a total cost scale than the high technology, capital intensive and ‘green marketed’ industries of the North. Capital intensive ventures, through their sophisticated and increased use of technology use more raw materials, manufacturing processes and is much more environmentally harmful than labor powered ventures within the developing world as the costs of raw materials, manufacturing processes, energy supply and depreciation generated by machinery and technology incur significant and yet hidden costs to the environment. Furthermore, such ventures displace labor driven production (as cost distortions do not take into account full environmental costs). For example, green economists had discussed repeatedly, that if the world’s fishing fleets were modelled after those in Japan; and if the world’s agriculturalists were to follow the capital-intensive farming taking place in Ohio or Nebraska; resource depletion would accelerate by many fold. If developing countries can successfully articulate this, then the marketing implications, labelling benefits and market access on a global scale will have a significantly positive impact on sustainable development for both the developing world and the developed world. This will build a case for organizing clusters of SMEs and making their export packages more attractive while reducing their mitigation costs. One aspect that is continuously missed from any debate on PPMs and Lifecycle assessment (LCAs), is the total environmental costs of comparing Northern vs. Southern industries. Essentially, a sector oriented, case by case approach needs to be taken on each issue, without raising barriers or restricting the development of Southern markets.
• Push for the elevation of the research and capacity building focussed UNEP/UNCTAD joint project to a policy influencing capacity and emphasize the need to have indigenous and traditional farming (with small ecological footprints) given special treatment and ‘credits’ for having little impact. Such mechanisms need to be employed in order to encourage SMEs to stay simple and sustainable, rather than unnecessarily make capitalization and a shift towards high tech seem profitable. Also, placing more authority within a UNEP/UNCTAD research vehicle will encourage a country by country approach to environment and trade; giving developing nations with a little more leverage.

• Developed countries should make arrangement to transfer environmentally sound technologies to the developing countries and LDCs, and go beyond rhetoric. Developed countries should offer technical assistance to the developing countries and LDCs to help them building the capacity of their officials as well as entrepreneurs to deal with the issues of trade and environment more effectively.

**The heart of the issue is that how to socialise a competitive economy which pitches company against company and workers against workers and country against country. A regional approach to solving this problem and balancing the good with the bad of a socialised free market economy may be extended to the global level**

Conclusions

Pakistan should support and promote the idea to create a World Environment Association (perhaps in collaboration with the special project recently launched at UNCTAD X between UNCTAD and UNEP) that will manage, oversee and serve as a forum for multilateral environmental agreements.

Traditional command and control type of, sanctions based instruments may work in developed markets for industries that have the capacity to embrace and adopt environmentally sound technologies, but not in developing countries. The lack of resources in poorer economies needs to be taken into consideration during WTO negotiations to ensure that any more barriers or hindrances to the development of Southern market capacities and capabilities are not erected through trade and environment policies.

There is a need to bring the NCS into line with trade and environment related standards that will continue to be pushed on developing nations in exchange for market access. In order to clarify and activate the strategy, the environmental potential of government, industry and civil society need to be addressed, jointly and cooperatively.

eco labelling has taken up so much time on the agenda that other issues that needed to come into play (standards, and technical regulations, packaging, labelling and recycling among others) have been ignored.

Pakistan, along with other Southern negotiators, must focus on how to:

• Embody the linkages between trade, environment, development, poverty and environmental degradation.

• Replace the correlation between environmental protection and liberalisation.

• Design mechanisms that will:
  o Ensure environmental benefits,
  o Complement trade liberalization with safeguard market access,
  o Encourage import of environmentally sound technologies, finance and capacity building,
  o Exclude and reject disguised protectionism while emphasizing better living standards, social awareness and environmental technology.
In achieving such broad goals, Southern negotiators can draw strength from the positive data that has been accumulated thus far from UNEP country based studies on integrating sustainable development objectives into developing economies:

- Full resource valuation, full cost pricing of resources, and the use of market based instruments needs to be maintained and expanded along with a mix of standardising.
- Economic valuation, and full cost pricing of natural resources has proven to be successful in a number of cases. Each country situation is different and designs of instrumentation need to also be made different.
- Awareness among decision makers, country ownership with wide stakeholder participation, endogenous problem identification and policy formulation, strengthened in country expertise and capacity, and integration and ‘learning by doing’ are essential for successful sustainable development integration.

The debate up until now within the CTE has demonstrated the built in inequities and the inherent imbalances in dealing with environmental issues. There is a need to ensure that the Southern environmental agenda is brought into the discourse. This position should place the trade and environment discourse within the broader framework of sustainable livelihoods, poverty alleviation, social and environmental justice, and the expansion of ecological and human security. The onus for such a position in Pakistan lies with Government, scholars and policy oriented NGOs.

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