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An assessment of the progress on Doha Development Agenda

多哈发展议程进展评估

Une appréciation du progrès du Programme de Doha pour le développement

周广澜 著



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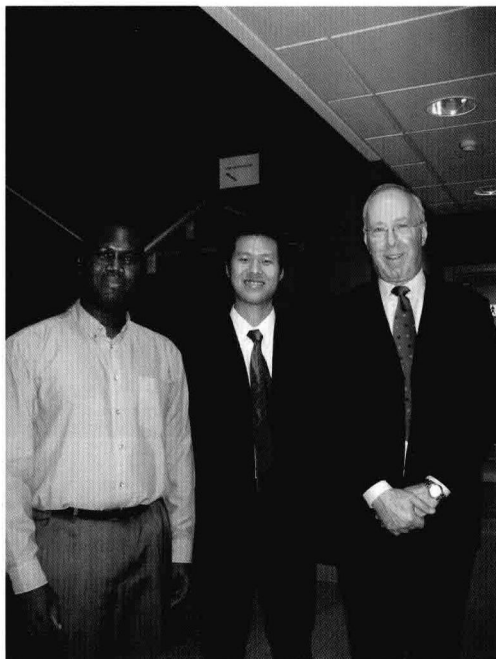
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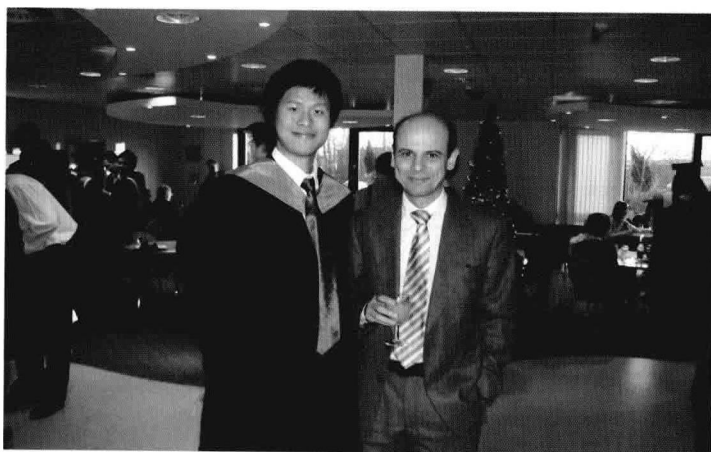
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Left: Dr Dotun Adebajo ,
Lecturer, Management School,
the University of Liverpool
Centre: the author
Right: Professor Frederick
Mahoney, Director of The
Northern Leadership Academy,
United Kingdom,
Presentation of the Northern
Leadership Academy at the
Chatham Building, Liverpool,
United Kingdom



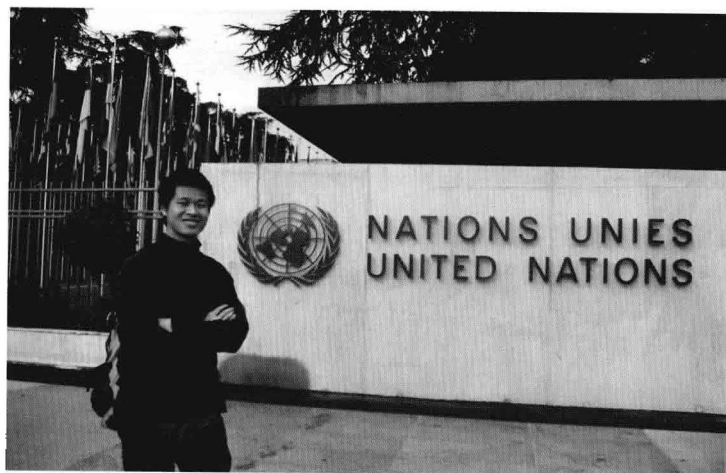
Left: Sir Howard
Newby, Vice –
Chancellor of the
University of Liver-
pool
Right: the author
Alumni ball at
Portman Ritz –
Carlton Hotel,
Shanghai, China



Left: the author

Right: Dr Hossam Ismail, Senior Lecturer, Director of E-Business division, Management School, the University of Liverpool

Graduation ceremony at the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, United Kingdom



Diplomatic visiting the World Trade Organization at Centre William Rappard and United Nations European headquarter in the Palais des Nations building, Geneva, Switzerland

序 言

多哈回合是 1995 年 1 月 1 日成立的世贸组织主持的第一轮多边贸易谈判,谈判范围包括 8 个具体议题,即农业、非农产品市场准入、服务贸易、规则谈判、贸易与发展、争端解决、知识产权、贸易与环境问题。农业、服务贸易以及非农制造业产品的市场准入是谈判的“三大支柱”。

2001 年 11 月,在卡塔尔多哈举行的世贸组织第四次部长级会议启动了新一轮全球多边贸易谈判,即多哈回合。世贸组织承诺,多哈回合要给发展中国家带来真正的好处,因此这一轮谈判也被称为“发展回合”或“多哈发展议程”。

多哈回合按最初计划在 2005 年 1 月 1 日前结束,在两次大型的贸易国际会议——1999 年因骚乱而留下创伤的西雅图会议和 2003 年 9 月在墨西哥坎昆举行的会议——破裂后,所谓多哈回合世界贸易谈判的希望并不大。2004 年 8 月 1 日,各成员就多哈回合谈判达成框架协议,从而使多哈回合谈判重回正常轨道。各成员同意将结束谈判的时间推迟到 2006 年底。然而时至今日,谈判依然处于僵持状态。

在多哈回合之前,WTO 框架内的谈判主要是发达成员间的较量,现在,谈判已经变成以美国、欧盟、日本为核心的发达国家同印度、巴西、南非等为核心的发展中国家之间关于农产品问题的争端。阻碍穷国发展的富国巨额农业补贴是谈判的首要议程。然而,由于一些富国拒不让步,而穷国则表示,他们也不准备再任人摆布,因

此,谈判议程反复受阻。

当前国际金融危机还在蔓延、仍未见底。国际市场需求继续萎缩,全球通货紧缩趋势明显,贸易保护主义抬头,外部经济环境更加严峻,不确定因素显著增多。同时国内受国际金融危机影响,经济增速持续下滑,已成为影响全局的主要矛盾。一些行业产能过剩,部分企业经营困难,就业形势十分严峻,财政减收增支因素增多,农业稳定发展、农民持续增收难度加大。

本书为作者与 The Northern Leadership Academy, United Kingdom(英国北方领导力学会)通力合作的产物。全书用英文写作,展示了作者超强的外语写作能力。作者从经济到政治、从表象到本质,以科学发展观为指导,多管齐下,深刻阐释影响此次谈判议程的各种因素。通过对各类国际组织的分析,挖掘出所蕴藏的因果联系。

本书从宏观角度出发,提供了新的范式和方法,为新一轮谈判作出预测,并提出一些相应的对策以供参考,对我国应对此次金融危机具有启迪意义和镜鉴作用。

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Summary

The project is a research of Doha Development Agenda, which was launched in WTO 2001 Doha Ministerial Conference and suspended on 24th July 2006, after two sequential ministerial conferences. The popular reason was concluded that key negotiating groups failed to break a deadlock on agricultural tariffs and subsidies. The main elements of the project are to identify the initial objectives set down in the DDA, and the peer pressure and comments on the achievability of the revised agenda. The project mainly analyzes the current activities, by reviewing the negotiating stances and strategies deployed. This is conducted through a series of fact-findings such as official press conferences, proposals, declarations and communiqués. After scrutinizing the history of DDA, the author has found that the diverse countries groups, most of which formed during the progress of DDA dominate the whole negotiation progress. Various WTO members founded varieties of alliances, seeking the bargaining chips for the sake of optimizing their own interests. The most fundamental divergence among the power groups is the agriculture negotiation. The integration of all the results found within the research concludes the project, where the opportunities for a restart of the negotiations are explored. And therefore, this project assess how Doha round

is going to develop in the near future. The author presents the potential influences on the current negotiation from the aspects of multinational corporations, non-government organizations and political influence. The three factors above would determine a successful DDA, if they have positive impacts on it. More time is needed to reach the conclusion, even though the author's view is optimistic.

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I would like to thank Professor Frederick Mahoney for giving me the wonderful opportunity to work on this project. Sincere appreciation and thanks for his support, advice and encouragement throughout.

Specially mention and thanks to Northern Leadership Academy staff (<http://www.northernleadershipacademy.co.uk/portal/nlcommunity/homepage>), as well as Miss Ling CHENG(程冷小姐), Miss Ke-Ming TANG(汤珂茗小姐), Mr Yi-YangWANG(王逸扬先生) and all the rest! You have been a source of inspiration. I can not thank you all enough for your efforts in helping me in offering fantastic ideas and suggestions after the carefully reading.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my family, for unstinting love and tremendous generosity. This project- carried out sometimes at the expense of affection- is dedicated to my parents, with love.

Contents

序 言 / i

Summary / iii

Acknowledgements / v

Chapter I Introduction / 1

Chapter II An overview of WTO / 6

Chapter III History of DDA / 19

Chapter IV Power groups in DDA / 50

Chapter V An Analysis of DDA / 75

Chapter VI Potential influences on a Successful DDA / 96

Chapter VII Conclusions / 113

References / 117

List of abbreviations and acronyms / 123

后 记 / 125

Chapter I

Introduction

The Doha Development Agenda (DDA, also called Doha round) of World Trade Organization negotiations began with a ministerial-level meeting in Doha, Qatar in 2001, with subsequent ministerial conferences in Cancún, Mexico (2003), and Hong Kong, China (2005).

Growth in international trade has played a leading role in the expansion of the world economy. The Doha round has been launched in recognition of the urgent necessity to address the negative aspects of globalization and to strengthen the WTO system with the aim of ensuring stable development of the world economy and integrating developing countries into the world trade system.

The Doha Development Agreement is the principle plan of the WTO to progress the development of world trade. The agenda framework contains implementation related issues and concerns; agriculture; services; market access for non-agricultural products; trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights (TRIPS); relationship between trade and investment; interaction between trade and competition policy; transparency in government procurement; trade facilitation; WTO rules; dispute settlement understanding; trade and environment; electronic commerce; small economies; trade, debt and finance; trade and transfer of technology; techni-

cal cooperation and capacity building; least-developed countries; special and differential treatment; organization and management of the work programme.

The aim of DDA is to ‘seek to place their (developing countries) needs and interests at the heart of the work programme adopted in this Declaration... continue to make positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries and especially the least-developed among them, secure a share in the growth of world trade commensurate with the needs of their economic development... committed to addressing the marginalization of least-developed countries in international trade and to improving their effective participation in the multilateral trading system... to help least-developed countries secure beneficial and meaningful integration into the multilateral trading system and the global economy.’ (Doha Declaration, 2001)

‘The negotiations to be pursued under the terms of this declaration shall be concluded not later than 1 January 2005.’ (Doha Declaration, 2001) The Fifth WTO Ministerial Conference was held in Cancún, Mexico from 10 to 14 September 2003. The main task was to take stock of progress in negotiations and other work under the Doha Development Agenda. However, the Cancún Ministerial Conference ended on 14 September without consensus despite considerable movement in consultations, members remained entrenched, particularly on the “Singapore” issues.

The official deadline for the completion of the negotiations remained January 1, 2005 though some members, including the United States, had expressed doubts about the feasibility of completing talks by that time. As a matter of fact, the original dead-

line of the Doha agenda 1 January 2005 was missed. So was the next unofficial target of the end of 2006, after the ministerial conference had produced a final draft declaration.

The Sixth WTO Ministerial Conference was held in Hong Kong, China, 13 - 18 December 2005. Despite the long hours and hard work, "it was worth it," WTO Director-General Pascal Lamy told a press conference late in the evening of the final day. 'We have managed to put the Round back on track after a period of hibernation.' (WTO news, 2005) On the other hand, riot police have fought running battles with anti-globalisation protesters near world trade talks in Hong Kong, in the worst violence there for 16 years. However, unlike other ministerial conferences, which have failed, the outcome of the Hong Kong ministerial conferences proved a modest success. The biggest achievement is that the talks did not collapse and at least certain agreements were reached.

Nevertheless, on 24th July 2006 the WTO Doha Development Agenda negotiations were suspended, because gaps between key players remain too wide. The failure was attributed primarily to the lack of agreement on Agricultural issues. The U. S. offered creative accounting and subsidy reshuffles rather than real reform. Similarly, the EU preferred protectionism to competition. 'So, both trading blocs dragged their feet over subsidies. The EU also refused to open its markets, while the U.S. reneged on an earlier commitment to exempt certain products from liberalisation that millions of poor farmers depend for a living. In the meantime, multilateralism will not be able to do its work, leaving rich countries to pick off developing countries in bilateral trade agree-

ments.’ (Liz Stuart, 2006) For whatever reasons, the talks were suspended and ‘Today there are only losers.’ (WTO news, 2006) This would be a setback for all members

Trade ministers from some 30 countries have agreed to resume the Doha talks to liberalise global trade at the World Economic Forum 2007, Davos, Switzerland. Director-General Pascal Lamy, in his report to the WTO General Council on 7 February 2007, said that “political conditions are now more favourable for the conclusion of the Round than they have been for a long time”. He added that “political leaders around the world clearly want us to get fully back to business, although we in turn need their continuing commitment”. (WTO news, 2007) It offers a guide and hope on restarting and concluding a successful Doha trade round.

This project attempts to identify how those initial objectives have been changed in response to peer pressure and comment on the achievability of the revised agenda, and how structures and negotiation styles may have to change to accommodate the wishes of the wider WTO membership. The project will then analyse the opportunities for a restart of the negotiations and assess how this would develop in the future. There are a number of objectives that are identified as the core objectives of this project. These include:

- ❖ An in depth understanding of the WTO
- ❖ Identify the initial objectives set down in the DDA
- ❖ Focus is mainly on negotiating stances taken up by country groups
- ❖ Identify how those objectives have changed in response to peer pressure and comment on the achievability of the revised agenda

⊕ High level analysis of the political and the non-government organization position against the globalization during the Doha round

Chapter II

An overview of WTO

This chapter provides a brief introduction of the WTO. This part of the chapter is based primarily on materials on WTO official website.

2.1 WTO at a glance

Box 2-1 WTO fact file

FACT FILE

WORLD TRADE
ORGANIZATION



Location: Geneva, Switzerland

Established: 1 January 1995

Created by: Uruguay Round negotiations (1986-94)

Membership: 150 countries on 11 January 2007

Budget: 182 million Swiss francs for 2007

Secretariat staff: 625

Head: Pascal Lamy (Director-General)

Functions:

- Administering WTO trade agreements
- Forum for trade negotiations
- Handling trade disputes
- Monitoring national trade policies
- Technical assistance and training for developing countries
- Cooperation with other international organizations

Source from: WTO fact file, 2007