

OMTRYK
(ændret layout)

Til
udvalgets medlemmer og stedfortrædere

Parlamentarisk konference om WTO i Genève i februar 2003

Den 17. til 18. februar 2003 afholdt IPU og Europa-Parlamentet i fællesskab en parlamentarisk konference om WTO. Konferencen havde til formål at styrke demokratiet på internationalt niveau ved at bringe en parlamentarisk dimension ind i det internationale samarbejde om handel. Konferencen er en opfølgning på en erklæring fra den parlamentariske konference afholdt i forbindelse med ministerkonferencen i Doha i efteråret 2001, hvor der bl.a. blev udtrykt ønske om større transparens i WTO-regi.

Fra dansk side deltog Thor Gunnar Koefoed (V), Jakob Buskti (S) og Lars Barfoed (KF).

På dagsordenen var der følgende 3 emner:

- Adgang til markeder
- Det multilaterale handelssystems udviklingsdimension
Herunder paneldiskussion om behovet for en sammenhængende politisk ramme for teknisk bistand og kapacitetsopbygning.
- Den parlamentariske dimension

140 parlamentarikere fra 65 lande deltog i konferencen, hvor afrikanske og asiatiske lande var godt repræsenteret. Der var ingen repræsentanter fra USA, da USA ikke er medlem af IPU.

På konferencen blev vedtaget en erklæring, og for så vidt angår den parlamentariske dimension blev det bl.a. besluttet, at der skulle afholdes årlige møder ("Parliamentary Conferences on the WTO") med henblik på at styrke den interparlamentariske proces, jf. vedlagte erklærings punkt 10-12.

Endvidere var der støtte til et forslag fra den danske delegation (fremført af Jakob Buksti) om at iværksætte et arbejde om at indhente oplysninger i med-

Ilemskredsen om nationale regerings procedurer for kontakt til parlament og civilsamfund/NGO'er i handelspolitiske spørgsmål med henblik på gensidig inspiration og en senere drøftelse af "best practises". Europa-Parlamentet påtog sig at sætte denne undersøgelse i værk.

Der blev ikke sat en frist for afslutningen af dette arbejde, der må formodes at skulle følges op af Europa-Parlamentet og IPU i fællesskab, men Cancun – mødet i september 2003 blev nævnt som en mulighed.

Kort resume af debatten med vægt på debatten om den parlamentariske dimension

Det var primært repræsentanter fra udviklingslandene, der tog ordet under debatten og navnlig for så vidt angik adgang til markeder.

Under konferencen blev der fra såvel industrilandene som udviklingslandene udtrykt stor beklagelse og utilfredshed med, at der stort set ikke var sket noget videre fremskridt for at forbedre markedsadgangen for udviklingslandene.

I den forbindelse blev bl.a. problemet på landbrugsområdet nævnt, hvorved flere udviklingslande (og også flere industrilande) beklagede, at udfasningen af støtten i form af eksportsubsidier og nedsættelse af de stadig høje toldsatser på visse områder til industrilandene ikke var slået igennem. Således nævnte en repræsentant fra Malaysia, at der var en del udviklingslande, der ønskede at eksportere landbrugsvarer, men de kunne ikke finde markeder for dem på grund af unfair konkurrence fra industrilandene.

I den forbindelse oplyste Paul RÜBIG, Europa-Parlamentet, at EU vil have nedsat told på alle varer, men USA ville kun kigge på mere specifikke områder.

Flere udviklingslande gjorde endvidere gældende, at man ikke kunne klare den fri konkurrence, som handelsliberaliseringer vil medføre, men man måtte ty til en vis støtte, dvs. SDT ("special and differential treatment"), der bl.a. omfatter særlige markeds-adgangsbetingelser, og regelundtagelser.

Fra udviklingslandenes side beklagede man tillige, at antidumpning også stadig er en stor handelsbarriere. Reglerne om antidumpning må ændres.

Som repræsentanten fra Niger beskrev situationen, kunne Niger ikke drage

fordel af frihandel – de var fattigere end før de åbnede deres markeder, idet de ikke magtede at konkurrere med konkurrenterne udefra. ”Der er nogle rettigheder, som bør være vigtigere end handelsregler – ret til liv og ret til sundhed”

Der var stor enighed blandt såvel industrilandene som udviklingslandene om, at teknisk assistance, herunder uddannelse, var et vigtigt og afgørende element for mange udviklingslande, for at de kunne deltage i international samhandel.

I den forbindelse kan oplyses, at Doha Development Agenda Global Trust Fond i 2002 havde ca. 22 mio. CHF. til at uddele til teknisk bistand og kapacitetsopbygning til udviklingslandene. I 2003 er startet en ny runde, men kun Canada, Danmark og Sverige har indtil nu givet tilsagn om støtte til fonden.

Flere repræsentanter fra udviklingslandene efterlyste en anden form for teknisk bistand end den hidtil anvendte i form af konferencer og workshop. Man ønskede i stedet for et mere koncentreret uddannelsesforløb på f.eks. 3 måneder.

Endelig var repræsentanter fra udviklingslandene også inde på, at man betragtede spørgsmålet om navnlig arbejdsmiljøregler som en handelshindring, idet arbejdskraften for mange udviklingslande var en konkurrencefordel.

Som en af de sidste talere konkluderede Ms. Consecio FERRER, Europa-Parlamentet, at handel kun kan føre til udvikling, hvis markedskræfterne ikke får frit spil. Men markedsadgang er ikke nok - vi skal støtte en bæredygtig udvikling ved at give udviklingslandene de værktøjer – de har brug for.

Debatten om TRIPS (Trade Related Aspects og Intellectual Property Rights) handlede primært om adgang til medicin for udviklingslandene. Flere talere fra navnlig udviklingslandene mente ikke, at TRIPS burde være under WTO-systemet, da det fører til handelshindringer. Der var i øvrigt mange talere, der fandt det urimeligt, at TRIPS-aftalen hindrede udviklingslandene adgang til billig medicin, da en lang række præparater imod sygdomme, som er meget udbredt i udviklingslandene, f.eks. mod HIV/aids, tuberkulose og malaria er beskyttet af patenter, der fordyrer medicinen.

Der blev fra såvel industrilande som udviklingslandene givet udtryk for, at TRIPS burde afpasses under hensyn til sundhedsproblemerne i udviklingslandene.

Der henvises endvidere til vedlagte skriftlige oplæg om adgang til markeder fra Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal, Mexico (bilag 2) og oplæg om udviklings-

dimensionen i multilateral handelssystem fra Dr. Kaire M. Mbuende, MP (Namibia) (bilag 3).

Om den parlamentariske dimension

Der henvises til vedlagte skriftlig indlæg fra Kobsak Chutikul, MP (Thailand), (bilag 4) der i væsentlig grad dannede grundlag for hele debatten.

Ms. Erika MANN, medlem af Europa-Parlamentet var meget glad for indlægget fra Kobsak Chutikul, der efter hendes opfattelse kunne bruges til at forklare regeringer og parlamenter, hvorfor en parlamentarisk dimension skulle etableres.

Hun tilføjede, at efter hendes mening var regeringerne ikke gode til at forklare forhandlingsresultaterne. De nationale parlamentarikere ville gerne forstå processen, gøre deres synspunkter gældende og overvåge processen. – og derefter forklare processen. De nationale parlamentarikere skulle være interface mellem regeringerne og WTO, civilsamfundet og regionale parlamenter. Vi vil også gerne forstå og lære af hinanden. Efter Erika Manns opfattelse skulle der udarbejdes standarder med klare regler om information og en konsultationsproces.

Afslutningsvis anbefalede hun, at samarbejdet blev formaliseret.

Der var stor enighed om, at de nationale parlamenter skulle spille en større rolle i forbindelse med WTO. Argumenterne herfor var mange, herunder bl.a. fordi de nationale parlamenter

- skulle ratificere aftalerne,
- er velegnet som befolkningens talerør,
- er et godt middel til at gøre WTO mere gennemsigtig, forståelig og akcepteret
- ved et samarbejde med WTO kunne effektivisere implementering af aftalerne
- er et velegnet forum for en mere substantiel drøftelse af emnerne

I den forbindelse blev der derfor foreslået

- at der i forlængelse af ministerkonferencen i Cancun til september (2003) blev afholdt en parlamentarisk konference
- at IPU anbefaler, at der nedsættes et WTO-udvalg, som det man har i det finske parlament

- at da parlamenter skulle informeres om alt, hvad der sker i WTO, bør der i samtlige parlamenter være et udvalg, der beskæftiger sig med WTO m.h.p. at informere parlamentet og befolkningen herom
- at der fastsættes en dato i 2004 for en konference, hvor samtlige parlamenter kan debattere WTO

Der var dog ikke flertal for en formalisering i form af oprettelse af et selvstændigt sekretariat. Således gik Kina ind for, at eksisterende parlamentariske strukturer anvendtes til formålet, mens repræsentanten fra Europarådet foreslog, at de eksisterende regionale fora skulle bruges i denne forbindelse. egentlig

Fra dansk side understregede Jacob BUKSTI den store betydning af den parlamentariske dimension i WTO. Men udover inddragelse af de nationale parlamenter i WTO-regi på denne måde mente han også det var vigtigt, at inddrage behandlingen af WTO-sager i de nationale parlamenters arbejde. Han gav derefter et kort rids af, hvorledes det danske parlament arbejder med WTO-sager (den danske model):

- Regeringen er forpligtet at give Europaudvalget en halvårlig redegørelse for arbejdet i WTO
- Regeringen er forpligtet til at søge mandat i Europaudvalget forud for behandlinger af sager af større rækkevidde i WTO's institutionerne og EU-Kommissionen
- Regeringen er forpligtet til at orientere Europaudvalget om sager af væsentlig betydning, der behandles i WTO's institutioner og EU-Kommissionen.
- Ved WTO-ministerkonferencer er der parlamentarisk repræsentation i Regeringsdelegationen
- Forud for en WTO ministerkonference er der en debat i parlamentet om retningslinjerne for Regeringens forhandlinger
- Endelig har Regeringen forud for ministerkonferencer et forum (The Beach Club Set-up) for debat og meningsudveksling, der er åben for alle interesserede ministerier, styrelser, interesseorganisationer, NGO'ere m.a. for at få afdækket interesser og holdninger til de kommende WTO-forhandlinger.

Jacob Buksti kunne konstatere, at der i nogle nationale parlamenter åbenbart allerede fandtes flere forskellige modeller for behandling af WTO-sager, så han ville foreslå, at man indhentede oplysninger herom i alle parlamenter med henblik på gensidig information de nationale parlamenter imellem og på senere

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drøftelse af ” best practises.”

Denne opfordring tog repræsentanten fra Europa-Parlamentet op og ville sætte en sådan informationsindsamling i gang.

Med venlig hilsen

Irli Plambech

Bilagsoversigt vedlagt....

(Løbenr. 14676)

Bilagsoversigt til resume af parlamentarisk konference i IPU om WTO i Genève , 17.- 18. februar 2003

1. Invitation til konferencen, program og og kommenteret dagsorden
2. Diskussionsoplæg ”Access to markets: The Results from Doha”
af Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal (Mexico)
3. Diskussionsoplæg ”Development Dimension of the Multilateral Trading System”
af Dr. Kaire M.Mbuende, MP (Namibia)
4. Diskussionsoplæg ”Options for a Parliamentary Dimesion of the WTO”
Af Mr. Kobsak Chutikul, MP (Thailand)
5. Final Declaration af 18 februar 2003
6. Pressemeddelelse nr. 151 af 18. februar 2003 fra IPU ” PARLIAMENTS HAVE
A SPECIAL ROLE IN MAKING THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SY-
STEM MORE OPEN, MORE EQUITABLE, MORE PREDICTABLE AND
NON-DISCRIMINATORY”
7. Pressemeddelse nr. 152 af 18. februar 2003 fra IPU ” MPS INTEND TO EN-
HANCE THE TRANSPARENCY OF WTO ACTIVITIES”
8. Deltagerliste



PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON THE WTO

Geneva (Switzerland), 17 and 18 February 2003

*Organised jointly by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and
the European Parliament*



The Conference was a joint undertaking of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament. It was aimed at strengthening democracy at the international level by bringing a parliamentary dimension to multilateral cooperation on trade issues. The Conference took place at Geneva International Conference Centre (CICG) on 17 and 18 February 2003.

The Conference was initiated by parliamentarians participating in the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Doha in November 2001, where they adopted a Declaration calling for strengthening the transparency of the WTO by more close association of Parliaments with the activities of this organization. The Post-Doha Steering Committee was established to that end with the task of preparation of a parliamentary conference on trade issues. The Committee held two sessions: in Brussels on 18-19 May and Geneva on 14-15 October 2002, where it took a number of practical decisions concerning both substantive and organizational aspects of the Conference.

The Conference was organized primarily for parliamentarians who specialise in international trade issues in their respective parliaments and was attended by over 500 delegates from 77 countries. It provided them with an opportunity to examine the main issues arising from the Doha Ministerial Conference and to obtain first-hand information on the subject from the new WTO leadership. The Conference also offered opportunities to exchange views and experiences with colleagues in other parliaments, interact with government representatives directly involved in the process of multilateral trade negotiations, and engage in a dialogue with representatives of leading international agencies carrying out programmes of technical assistance and capacity-building in the field of international trade.

At its closing session, the Conference adopted by consensus the text of its Final Declaration.

The agenda and programme of the Conference are reproduced below. Relevant documents (invitation, registration form, hotel reservation form, practical information note) can be downloaded from this page in PDF format.

CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS

- Final Declaration: [HTML](#) and [PDF](#) *New!*
- Provisional annotated agenda: [HTML](#) and [PDF](#)
- Tentative programme: [HTML](#) and [PDF](#)
- Organisation of the Conference work: additional information (PDF)
- Discussion paper on agenda item "Access to markets" (PDF)
- Discussion paper on agenda item "Development dimension of the multilateral trading system" (PDF)
- Discussion paper on agenda item "Options for a parliamentary dimension of the WTO" (PDF)
- Invitation letter (PDF)
- Practical information note (PDF)
- Registration form (PDF)
- Hotel reservation form (PDF)
- Post-Doha Steering Committee

IPU PRESS RELEASES

- MPs intend to enhance the transparency of WTO activities (18 February 2003)
- "Parliaments have a special role in making the international trading system more open, more equitable, more predictable and non-discriminatory" (18 February 2003)
- IPU and European Parliament organise jointly a Parliamentary Conference on WTO (13 February 2003)

RELATED SITES AND DOCUMENTS

- Committee on Industry, External Trade, Research and Energy of the European Parliament
- World Trade Organization
- Geneva International Conference Centre

- Final Declaration of the Parliamentary Meeting on the occasion of the Fourth WTO Ministerial Conference (Doha, 11 November 2001)
- Parliamentary Meeting on International Trade "For a free, just and equitable multilateral trading system: Providing a parliamentary dimension" organized by IPU (Geneva, 8-9 June 2001)

Note: Documents in PDF format require Adobe Acrobat Reader



ANNOTATED AGENDA

1. **Adoption of the agenda**
2. **Debate on substantive themes:**

The Parliamentary Conference on the WTO is taking place as governments address the Doha Development Agenda adopted in November 2001 and prepare for the Fifth Ministerial Conference, to be held in September 2003 in Cancun. In Doha, ministers reaffirmed the principles and objectives of the multilateral trading system and recognized the need for all peoples to benefit from the greater opportunities and welfare gains that the system generates. By launching the Doha Development Agenda, they agreed to place the needs and interests of developing countries at the heart of the work programme. They also acknowledged the need for improved market access, balanced rules, and well targeted, sustainably financed technical assistance and capacity-building programmes.

(a) Access to markets

This item focuses on the key issue of market access. There remain many barriers to international trade in goods and services. In certain sectors, tariff and non-tariff barriers still severely limit market access both for developed and developing countries. Conference participants are invited to discuss how to secure better market access through the Doha process, in particular the role of parliaments in providing momentum for the process.

(b) Development dimension of the multilateral trading system

Market access is one key element of the current negotiations. But more must be done to ensure a truly 'developmental' dimension to the Doha Development Agenda. Under this item, participants are invited to discuss other areas of the Doha work programme, such as progress in implementation, special and differential treatment, and targeted assistance for least developed countries.

Panel discussion: The need for a coherent policy framework of technical assistance and capacity-building

Technical assistance and capacity-building programmes are vital for advancing the Doha Development Agenda. During this interactive panel discussion, involving representatives from WTO, European Commission, World Bank, IMF, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNIDO and ITC, participants will be updated on the WTO's technical assistance activities that are designed to improve countries' capacity for trade negotiations. However, the training requirements of developing countries in this field extend well beyond the capacity for trade negotiations, and the panel will look at ways in which various international agencies can provide broader and more coordinated assistance. The panel will discuss ways to map out a single strategy in response to the various agendas from Doha (trade negotiations), Monterrey (financing for development), and Johannesburg (sustainable development), and to maximise the contribution of the three processes to the goals established by Heads of State in the Millennium Declaration.

(c) Options for a parliamentary dimension of the WTO

Discussion of a parliamentary dimension of the WTO, which was initiated by parliamentarians attending the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle and reaffirmed in Doha, has advanced considerably since the early days. The objective of the discussions will be to devise a common approach and lay down a solid foundation for a dialogue of legislators for the WTO.

3. Adoption of the Final Declaration

At the end of Conference, the participants will be called on to adopt a Final Declaration, the draft of which will be prepared by the Post-Doha Steering Committee.

Updated on 14 February 2003

PROGRAMME

SUNDAY, 16 FEBRUARY

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 9.30 a.m. - 7 p.m. | <i>Registration of participants</i> |
| 3 - 6.30 p.m. | <i>Pre-Conference session of the Steering Committee (in camera meeting)</i> |

MONDAY, 17 FEBRUARY

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 8 a.m. - 6.30 p.m. | <i>Registration of participants</i> |
| 9.30 - 10 a.m. | <i>Inaugural session</i> |
| 10.15 a.m. - 1 p.m. | <i>Working session</i> |

Adoption of the agenda and other organisational issues**Substantive theme (a) Access to markets**Rapporteur

- Mr. Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal, MP (Mexico)

Discussants

- Mr. Paul Rübig, Member of the European Parliament

- Ambassador M. Supperamaniam, Permanent Representative of Malaysia to WTO

1 - 2.30 p.m.

Lunch break

2.30 p.m.

*Continuation of the debate on substantive theme (a), followed by***Substantive theme (b) Development dimension of the multilateral trading system**Rapporteur

- Mr. Robert Haydn Davis, MP (South Africa)

Discussants

- Ms. Concepció Ferrer, Member of the European Parliament

- Ambassador Nathan Irumba, Permanent Representative of Uganda to WTO

5 p.m.

Interactive panel discussion: The need for a coherent policy framework of technical assistance and capacity-buildingModerator

- Dr. Jean-Pierre Lehmann, Professor of International Political Economy, Director of Evian Group

Panellists

- Mr. Kipkorir Aly Azad Rana, WTO Deputy Director-General

- Ambassador Carlo Trojan, Permanent Representative of the European Commission to the WTO

- Mr. Faizel Ismail, Head of the South African delegation to the WTO

- Ms. Haleh Bridih, General Manager, World Bank Office, Paris

- Ms. Mina Mashayekhi, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

6.45 p.m.

Reception

8 - 10 p.m.

*Steering Committee (in camera meeting)***TUESDAY, 18 FEBRUARY**

9.30 a.m.

Continuation of the debate on substantive theme (b)

1 - 2.30 p.m.

Lunch break

2.30 p.m.

*Continuation of the debate on substantive theme (b), followed by***Substantive theme (c) Options for a parliamentary dimension of the WTO**Rapporteur

- Mr. Kobsak Chutikul, MP (Thailand)

Discussants

- Ms. Erika Mann, Member of the European Parliament

- Baroness Hooper, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

- Mr. Ney Lopes de Souza, MP (Brazil) President of the Latin American Parliament

6 - 6.30 p.m.

*Closing session***Adoption of the Final Declaration**Rapporteur

- Ms. Erika Mann, Member of the European Parliament

POST-DOHA STEERING COMMITTEE

The Committee is composed of representatives of the following parliaments and international organizations:

Belgium, Canada, China, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Japan, Kenya, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, South Africa, Thailand, Uruguay, United States of America, Inter-Parliamentary Union, European Parliament, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, World Trade Organization.

PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON THE WTO

Geneva, 17-18 February 2003

Organised jointly by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament

Item 2(a) of the provisional agenda

ACCESS TO MARKETS: THE RESULTS FROM DOHA

Discussion paper presented by Dip. Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal (México)

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I. Introduction

1. Trade liberalization has been a central part of mainstream policy for at least 20 years and one of the most prominent characteristics of recent globalization. Although the process of globalization encompasses much more than trade liberalization, reducing the barriers to international trade in goods and services will remain one of the driving forces of globalization.

2. There has been a dramatic growth in world trade in the last 50 years as successive rounds of multilateral negotiations have progressively reduced barriers to trade. This has made international trade one of the most important engines of growth in the world economy, underpinning the unprecedented rise in living standards in so many countries since the Second World War.

3. In the fifty years preceding the Doha ministerial conference, there have been eight rounds of negotiations. After the establishment of the GATT in 1948, there were six rounds of tariff-cutting negotiations. This was followed by the first successful attack on non-tariff barriers in the Tokyo Round negotiations, launched in 1973, and in 1993, by the completion of the Uruguay Round, launched in 1986. In this latter negotiating round, tariffs were eliminated for many industrial sectors; trade in services began to be liberalized pursuant to international commitments; some basic trade rules affecting investment were put into place; and an agreement was reached to protect intellectual property.

4. Nonetheless, some very high barriers to trade still remain. Agriculture markets continue to be heavily protected in both rich and poor countries, while the international market for most services is still strongly biased towards domestic providers, and the international mobility of most types of labor is extremely restricted.

5. Consequently, further trade liberalization has the potential to deliver further gains in efficiency and higher rates of growth for the world economy. Trade liberalization therefore matters in its own right. But given the central role of growth in long-term poverty reduction, it matters particularly for the poor.

6. Trade liberalization is an ally in the fight against poverty: it tends to increase average incomes, providing more resources with which to tackle poverty. And while it generally affects income distribution, it does not appear to do so in a systematically adverse way. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that most trade reforms hurt someone, possibly triggering new or greater poverty, and that some reforms may increase overall poverty even while they boost incomes in total. Thus, despite the general acceptance of the need for trade liberalization, there remain important public policy questions on how to implement it in a way that maximizes its benefits for poverty alleviation.

II. The obstacles for a new round

7. The Seattle summit was widely portrayed as a failure of the WTO's members to forge a broad consensus ahead of this important meeting. The preparatory process was not ideal. The Geneva-based negotiations lacked transparency and failed to involve all WTO members, nor were there systems in place to keep capitals and ministers fully engaged. Ministers in Seattle were asked to forge consensus in three days on issues that had eluded agreement by Geneva ambassadors for years.

8. One of the issues in preparing Doha was how to deal with the problems some developing countries were having in implementing the commitments they had made in the Uruguay Round negotiations. Developing countries insisted that the issue be resolved before a new round was launched.— They were concerned not only about the difficulties but also about the overall balance of what was negotiated, believing it had been to their disadvantage, and failed to deliver the benefits they expected.

9. Of central importance, though, is the fact that some developing countries do not have the administrative and technical capacity to implement commitments they were obliged to make because they went along with the initial agreement to conduct the Uruguay Round negotiations as a single undertaking. The problem has been further aggravated by the developed countries not making good on their "best endeavor" commitments in various WTO agreements to provide technical and financial assistance for implementation.

10. There were also significant differences over the desirability of including certain issues in new program of negotiations. These were most striking in the areas of agriculture, and the environment, investment regulations, competition policy and antidumping laws.

III. The market access commitment

11. According to former Director-General Mike Moore, at Doha "the WTO was given an important new negotiating mandate by Ministers. The Doha Development Agenda places development issues and the interests of our poorer Members at the very heart of our work. WTO Members have agreed to a far-reaching set of negotiations that are to be completed within a three-year time-frame". In its booklet "The Road to Doha and Beyond" the WTO summarized the work program on market access as follows:

12. "Negotiations will open markets, and reduce "with a view to phasing out, all forms of export subsidies" and trade-distorting domestic farm support, while taking into account non-trade and development concerns, including through appropriate special and differential treatment in favor of developing countries. The Doha negotiations in agriculture must not only include market access, export competition and domestic support, but go beyond and address concerns specific to developing countries." Market access is of course key to any negotiation. Developing countries' interests are best served by significant reductions in tariffs on all products in all countries. Moreover, developing countries should have access to a special safeguard clause. On non-trade concerns, it is clear that negotiators ought to balance political needs and policy. However, it is vital that non-trade concerns avoid any trade distorting effect. On issues not considered by the Uruguay Round, Doha negotiators must address: state trading entities, export credits, food aid, two-price systems, and tariff rate quota administration.

13. "Services: In services, liberalization could mean gains of between 1.6% of GDP (for India) to 4.2% of GDP (for Thailand) if tariff equivalents of protection were cut by one third in all countries, according to the World Bank. Telecommunications, finance, transport and business services have many links to the rest of the economy and raise the productivity of many sectors. Under the Doha Development Agenda, special priority will be given to LDCs, and sufficient flexibility to developing countries. Negotiations will liberalize the entry of foreign services in as many domestic sectors as governments choose and make it easier to employ foreign workers on temporary contracts."
14. "Implementation: In the preparations for Doha, implementation-related issues were a high priority for many developing countries. About half the original 90 implementation issues raised, were addressed by a separate Declaration adopted at Doha. Of particular note is the decision on the extension of exemptions for certain small developing countries, which allows a longer phase-out period for certain types of subsidies. The remaining issues will be addressed under relevant negotiating mandates of the new work programme or in the standing WTO bodies on a priority basis."
15. "Industrial goods: Market access for industrial goods is another immediate priority for developing countries. The negotiating mandate focuses on reducing or eliminating tariff peaks and escalation, in particular on products of export interest to developing countries, as well as on non-tariff barriers. Here too, the mandate states that "the negotiations shall take fully into account the special needs and interests of developing and least developed country participants". Moreover, Ministers agreed to capacity-building measures to assist least-developed countries, and committed themselves to "the objective of duty-free, quota-free market access for products originating from LDCs". "The negotiation on industrial goods is an opportunity for developed countries to begin to phase out preferential agreements by offering total elimination of duties to the majority of sectors."
16. WTO rules: In the light of experience and of the increasing application of these instruments by Members, ministers agreed to negotiations aimed at clarifying and improving disciplines under the Agreements on Implementation of Article VI of the GATT 1994 and on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures, while preserving the basic concepts, principles and effectiveness of these agreements and their instruments and objectives, and taking into account the needs of developing and least developed participants. In the context of these negotiations, participants shall also aim to clarify and improve WTO disciplines on fisheries subsidies, taking into account the importance of this sector to developing countries.
17. Dispute settlement understanding: Ministers agreed to negotiations in improvements and clarifications of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. The negotiations should be based on the work done thus far as well as any additional proposals by Members, and aim to agree on improvements and clarifications not later than May 2003, at which time we will take steps to ensure that the results enter into force as soon as possible thereafter.
18. "New issues": It has been agreed to establish multilateral framework rules for trade and competition policy and foreign direct investment, with negotiations proper beginning after the Fifth Ministerial Conference in Mexico, if the Members agree by explicit consensus. The Doha Declaration also provides for possible negotiations on transparency in government procurement with no market access conditions and on trade facilitation."
19. "Trade and environment: The commitment on the environment, is focused on the relationship between existing WTO rules and the trade obligations in multilateral environmental agreements, and on the reduction or elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers to environmental goods and services. In its continuing work programme, the Committee on Trade and Environment is directed to give particular attention to the effect of environmental measures on market access, the relevant provisions of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) and labeling requirements for environmental purposes. The Committee will make recommendations to the Fifth Ministerial Conference on future action..."
20. "Drugs patents and public health: On this contentious issue, a separate Ministerial Declaration states that the WTO's Trade-Related Intellectual Property (TRIPS) Agreement "does not and should not prevent Members from taking measures to protect public health", adding that it should be interpreted and implemented in a manner "supportive of WTO Members' right to protect public health and, in particular, to promote access to medicines for all". This declaration is a shot in the arm for global efforts to address the

public health problems afflicting many developing countries and LDCs, especially those resulting from HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and other epidemics.

IV. The need for successful implementation of the Doha Round.

21. Sustained economic growth worldwide requires a renewed commitment to free trade and to opening markets globally; strengthening the World Trade Organization as the bedrock of the multilateral trading system is therefore an economic imperative. Failure to implement the Doha Round could undermine business confidence and contribute to a further worsening of the world economy. Success will help to bolster confidence and contribute to increased growth. The governments of WTO members countries have to demonstrate that they know what they are doing.

22. At the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference, in Doha, the concerns of developing countries first raised in Seattle were acknowledged. The challenge is now to make the multilateral trading system more development-friendly. The outcome will be judged by the extent to which developing countries achieve greater market access without their policy options being restricted, and by the disciplines that will prevent the later reversal of successful market access. The dynamics of the trading system underscore the urgency of making real progress in this respect.

V. The case for better integration of developing countries

23. Developing nations are calling for a more balanced approach whereby WTO agreements would better reflect the interests of both developed and developing nations. Many developing countries have lingering doubts about new trade negotiations. On the one hand, they have become important actors in the global system. In contrast to the early rounds of global trade negotiations – the Dillon Round in 1960 had only 39 participants, mostly from industrial countries – today there are 142 WTO members, 70 percent of which are developing countries in the global economy. They have grown to account for more than one-third of merchandise trade, and they have much to gain from a new round.

24. Poor people – those living below the international poverty line of \$2 per day – work primarily in agriculture and labor-intensive manufacturing and confront the greatest trade barriers, putting them at a particular disadvantage. According to estimates, the average poor person selling into globalized markets confronts barriers that are roughly twice as high as those facing the typical worker in developed countries. In general, tariffs in high-income countries on imports from developing countries, though low, are four times those collected from developed countries (0.8 percent as opposed to 3.4 percent). Subsidies and other support to agriculture in the high-income countries are particularly pernicious. Distortions in tariff codes – exceptionally high tariffs on developing country products (tariff peaks), embedded incentives against processing abroad (tariff escalation), and tariffs that are far higher once specified import ceilings are reached (tariff rate quotas) and trade practices, such as frequent recourse to antidumping actions, are generally the greatest impediments that keep the poor from taking advantage of trading opportunities.

25. There is no better contribution we can make in favor of development and poverty reduction than opening borders for developing country goods. The future of the international trading system is much more a function of the integration of poor countries to international trade than of the success of developed countries. They succeed already.

26. The future of the world trading system requires better integration of developing countries for several reasons. The first reason is of course demographics: most growth is happening in the developing world. Most trade growth will involve developing countries in the next two decades. The second reason is that developed countries are already a successful part of the international trading system. For many developing countries market opening is new. The challenge is on their side; most need help. The third reason is that developing countries stand to benefit from a rules based system where they have a reasonable chance of beating the big powers if logic is on their side. The fourth reason is that – although it is not politically correct to say it out loud – trade is good for development.

VI. What results should the implementation of the Doha Development Round entail to make it acceptable?

27. Number one is access: a meaningful negotiation must provide significant access for the products which developing countries can produce and export.

28. Number two is certainty of access: it is not enough to obtain better access; it is also necessary to ensure that it persists. This is why it is crucial that progress is made in anti-dumping and that access is not reversed later on by non-trade measures.

29. Number three is that in order to succeed, access and certainty of access must work both ways: countries will not be able to develop export potential if they are closed, as firms would not be competitive and would not have access to competitively priced, world quality, inputs. Certainty of access that works for development unfortunately comes in two flavors: sweet, I can sell in other markets; and bittersweet, others can sell in mine. A successful round needs greater openness from developing countries; but not only as result of the negotiations, rather from a conviction that free trade is in their best interest. WTO negotiations can of course help in putting together the necessary political elements domestically for this to happen. Here, the responsibility of rich countries is paramount.

30. Number four: there is no greater distortion to international trade than subsidies to agricultural products. They produce harmful effects on many fronts: depressed prices that affect exporting countries and farmers in importing countries alike, lack of production adjustments in the face of changing demand conditions (when the Asia crisis erupted in 1997 and demand for grains fell, the US began its emergency programs that the Farm Bill has now made permanent - a significant reversal from policies espoused and promoted in the mid 1990's when the Freedom to Farm Act was enacted). Agricultural subsidies can be harmful to the environment as they can lead to unnecessary use of fertilizers and pesticides and exhaustion of fertile lands. Without measurable progress on the elimination of export subsidies and the reduction of trade distorting ones, developing countries might refuse to talk about market access.

31. Number five is rules within two areas where progress is needed: access to dispute resolution and antidumping. The main reason why developing countries should be in favor of a strong WTO is its dispute resolution system. Smaller and poorer countries stand to benefit from a system where they have the opportunity to challenge larger countries and to defend themselves in court. This is why when addressing changes to the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) care should be taken to avoid tilting the balance in favor of large countries and corporations, particularly when discussing transparency, and to consider the difficulties smaller members have in retaliating, given the make up of their imports and exports. A smaller exporter that is a price taker should be excluded from the measure, not only because the probability of injury is negligible, but, more fundamentally, because a price taker has no incentive to lower prices, or sell below normal value or below cost.

32. Number six and last is having a round that will end all rounds: Now that import duties have been reduced so much for a large range of products in countries representing a substantial proportion of total international trade, it is becoming more complex to envision negotiations with trade-offs across sectors. This will make it more difficult for negotiations to take place in the form of rounds and the WTO will become more of a permanent negotiating body where the concept of a single undertaking will be gradually eroded. Topics will be addressed at varying speeds and countries will join and negotiate market opening at differentiated time periods.

VII. Final recommendations

33. Using the WTO ministerial to launch a "development round" of trade negotiations that would reduce global trade barriers: the gains will only be enduring and have a significant development impact if industrial countries are willing to reduce restrictions on the products and services that poor countries produce - particularly protection of agriculture (including subsidies), textiles, and clothing; and even restrictions on temporary movement of workers. Similarly, developing countries can improve their own situation while at the same time winning concessions by liberalizing services, and lowering barriers to import competition. To be sure, a trade round also involves issues of interest primarily to industrial countries. Nonetheless, a true

development round would produce win-win gains for the entire international community, including the world's poor.

34. Engaging in global collective actions to promote trade outside the negotiating framework of the WTO: providing market access may not be enough by itself to elicit new trade from developing countries, particularly the poorest. Increasing multilateral "aid for trade" – development assistance to promote trade infrastructure, adoption of best practice standards and rules, and a healthy investment climate – could help. No less important is global cooperation to improve the environment and labor standards.

35. Unilaterally adopting pro-trade development policies in high-income countries: first, if the high-income countries were to allow low-income countries duty-free and quota-free access to their markets, they would provide a strong stimulus to trade that would help these poor countries overcome their past lackluster trade performance. Second, high-income countries could also demonstrate good faith by reining in mushrooming antidumping cases. Third, increasing bilateral "aid for trade" can complement the multilateral effort.

36. Enacting new trade reform in developing countries: developing countries individually can improve their competitiveness through trade reforms that lower restrictive barriers, especially in service markets. Indeed their own policies hold the largest potential for policy-induced gains from trade. Trade reforms, especially those reinforced with reforms in governance and in domestic investment climates, can enhance the value of policies adopted by other nations.

Annex

UPDATE ON NEGOTIATIONS

The Doha Development Agenda has been under negotiation now for over a year. According to the agreed timetable, important deadlines fell due at the end of last year on Special & Differential Treatment (S&D) for developing nations¹, on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights² and on the implementation of existing WTO rules. Unfortunately, member countries could not agree by the December deadline on any of these issues.

On S&D, member countries failed to bridge the differences between developed and developing countries on a package of proposals to strengthen benefits to developing countries under existing agreements and also failed to set up a timetable and framework for negotiating the remaining demands from developing countries.

On TRIPS, negotiations had not resolved differences over the diseases that would be covered by the draft decision on intellectual property and health. Some countries want to make sure that patent waivers for generic manufacturers to supply drugs are limited to HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, while developing countries are pushing for a broader list.

According to Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi:

"Failure to meet deadlines in these negotiations has been quite disappointing. These issues are of great importance not only to developing countries but to the organization itself and to the broader trade negotiations that are part of the Doha Development Agenda."

"We must make progress in these areas to give confidence to developing countries that the Doha Development Agenda is a development agenda not only in name but also in substance."

¹ S&D are the special rights given to developing countries to account for their lower levels of development and the differences in benefits they can reap from the trading system.

² TRIPS addresses the issue of access to essential drugs for countries with insufficient domestic manufacturing capacity.

WTO Members will try again in February to reach an agreement. If they are not successful the issue could block progress on other issues and dim prospects for the next ministerial meeting in Cancun, Mexico, next September.

Between March and May 2003 the system will be confronted with deadlines in the negotiations in agriculture, market access for manufactured goods, services, and the dispute settlement system. As they stand today negotiations on these issues are still far from agreement. Ministers will face an uphill battle in Cancun if negotiators do not grapple successfully with these intermediate deadlines.

Agriculture is a key element in the negotiations. Agriculture is politically sensitive in many countries and there are also high expectations for serious reform from the vast majority of Members so finding accommodation has been challenging.

The Doha Ministerial Conference put the negotiations on agriculture on a new footing. The Ministerial Declaration clearly identifies the direction of reform and the level of ambition in the areas of market access, export subsidization and domestic support. It confirms that special and differential treatment for developing countries will be an integral part of all elements of the negotiation. And it confirms that non-trade concerns will be taken into account. These negotiations have perhaps reached the most difficult phase of all. The modalities for further commitments in the three areas, including provisions for special and differential treatment, must be established. And of course, the negotiations do not end with the establishment of modalities. Subsequently, draft schedules of commitments must be put together for submission by Cancun and negotiations to fine-tune rules are likely to continue well beyond 2003.

At this stage, negotiations are facing a number of key problems:

First, there are still wide gaps in the ambitions of governments, from those seeking rapid and fundamental reform and liberalization of trade, to those who are advocating a much more gradual approach. While one side has very clearly stated what it wants, the other has yet to come forward with counter-proposals at the required level of specificity.

Second, there are still differences in views among developing countries about what would be appropriate provisions for special and differential treatment. A delicate balancing act will need to be played out. On the one hand S&D needs to give space and flexibility to developing countries in their efforts to promote agriculture and to address adjustment needs in response to a changing trading environment. On the other hand, any provisions must ensure that developing countries contribute to the broadening of trading channels, including channels for the dynamic South-South trade in agriculture, as a means to generate income, employment and economic growth.

Finally, there are also still strongly held views about the scope of, and approach to a range of non-trade concerns that have been raised in the negotiations.

The lack of movement towards convergence in all these areas is worrying, because March 2003 is approaching fast. Negotiations will now have to move rapidly from position and coalition-building to deal-making on the modalities for further commitments. The upcoming WTO ministerial meeting in Japan is seen as a key opportunity for a breakthrough.

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DEVELOPMENT DIMENSION OF THE MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEM

Discussion paper presented by Dr. Kaire M. Mbuende, MP (Namibia)

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The Doha Development Agenda

1. The Doha Development Agenda emanates from the recognition that all peoples, especially those in developing countries, need to benefit from the opportunities and welfare gains generated by the multilateral trading system. The Doha Development Agenda was launched in Doha, Qatar with fanfare and optimism that the interests and concerns of the developing countries would be at the centre stage of the multilateral trading system, thereby ultimately ensuring that the integration of developing countries into the multilateral trading would enjoy primacy and become a reality in the negotiations and their outcome.
2. Additionally, the perceived contribution by the WTO was to strengthen the development perspective in the construction of trade rules and the improvement of market access conditions for trade in goods and services for the benefit of the developing countries.
3. Numerous provisions of the Doha Ministerial Declaration deal with developing countries' concerns, as does the Decision on the Implementation Related Issues and Concerns and the Declaration on the Trips and Public Health as contained in paragraph 6. The Declaration itself refers to development repeatedly and mentions commitment to technical assistance and capacity building in over a dozen instances.
4. This optimism has somewhat waned or dissipated because not all issues of critical interest to the developing countries have been directly addressed in conjunction with the WTO negotiations. Thus, attaining a pro-development outcome remains a challenge.

5. The reasons for this situation are numerous and relate inter alia to (a) a lack of support by the OECD manufacturing industries to further tariff reduction because the MNF tariff rates in their view are already below 5%; (b) specific sectoral protectionist tendencies in areas such as agriculture and textiles; (c) the fact that developing countries have reluctantly embraced negotiations in new areas (investment, government procurement, trade facilitation) which are mainly of interest to the developed countries.

6. In turn, developed countries do not see the rationale for actively supporting a "development round" if new rules and disciplines in the above-mentioned areas do not form part of the WTO corpus of rules. Developed countries by and large expect "tradable concessions" from developing countries.

7. In addition to the areas of interest to developing countries that are alluded to above, developing countries expect the implementation-related concerns to be addressed in this new round because the burden introduced by the Uruguay Round of Agreements has been difficult to bear in terms of both domestic capacities to implement the agreements and the supply side constraints that do not allow developing countries to take full advantage of these agreements.

8. An agreement such as the Customs Valuation offers a good example in that the ancillary investments that would be required to implement the rules are enormous for developing countries. The legal consequences as a result of a lack of implementation of agreements and commitments are real, since any country may have recourse to the Dispute Settlement Body.

9. It is because of this reality that developing countries have insistently sought to make the Special and Differential Treatment more effective, predictable and binding in all WTO agreements, all the more so in the post-Doha Development Round outcome of the negotiations.

10. The above-mentioned situation does not necessarily imply that the WTO rules are bad in themselves from a development perspective – most rules may reflect good policy, while making them work in developing countries may require wholesale reform and strengthening of institutions. Linked to this is the need for technical assistance that is tailored to meet the needs of developing countries, the so-called "aid-for trade".

11. In order to address the above-mentioned issues, the WTO Director General has proposed a "mini-package" procedure to address the concerns and issues of interests for the developing countries. The overriding rationale is to secure results in areas on which members can agree. What this indicates is that the process question is also fundamental to the delivery of an acceptable and balanced outcome during the negotiations process. Indeed, twenty-five Ministers and representatives from some WTO member countries met on 25 November in Sydney, Australia, basically adopting the "mini" approach to the negotiations. Thus, the Doha Development Agenda will be assessed in the light of the variety of issues that need to be addressed and the approaches that need to be adopted in order to guarantee a development-oriented outcome for developing countries.

A number of issues are critical for a development-oriented outcome of the negotiations.

Trips and Public Health

13. This issue has resulted in enormous difficulties for the negotiators, to such an extent that the General Council was unable to convene in December 2002 because of the wide gaps in positions among the members. The key areas of negotiation and difference have involved the spectrum of diseases that should be covered by the scheme and which countries should be able to benefit from the scheme as importers or potential suppliers of drugs produced under compulsory license.

14. Linked to this was the notion of "manufacturing capacity" test, an idea which is imprecise and in a sense self-judging. The legal language on the waiver is ambiguous and loose. This may invite challenges in the Dispute Settlement Body, if adopted.

15. Discussions on technology transfer have formed part of the deliberations in the Trips Council. Because some members feel that this is beyond the pharmaceutical products area, there is a suggestion that it be dealt with in the Working Group on the transfer of technology

16. As far as the developing countries are concerned, the implications of a lack of progress in the negotiations are profound in that the affliction by Aids/HIV, TB and malaria cannot be meaningfully arrested, given the snail's pace at which the negotiations are being undertaken. Associated with this slow progress is the developed countries' fear that the so-called "advanced" developing countries will be the ones which will significantly benefit from any outcome in this area in view of their production capacities in pharmaceuticals. At the same time, developed countries' representatives are concerned that discussions on technology transfer in this context could seriously damage the Trips agreement.

Services

17. Negotiations in this area are at the level of initial bilateral requests and offers. Over 30 countries have now circulated requests to other countries. This process allows countries to assess and gain a better understanding of the existing state of liberalization and future intentions. Initial offers need to be circulated by March 2003 in accordance with the Doha Declaration.

18. The US and the EU have made requests to over 90 countries. In this context, developing countries have demanded that there be a commitment on the part of developed countries to making "parallel progress" in the negotiations on agriculture. This has to be done in terms of both pace and details, particularly with regard to the proposals on agricultural modalities submitted by some developed countries. A clear and precise definition of safeguard mechanisms is proving difficult to conceptualize for the services negotiations. This might not be settled by the March 2003 deadline.

19. Another issue requiring resolution is the "treatment of autonomous liberalization" and the extension of "credit" to recently admitted countries for the commitments they took on during their accession. The question of "Special and Differential Treatment" for developing countries in the Services Agreement is handled under the broader S&D review in the Committee on Trade and Development (CTD). This seems to be the appropriate forum for negotiations according to the view entertained by some developed countries. They generally point to the already flexible nature of GATS whereby Members choose whether or not to make commitments according to their own interests and regard technical assistance as a more meaningful way to build services trade capacity.

Rules Negotiations

20. In the realm of the negotiations on rules, anti-dumping, subsidies and countervailing measures featured prominently. Despite the absence of notable progress, discussions on procedural fairness have commenced. These discussions have not taken account of other issues such as substantive fairness. Negotiation in this area is slow. The technical nature of the negotiations have not inspired developing countries to take an active part in the process; moreover, they lack capacity in this area.

Technical Cooperation and Capacity Building

21. Technical cooperation and capacity building are elements of the multilateral trading system. To this end, the WTO has developed a "New Strategy for Technical Cooperation for Capacity Building, Growth and Integration". Capacity building should involve assistance to efforts by developing countries to mainstream trade into national plans for economic development and strategies for poverty reduction. Developing and least developed countries are also to be assisted in adjusting to WTO rules and disciplines and participating effectively in the multilateral trading system, yet very little progress has been made in this area.

Special and Differential Treatment

22. The Fourth Ministerial Conference agreed that all special and differential treatment provisions should be reviewed with a view to strengthening them and making them more precise, effective and operational. It affirms that special and differential treatment is an integral part of the WTO Agreements aimed at enabling developing countries to effectively take account of their development needs, including food security and rural development.

Agriculture

23. Agriculture is the mainstay of developing countries and underpins the social and economic fabric of society. In agriculture, developing countries stand to gain substantial commercial benefits under the negotiating mandate. Currently, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), rich countries pay out nearly USD \$1 billion a day to their farmers in agriculture subsidies - almost four times as much as all development assistance to poor nations. Negotiations will open up markets and reduce "with a view to phasing out, all forms of export subsidies" and trade-distorting domestic farm support, while taking into account non-trade and development concerns, including through appropriate special and differential treatment in favour of developing countries.

24. There have not been any major developments in the negotiations. The EU, Norway, Switzerland and Japan have not shown a willingness to move in the negotiations. The 27 proposals submitted have by and large been broad and general. The African Group presented proposals on Special and Differential Treatment, the Cairns Group on Market Access and Export Competition and the so-called like-Minded Group on S&D and the Special Safeguard Mechanism. Some countries have considered lowering their sights, provided they knew the maximalist positions of Europe and Japan. A delegate from Latin America aptly captured the lack of movement in the agriculture negotiations when he stated that: "we want to buy a car, the owner says that he wants to sell it, but will not give us any indication of the price he wants to sell it for. There is no bargaining process without reference prices". Such is the state of the negotiations in agriculture.

Trade and Investment

25. The Doha Agenda makes provision for integrating the special development, trade and financial needs of developing and least developed countries into the negotiations. Trade is an effect of production. Developing countries can only increase their share of international trade if they increase production, which in turn requires investments. Not much progress has been made in this area.

Transfer of Technology

26. Technology is the key to industrialization and development in general. Developing countries have limited budgets for research and development. As such, transfer of technology is critical. The Ministers mandated the WTO to increase the flow of technology to developing countries. The General Council is expected to report on progress on the examination of the relationship between trade and transfer of technology.

Conclusion

27. A development-oriented outcome will require effective participation by developing and least developed countries. Non-trade concerns should be taken seriously throughout the negotiations. There is a need for a strategy that will harness resources from different agencies in order to render technical assistance and capacity building and facilitate investments and financing.

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OPTIONS FOR A PARLIAMENTARY DIMENSION OF THE WTO

Discussion paper presented by Mr. Kobsak Chutikul, MP (Thailand)

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I. Introduction

1. From a historical perspective, parliaments have often played a pioneering role in launching international debate on questions of war and peace, economic and social development, democracy and human rights. More recently, they have come to focus their attention on issues relating to international trade and, more particularly, on the role that parliaments should play with regard to the multilateral trading system.

2. The reason for this is twofold. On the one hand, it is a reflection of the growing concern of members of parliament with the impact of globalisation on the lives of their constituents and civil societies. On the other hand, it is the realisation by the parliamentary community that, in an inter-dependent world, questions of international trade have become so important that they can no longer be left simply to governments and their bureaucracies and should be subjected to vigorous democratic oversight by parliaments.

3. The need for prompt action was accentuated with the establishment of the World Trade Organization at the end of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations carried out under the auspices of GATT from 1986 to 1994. Lawmakers are directly concerned with this development. The creation of the WTO with its binding rule-making and adjudication powers, and its consolidation and expansion in subsequent years, has not only placed the multilateral trading system at the heart of global governance, but also encroached on some of the traditional prerogatives of legislators as the primary lawmakers in a democratic state.

4. Soon after the wheels of WTO began turning, an intensive debate ensued inside the parliamentary community and subsequently far beyond it as to whether such an important global policy-making organisation as WTO should have a parliamentary structure associated with it, and if so what the latter's role, functions and structure could be. The debate - and the underlying process of reflection by parliaments and governments alike - has greatly evolved since the early days of enthusiastic but not always workable proposals. As everyone's understanding of the complexity of the issues progressed, so did willingness to seek realistic solutions.

5. The objective of the present paper is to stimulate and advance this process by taking stock of events and arguments and providing an overview of available options. This exercise seems to be all the more necessary in view of preparations for the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO to be held in Geneva in February 2003, as well as plans for holding a parliamentary meeting on the occasion of the fifth WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun in September 2003.

II. Chronology of events

6. A number of events and developments that took place in recent years were of particular importance in shaping the contours of the parliamentary dimension of the WTO. A non-exhaustive list of such events is reproduced below.

1 January 1995	Start of WTO activities.
9-13 December 1996 Singapore	The first WTO Ministerial Conference. An informal and spontaneous meeting of MPs attending the Conference took place. <u>No</u> documents were adopted by the MPs.
30 November - 3 December 1999 Seattle, USA	The third WTO Ministerial Conference. At the initiative of US Senator William V. Roth, a group of MPs attending the Conference met on 2 December 1999. Following an extensive debate, it adopted an appeal for the "establishment of a Standing Body of Parliamentarians whereby members of parliaments can exchange views, be informed and monitor WTO negotiations and activities" ¹ .
10-11 February 2000 Bangkok, Thailand	Parliamentary Meeting on the occasion of UNCTAD X. Organised by the IPU, the two-day meeting was attended by representatives of 53 parliaments who adopted a Declaration calling on "the Inter-Parliamentary Union, as the world organisation of parliaments of sovereign States, to pursue and strengthen its dialogue and cooperation with multilateral institutions active in the field of trade, finance and development, in particular with WTO, UNCTAD and the Bretton Woods institutions, with the objective of providing a parliamentary dimension enabling members of parliament to convey the concerns of peoples everywhere to these institutions and to assist in forging popular support for their action". The Meeting also invited the governing bodies of IPU "to establish an Ad Hoc Commission to look into issues relating to parliamentary follow-up to the third WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle and to make appropriate recommendations for action" ² .
22-24 February 2000 Seoul, Republic of Korea	International Parliamentarian's Association for Agriculture and Fisheries (IPAAF) was established in the presence of parliamentarians from some 30 countries.
7 March 2000	WTO Director-General, Mike Moore, addressed a circular letter to Speakers of Parliament of WTO members. This unprecedented gesture on the part of the GATT/WTO was meant to demonstrate willingness to see WTO "involve more closely the parliaments and their representatives".
April 2000	The first issue of the WTO Monthly Bulletin for Parliamentarians was published by the External Relations Division of the WTO Secretariat. This electronic newsletter was aimed at facilitating access of parliamentarians to publicly available WTO information.

¹ "Call for the Establishment of Standing Body of Parliamentarians Representing All Member Countries by the Parliamentarians Attending the Third Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization" - quoted from the original text as transmitted to the WTO.

² Declaration of the Parliamentary Meeting on the occasion of UNCTAD X (Bangkok, 10-11 February 2000).

30 August - 1 September 2000 New York, USA	Conference of Presiding Officers of National Parliaments. Convened by the IPU on the eve of the UN Millennium Assembly, the Conference called upon "all parliaments and their world organisation - the Inter-Parliamentary Union – to provide a parliamentary dimension to international cooperation" ³ .
10-11 April 2001 Brussels, Belgium	Seminar "Trade, Development and Democracy. The need for reform of the WTO". Organised by the European Parliament, the seminar focused on issues of external and internal transparency of the WTO. Mr. Mike Moore delivered an opening address. Although no formal documents were adopted, the closing statement by the Chairman emphasized that "transparency and democratic legitimacy of the WTO should be strengthened by associating the parliaments of WTO members more closely with the activities of the WTO" ⁴ .
8-9 June 2001 Geneva, Switzerland	Parliamentary Meeting on International Trade "For a free, just and equitable multilateral trading system: Providing a parliamentary dimension". The first-ever global parliamentary meeting on this scale was organised by the IPU and brought together members of parliaments from over 70 countries. In its Final Declaration, the meeting reaffirmed the "need to intensify activities in national parliaments to oversee and influence government policy in relation to trade negotiations" and to " build a parliamentary dimension to international trade negotiations and arrangements" ⁵ .
5 September 2001 Strasbourg, France	First session of the Working Group to prepare a parliamentary meeting on the occasion of the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference. Convened and hosted by the European Parliament, the session agreed on priorities and practical arrangements for the parliamentary meeting in Doha and exchanged views on particular problems encountered on the way to establishing the parliamentary dimension of the WTO. No formal documents were adopted.
5 October 2001 Geneva, Switzerland	Second session of the Working Group to prepare a parliamentary meeting on the occasion of the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference. Hosted by the IPU, the meeting finalized arrangements for the parliamentary meeting in Doha. Moreover, it adopted a substantive report on "Parliaments and International Trade", which became a basis for the debate among parliamentarians in Doha.
10 October 2001	IPU was granted observer status by the General Council of WTO and invited to send a delegation to the Ministerial Conference in Doha.
25 October 2001	The European Parliament passed a Resolution on openness and democracy in international trade ⁶ . Paragraph 28 of the resolution "proposes once again the creation of a parliamentary Assembly within the WTO with consultative powers and instructs its delegation to the WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha to organise, in close cooperation with other parliamentary organisations, a meeting of the parliamentarians present to promote this initiative".
9-13 November 2001 Doha, Qatar	The fourth WTO Ministerial Conference. A one-day parliamentary meeting on the occasion of the Ministerial Conference was convened jointly by IPU and the European Parliament on 11 November and was attended by over 100 MPs. The WTO Director-General, Mike Moore, addressed the meeting. During the discussion, one group of participants

³ Declaration "The parliamentary vision for international cooperation at the dawn of the third millennium" - adopted by consensus by the Conference of Presiding Officers of National Parliaments (New York, 30 August - 1 September 2000).

⁴ Seminar "Trade, Development and Democracy. The need for reform of the WTO" - information booklet produced by the European Parliament, p.44.

⁵ Parliamentary Meeting "For a Free, Just and Equitable Multilateral Trading System: Providing a Parliamentary Dimension" (Geneva, 8-9 June 2001) - illustrated booklet published by IPU, p.8.

⁶ European Parliament resolution A5-0331/2001

	emphasized their "wish to establish a Parliamentary Body formally linked to the WTO", whereas others "believed that the parliamentary dimension to the work of the WTO should be provided through the IPU" ⁷ . At the end, the participants took a consensus decision to establish a steering group to prepare options for the parliamentary dimension of the WTO.
25-28 February 2002 St. Lucia	CPA Study Group on Parliament and the International Trading System. The Study Group was established by the Executive Committee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association with a view to joining the ranks of those parliamentary organisations that were already engaged in the dialogue with the WTO.
29 April - 1 May 2002 Geneva, Switzerland	WTO Symposium "The Doha Development Agenda and Beyond". A parliamentary work session was organised by WTO on 30 April within the overall framework of the Symposium with Mr. Mike Moore, WTO Director-General, playing the role of the moderator. As a first exercise of this nature, the session proved to be a good opportunity for advancing the dialogue on the role of parliamentarians in relation to the WTO. As reflected in the Summary Report of the session, which was subsequently prepared by the WTO Secretariat, "if the time was not yet ripe for a Parliamentary Assembly, the need for parliamentarians to assemble was strongly supported" ⁸ .
28-29 May 2002 Brussels, Belgium	First session of the Post-Doha Steering Committee. The session was convened jointly by IPU and the European Parliament to continue in-depth consideration of the various aspects of the parliamentary dimension of the WTO as well as to start practical preparations for the Second Parliamentary Conference on International Trade.
1 September 2002	Dr. Supachai Panitchpakdi of Thailand assumes the position of WTO Director-General, taking over from Mr. Mike Moore. In one of his early speeches he stated "We also need civil society to be informed about the negotiations and continue to provide their critical input. Elected representatives, in particular, need to know about decisions which potentially affect the communities they represent and make their interests and concerns known." (Speech delivered at the World Summit on Sustainable Development High-Level Special Roundtable, Johannesburg, 3 September 2002)
14-15 October 2002 Geneva, Switzerland	Second Session of the Post-Doha Steering Committee. The session was again convened jointly by the IPU and the European Parliament and agreed that a Parliamentary Conference on the WTO be jointly organized in Geneva on 17-18 February 2003. Topics, modalities for participation, and structure of the conference, were also agreed upon.

III. Parliamentary dimension of the WTO

A. The rationale

7. The days when foreign policy and relationships with multilateral bodies were the exclusive domain of the executive branch are over. The once clear distinction between domestic and foreign policy no longer exists: international relations are shaping domestic events, and external issues and relations have become part of the domestic agenda.

⁷ Full text of the declaration is available at <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/doha.htm>

⁸ The text of the report is available at http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/summary_report_role_parliam.doc

8. Moreover, gone are the days when international co-operation was limited to issues of peace and security. In an increasingly globalised world, almost every field of human activity is subject to international co-operation which is carried out, more often than not, through global, regional and sub-regional organisations.
9. This evolution in international relations and cooperation calls for different working methods and for the participation of parliaments in the running of public affairs explicitly transcending national borders. Multilateral co-operation and decision-making, especially with regard to UN, WTO and Bretton Woods institutions, has therefore become a new frontier for legislators who aspire to see intergovernmental organisations made more accountable and transparent.
10. Parliaments embody the sovereignty of the people and can, in all legitimacy, contribute to expressing the will of the people internationally. At the same time, their role is to help citizens understand and cope with the interconnections between globalisation and their daily lives, and translate their concerns into national and multilateral policy. The 150 Speakers and Presiding Officers of National Parliaments meeting at the UN headquarters in New York in August-September 2000 on the eve of the Millennium Assembly expressed this conviction in no uncertain terms when they pledged "to ensure that our parliaments contribute more substantively to international co-operation by making the voice of the peoples heard, thereby introducing a more manifestly democratic dimension into international decision-making and co-operation"⁹.
11. Parliamentary scrutiny and involvement in international affairs start on the home front. As confirmed by the meeting of Speakers in New York, this can be achieved by parliaments in four distinct but interconnected ways¹⁰:
- Influencing their respective countries' policy on matters dealt with in the United Nations and other international negotiating forums;
 - Keeping themselves informed of the progress and outcome of these negotiations;
 - Deciding on ratification, where the Constitution so foresees, of texts and treaties signed by governments; and
 - Contributing actively to the subsequent implementation process.
12. Most of these duties and responsibilities of parliaments have direct bearing on the functioning of the multilateral trading system as embodied in the WTO. The general principle applies of course: it is for governments to negotiate international trade rules and arrangements on behalf of States, and it is for parliaments to scrutinise government action, influence policies pursued by the government in negotiating trade agreements, ratify these agreements, implement their provisions through the adoption of appropriate legislation and budget allocations, and oversee the implementation process as a whole. The case of WTO, however, is somewhat atypical.
13. Despite its name, WTO is rapidly becoming more than a mere trade organisation. Its rules now extend far beyond the traditional domain of tariffs and trade in goods, and reach deep into domestic affairs affecting areas as diverse as intellectual property, services, banking, telecommunications and government procurement. WTO has a growing impact on national health, education, employment, food safety, environment, as well as the management of natural resource such as forests, fisheries and water.
14. Unlike most other international treaties, not only do WTO agreements bind nations with regard to the definition of common objectives, but their implementation is enforced through an effective dispute settlement mechanism. This has direct economic consequences for entire nations, as well as the private sector.
15. The ongoing expansion of WTO into new areas has broad implications for legislatures which perceive it as a challenge and react by protecting their ability to regulate in accordance with the delicate balance of power struck in each country's constitution. The effects of this process differ from one national system to another but are basically of two sorts: regulatory effects (when the legislator's ability to pass laws is fenced off by new rules at international level) and constitutional ones (transfer of power from legislators to the executive)¹¹.

⁹ *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ "Why legislators should care about the WTO" - discussion paper by Matthew Stillwell, Managing Attorney of the Center for International Environmental Law.

16. In many cases, WTO rules promote international trade by defining the sort of laws that legislators can and cannot pass, and by establishing the standards they must meet. Such rules sometimes run counter to the need for parliaments to ensure that governmental regulations correspond to national objectives and popular aspirations. Moreover, the tension between WTO rules and national laws is intensified when governments use WTO's powerful dispute settlement system to challenge each other's national laws.

17. As new domestic policy issues are brought within the competence of the WTO, constitutional effects of WTO expansion come into play and the balance of effective authority under the constitution drifts away from legislators and towards the executive. While many parliaments ultimately ratify trade agreements, more often than not they play little role in defining their scope or content. Once negotiated, trade agreements are brought home to the legislature as an indivisible package deal. While appropriate for determining the levels of border tariffs, this policy-making process rapidly loses its legitimacy when the WTO extends into other national policy spheres requiring significant parliamentary debate and oversight.

18. Without the introduction of substantive and procedural checks and balances similar to those that are usually applied to domestic policy-making, this tendency will inevitably cause a democracy deficit at the international level. The increasing influence of the executive and the internationalisation of decision-making means that the legislatures, and therefore also the people, are underrepresented. As a result, trade policy often fails to reflect the full diversity of views and opinions that are required to ensure a balanced outcome.

19. Unless corrected, such lack of balance inherent in the current approach may cause more and more citizens to question the legitimacy of the WTO and may ultimately undermine public support for an open, rules-based multilateral trading system. Moreover, failure to do so may pose a threat to national interests and democracy itself, as has been amply manifested by protests seen all over the world - from Seattle to Bangkok and from Genoa to Porto Allegre.

20. Today's legislators are not only called on to examine the new situation and determine what sort of response is required, but to do so promptly and with a sense of realism.

B. The constraints

21. Critics of the WTO speak of its closed-door, non-transparent nature. They claim that the "old GATT culture" continues to prevail in the system, that the notion of "national interests" in negotiations remains the main lever for policy-making, and that the existing framework of the WTO is marked by a contradiction between the new role assigned to the organisation and the lack of evolution of its institutional functioning¹².

22. Indeed, the institutional nature of the WTO seems to provide little support for meeting the challenge of external transparency in general and the transparency vis-à-vis parliaments in particular. Despite repeated displays of good will and readiness for dialogue with parliamentarians manifested by Mr. Mike Moore during his term of office as the WTO Director-General, and the positive statements that have been made by his successor, Dr. Supachai Panitchpakdi, it would be difficult to imagine that the members of WTO will agree to any fundamental change in its operating procedures involving an enhanced role for parliamentarians.

23. This was once again amply manifested by the outcome documents of the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha, of which neither the Declaration nor the related decision on the implementation-related issues and concerns contain references to parliaments or lawmakers. Only a remote allusion to this subject can be found in paragraph 10 of the Ministerial Declaration, which reads: "While emphasizing the intergovernmental character of the organisation, we are committed to making the WTO's operations more transparent, including through more effective and prompt dissemination of information, and to improve dialogue with the public. We shall therefore at the national and multilateral levels continue to promote a better public understanding of the WTO and to communicate the benefits of a liberal, rules-based multilateral trading system"¹³. It is noteworthy that the Ministerial Declaration falls short of the proposal put forward by

¹² "Accreditation Schemes and Other Arrangements for Public participation in International fora. A contribution to the Debate on WTO and transparency" - published by the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development in November 1999, p.4.

¹³ WTO Ministerial Declaration, adopted in Doha on 14 November 2001.

parliamentarians attending the Doha Conference who called for the recognition of the fact that "transparency of the WTO should be strengthened by associating Parliaments more closely with the activities of the WTO"¹⁴.

24. After the mass street protests of Seattle, the WTO rightly reached out to NGOs, hundreds of which follow the work of WTO on a regular basis, and much time and effort has been invested in keeping up the dialogue with civil society groups seen as representing the views held - often strongly - by various segments of the public. The case for outreach to parliaments as national embodiments of popular will would seem to be even stronger, but far less progress has been made in this regard.

25. The issue of transparency vis-à-vis legislators is complicated by the fact that WTO is a consensus-based organisation where a formal objection on the part of any member government can block prospects for the association of parliamentarians with WTO in any way. As things stand today, it would be safe to conclude that governments of more than one country are not particularly eager to see developments go in the direction of closer involvement of legislators in WTO work.

26. It will suffice to compare WTO membership with that of the Inter-Parliamentary Union - the world organisation of national parliaments. On 1 August 2002, parliaments existed in altogether 180 sovereign States, 142 of which were represented in the IPU. Out of 141 sovereign States represented in the WTO at that date (as opposed to the total number of 144 WTO members), seven countries had no parliament and three among them had had their parliament suspended for political reasons.

27. The specific nature of WTO as reflected in its membership formula may also pose certain political problems with regard to the organisation's capacity for interaction with the world of parliaments. For example, membership of customs areas in WTO (such as the Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu) as well as of regional formations (such as the European Community) does not make it easy to reconcile the WTO membership formula with the one based on the notion of sovereign States.

28. At the same time, there are constraints from the parliamentary side. Over the past decade or so, there has been a burgeoning of regional and global parliamentary organisations and fora, many of which compete with each other for their membership base, support resources and spheres of competence. This proliferation of ad hoc parliamentary bodies which seek to develop a formal or informal relationship with different inter-governmental structures - be it WTO, UN agencies or the Bretton Woods institutions - is highly preoccupying, and in time could lead to the erosion of the very idea of effective parliamentary participation in the work of these structures since with limited resources, including time and access to documents, the "value-added" contribution by parliamentarians to the work of such intergovernmental bodies could be brought into question.

29. Financial considerations are a serious impediment for many parliaments. Budgets for international cooperation have their limits in every parliament, and so do human resources. More often than not, new and additional commitments can only be made at the expense of the existing ones, which places the leadership of parliament in front of some difficult choices. As a result, many parliaments have voiced their discontent at the growing number of parliamentary organisations and have advocated instead better use of the capacity and expertise of the existing structures for parliamentary cooperation.

30. It was for this reason that the Declaration adopted by Presiding Officers of National Parliaments in New York specifically recommended making "the best possible use of regional inter-parliamentary organisations and through them seek to influence the corresponding intergovernmental bodies. Parliaments should examine closely the work of such organisations in order to increase their efficiency and avoid duplication"¹⁵. Such considerations cannot be overlooked when final decisions about the parameters of the parliamentary dimension of the WTO are to be taken.

C. Making the right choice

31. For some time now, two main schools of thought have existed in regard to a parliamentary dimension for the WTO - each with its own arguments and groups of parliamentary followers. The first of them calls for a speedy establishment of a "standing body of parliamentarians", which could either be formally

¹⁴ Final Declaration/Conclusions of the Parliamentary Meeting on the occasion of the fourth WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*

linked to the WTO or exist as a separate and independent body with its own Secretariat, budget and other organisational attributes.

32. The second approach postulates that there is no need to create new structures and impose additional financial burdens on legislatures by multiplying parliamentary organisations, and that working with WTO through existing structures - such as the IPU - is a reasonable alternative. The main political argument in favour of this approach springs from the reasoning that the future parliamentary dimension of the WTO should be of a truly global nature as opposed to regional or trade-block based.

33. It was only recently, during two consecutive events held in May 2002 - the WTO Symposium "The Doha Development Agenda and Beyond" in Geneva and the First session of the Post-Doha Steering Committee in Brussels - that some sort of convergence of the two different approaches started to take shape. The debate in Brussels was particularly fruitful in this regard. Through a somewhat paradoxical exercise in formal logic, the discussion revealed that all actors in the process were able to agree about what the parliamentary dimension could not be. What it could be was therefore a matter of logical deduction.

34. Members of the Steering Committee felt that trying to create a WTO parliament or assembly with legislative and oversight functions would be a futile undertaking at this stage: only a few governments, if any, are ready to agree to such an arrangement. On the other hand, an independent parliamentary watchdog that is detached from WTO would be pointless. In order to establish a system of checks and balances, a set of formal mutual obligations must be in place, which would be impossible without explicit readiness on the part of WTO (meaning 100% of its members). Finally, creating a rubber-stamp parliamentary screen-shield for WTO - a sort of lobby group - would also defeat the purpose of the exercise.

35. It therefore seemed possible to agree that a parliamentary mechanism for the WTO should not seek to be endowed with legislative and oversight function. Throughout the discussions, however, there has always been a tacit agreement that, at a minimum, the mechanism should allow lawmakers from around the world to exchange views, be informed and monitor WTO negotiations and activities. These objectives can be fulfilled by organising parliamentary meetings on international trade issues on a regular basis with explicit linkage to the WTO. This would not need any bureaucratic structures. It only requires political will and commitment.

36. Avoiding the creation of yet another inter-parliamentary structure has the added advantage of making better use of existing structures and allowing for closer cooperation between a number of global and regional parliamentary organisations and assemblies that are active in the field of international trade. Other than the IPU and the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), the Latin American Parliament, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), the African Parliamentary Union (APU) and the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organisation (AIPO) are all active in this field in varying degrees.

37. Parliamentary meetings do not require the establishment of any formal membership in terms of countries or individual MPs, and their sessions would be open to all members of parliament involved in activities dealing with international trade, in particular with regard to multilateral trade negotiations. More precise criteria for invitations/participation would need to be established, particularly concerning participation of non-sovereign state parliaments. Here, UN procedures could prove useful.

38. The holding of parliamentary meetings on international trade would serve to monitor WTO activities, maintain dialogue with governmental negotiators, and facilitate information exchange and capacity building of national parliaments in matters of international trade, in particular the WTO. One of the strong points of this scheme could be its reliance on an open-ended debate conducted with fewer restraints than those imposed on governmental representatives participating in formal WTO negotiations. This approach could be beneficial to all parties - as is often the case when parliamentary diplomacy is applied with tact and skill. Debated subjects should not be too technical and could include, for example, internal and external transparency of the WTO, implementation issues, political will to arrive at negotiated solutions, the financing and coordination of technical assistance, the role of trade in development, etc.

39. Over time, the operating modalities for the parliamentary meetings on international trade, their role and functions vis-à-vis WTO could be established with more precision, taking into account the accumulated experience as well as institutional evolution of the WTO itself. It would seem fair to suggest, though, that connection with civil society would be a very important factor. Indeed, one of the principal objectives of the

exercise - and one more reason for the WTO to provide support to it - could be the re-establishment of popular confidence in the WTO through an exercise of transparency and democratic accountability vis-à-vis parliamentarians as legitimate representatives of the people. To that end, the parliamentary meetings on international trade should be open to dialogue with civil society groups and NGOs and, on the other hand, be able to convey to the WTO questions and concerns of citizens. Such input would be a valuable complement to WTO members' discussions, but would not prejudice in any way their prerogatives.

40. The holding of regular parliamentary meetings on international trade would also offer other advantages to the WTO and its members. For example, it could provide the WTO with a channel for conveying information to parliaments and - through them - to the wider public; would enhance external transparency of the WTO and reduce some of the perceived "democracy deficit"; and serve as a free-wheeling arena with parliamentarians leading non-binding debate on topics that cannot be candidly discussed by national representatives within the WTO itself.

IV. Recommendations

41. Based on the above considerations, the following course of action could be recommended:

- (a) To establish an inter-parliamentary process for the WTO which would evolve around regular parliamentary meetings held initially once a year plus on the occasion of WTO Ministerial Conferences;
- (b) The objective of this process would be to monitor WTO activities; maintain dialogue with governmental negotiators; and facilitate information exchange, sharing of experiences and capacity-building of national parliaments in matters of international trade, in particular concerning the WTO, and to exert some influence on the direction of discussions within the WTO;
- (c) Because of its event-oriented format, the inter-parliamentary process would have no formal membership in terms of countries or individual MPs, and its sessions would be open to all members of parliament involved in activities dealing with international trade, in particular with regard to multilateral trade negotiations. More precise criteria for invitations/participation could also be established;
- (d) The inter-parliamentary process for the WTO would not require any significant administrative machinery, such as a Headquarters, Secretariat, large budget, etc. It could rely upon the partnership of existing parliamentary assemblies, such as the IPU, European Parliament, PACE, CPA, Latin American Parliament, APU, AIPO, and other regional and international parliamentary organizations;
- (e) The task of inter-session political administration of the parliamentary process for the WTO - including setting the agendas of future conferences - could be fulfilled by a body of parliamentary representatives, the composition of which could be similar to that of the Post-Doha Steering Committee;
- (f) As soon as a permanent parliamentary process for the WTO is put in place, efforts should be directed at developing practical forms of cooperation and formal channels of communication with WTO.

>>> VERSION FRANÇAISE



PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON THE WTO

Geneva (Switzerland), 17 and 18 February 2003

*Organised jointly by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and
the European Parliament*



FINAL DECLARATION

adopted by consensus on 18 February 2003

1. We, parliamentarians, assembled in Geneva for the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO to discuss matters relating to multilateral trade, are convinced of the need for a parliamentary dimension of WTO. Our objective is to enhance the transparency and accountability of WTO activities.
2. We are committed to promoting further trade liberalisation which should take into account national development policies within an equitable rules-based trading system. The accession of new countries to the WTO is crucial to enable it to become a truly universal organisation. Our goal is to promote trade that benefits people everywhere, enhances development and reduces poverty.
3. We therefore laud the objectives that are set out in the Doha Development Agenda, which puts the concerns of the developing countries at the centre of the multilateral trading system and gives them pride of place in the present round of negotiations. We welcome the fact that the Doha mandate tackles developing country concerns about access to export markets. We applaud the stated intent to phase out agricultural export subsidies, and we acknowledge that the establishment of the Global Trust Fund, to which every developed country should contribute, will greatly increase the resources available for technical assistance in the area of implementation.
4. Nonetheless, the developments that have occurred since the Doha Ministerial Meeting give grounds for serious concern. Progress reported so far is not encouraging and negotiating deadlines set in Doha have come and gone without result. We regret that the deadlines on special and differential treatment for developing countries, and on making the TRIPS Agreement more flexible in order to improve access to medicines, have not been met. An alternative emergency solution for certain pandemics must be implemented.
5. Similarly we are worried at the lack of advances on the fundamental issue of enhancing real access to markets. It is crucial that agreement is reached on reducing barriers to trade in the field of agriculture, textiles and clothing. Agricultural support in wealthy countries, taken globally, is about four times the amount that is paid out in development assistance to the poor nations of the world. We consider that such trade distorting practices, and their social consequences are unacceptable.
6. We are wholeheartedly committed to raising these issues in our parliaments and engaging our respective trade negotiators in a dialogue and, at the same time, continuing our ongoing parliamentary process relating to the WTO, especially in the lead up to the next Ministerial Meeting in Cancun.
7. We do so because we believe that the days when foreign policy, and more specifically trade policy were the exclusive domain of the executive branch are over. International relations are shaping domestic policies, and external relations have become part of the domestic agenda. Without the introduction of substantive and procedural checks and balances similar to those that are usually applied to domestic policy-making, this tendency will inevitably cause a deficit in democracy at the international level. Real democratic participation is an important goal which has to be linked with the democratic transformation of the entire structure and content of global economic governance. The present initiative and subsequent work are the necessary foundations for this ultimate democratisation objective. We are thus acutely aware of the need for parliaments to participate in the running of public affairs that transcend national borders.
8. WTO is rapidly becoming more than a mere trade organisation. Unlike most international treaties, WTO agreements not only bind nations with regard to the definition of common objectives, but also

provide for their enforcement through an effective dispute settlement mechanism. The WTO's decisions have a growing impact on services, utilities, intellectual property rights, government procurement, public health, education, employment, food safety and the environment, as well as the management of natural resources such as forests, fisheries and water.

9. The parliaments from the various nations of the world, as legitimate representatives of their populations, have played a pioneering role in the peaceful evolution of societies. A parliamentary interface is necessary to ensure a better representation of citizens in the multilateral negotiating process. Parliaments embody the sovereignty of the people and can, in all legitimacy, contribute to expressing the will of the people internationally. Their role is also to help citizens understand and cope with the challenges that globalisation poses to their daily lives, and incorporate their concerns into national and multilateral policy.
10. We therefore stress the importance of promoting the parliamentary dimension to the WTO. Building upon the progress and common understandings from previous meetings of the post-Doha Steering Committee, we are determined to push forward the inter-parliamentary process with the WTO which would evolve around regular parliamentary meetings held initially once a year and on the occasion of WTO Ministerial Conferences. We propose that these events be called Parliamentary Conferences on the WTO.
11. The objective of this exercise would be to oversee and promote the effectiveness of WTO activities; maintain dialogue with governmental negotiators and civil society; and facilitate information exchange, sharing of experiences and capacity-building for national parliaments in matters of international trade, in particular, concerning the WTO, and to exert influence on the direction of discussions within the WTO.
12. We call upon the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament, as joint organisers of this meeting, to implement and work on agreed objectives adopted consensually by the post-Doha Steering Committee. We hope to meet at the forthcoming Ministerial Conference in Cancun to take stock of progress made.

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Inter-Parliamentary Union Press Release

No.151, Geneva, 18 February 2003



"PARLIAMENTS HAVE A SPECIAL ROLE IN MAKING THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM MORE OPEN, MORE EQUITABLE, MORE PREDICTABLE AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY"

More than 500 MPs from 75 national parliaments gathered in Geneva on 17 and 18 February 2003, on the occasion of the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO jointly organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the European Parliament (EP). "Parliaments have a special role in making the international trading system more open, more equitable, more predictable and non-discriminatory. The IPU is convinced that parliamentary involvement can help make the WTO more transparent and inclusive, and therefore more widely understood and supported", declared the President of the IPU Council, Chilean Senator Sergio Pérez.

"The past two years have been packed with important international events and developments, many of which have had a considerable impact on trade relations. The global challenge of terrorism, the prolonged decline of markets, the aggravation of regional conflicts, and the looming prospect of a war in Iraq continue to make headlines which leave nobody indifferent", added Mr. Pérez.

He stressed that as politicians, members of parliament are keenly aware of the significance of these events. "As elected representatives of the people, we are also conscious of the growing sentiment of public discontent with the consequences of globalization and particularly with trade policies. For better or for worse, these policies are embodied by the WTO, which is often portrayed as the major tool for pushing globalization. In a democracy, such criticisms cannot be simply dismissed: they require dialogue and qualified answers".

"Providing the multilateral trade system with a process in which MPs are able to express their ideas and concerns about multilateral trade"

The President of the Parliamentary Commission of Industry, Foreign Trade, Research and Energy of the European Parliament, Mr. Carlos Westendorp, recalled that for many years, MPs have wanted to give the multilateral trading system a process in which they, as representatives of the people, can express their ideas and concerns about multilateral trade. "For many years, we have been working with the IPU towards this objective; we are convinced that we have to give a parliamentary dimension to the WTO in order to increase its transparency and improve the democratic legitimacy of its activities".

Mr. Westendorp explained that the MPs gathered in Geneva would be debating major issues on the trade negotiating agenda and the need to promote free trade through clearly established rules.

Mr. Westendorp regretted that "trade negotiations are not progressing as we might wish. It is therefore very important that MPs from Member countries of the WTO send a firm message from this conference here in Geneva to the trade negotiators in order to give them a clear idea of what the representatives of the people are seeking".

As to the idea of giving a parliamentary dimension to the WTO, Mr. Westendorp indicated that the MPs in Geneva would be looking at the most effective way to achieve their goal. "There are many options, one of them being, in the long term, to give WTO a permanent assembly, but there is another, this conference, which enables us to work together, maybe once a year, and on the occasion of WTO ministerial meetings, in order to keep track of WTO

activities, continue the dialogue with government negotiators and exchange experiences and ideas that parliaments, as representatives of people, can transmit to the negotiators. We will inaugurate a process of meetings so that government negotiators can become aware of what the parliamentarians think"

"Parliamentarians can help explain the benefits of the trading system and help citizens cope with the complexities of globalization"

The WTO Deputy Director General, Mr. Francisco Thompson-Flôres, said that "right from the beginning, parliamentarians were involved with the WTO. Parliaments had to ratify the results of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations before their governments could join the WTO. Since then, parliamentarians have regularly formed part of national delegations to ministerial conferences and parliamentary involvement with the WTO has intensified through initiatives such as the meetings of parliamentarians in Seattle and Doha and the IPU's conference on trade issues held two years ago in Geneva".

Mr. Thompson-Flôres added : "Seattle brought many lessons. Thankfully, the lessons were well-learned as WTO Members and the Secretariat regrouped and began the long march to Doha and now on to Cancun. I believe we can all take pride in changes made to the way the WTO operates. We are now more inclusive in our processes and are doing much more to ensure smaller and poorer WTO Members can participate in our negotiations. We are cooperating with international and regional agencies more closely than ever before. We have made real progress too in our efforts to enhance the WTO's image and engage civil society".

In his concluding remarks, the WTO Deputy Director General said that parliamentarians could help explain the workings and benefits of the trading system, help citizens understand and cope with the complexities of globalization and encourage greater awareness and informed debate on international trade issues. "As legitimate representatives of the people, you provide an important interface between the people, civil society and governments".

Established in 1889 and with its Headquarters in Geneva, the IPU, the oldest multilateral organisation, currently has 144 affiliated national parliaments and five associated regional assemblies. The organisation of the world's parliaments also has a Liaison Office with the United Nations in New York.

◀ Other press releases

More information ▶

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Inter-Parliamentary Union Press Release

No.152, Geneva, 18 February 2003



MPS INTEND TO ENHANCE THE TRANSPARENCY OF WTO ACTIVITIES

The members of the 76 parliaments gathered in Geneva on the occasion of the parliamentary conference jointly organised by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the European Parliament are convinced of the need for a parliamentary dimension of the WTO. The final declaration adopted today in Geneva after a two-day meeting stated that "our objective is to enhance the transparency of WTO activities". The MPs present in Geneva declared their wish to promote further trade liberalisation which should take into account national development policies within an equitable rules-based trading system, adding that "the accession of new countries to the WTO is crucial to enable it to become a truly universal organisation. Our goal is to promote trade that benefits people everywhere, enhances development and reduces poverty".

The legislators lauded the objectives set out in the Doha Development Agenda, which puts the concerns of the developing countries at the centre of the multilateral trading system and gives them pride of place in the present round of negotiations. "We welcome the fact that the Doha mandate tackles developing country concerns about access to export markets. We applaud the stated intent to phase out agricultural export subsidies, and we acknowledge that the establishment of the Global Trust Fund, to which every developed country should contribute, will greatly increase the resources available for technical assistance in the area of implementation", they declared.

On a more critical note, the MPs expressed their misgivings about developments that have occurred since the Doha Ministerial Meeting. "We regret that the deadlines on special and differential treatment for developing countries, and on making the TRIPS Agreement more flexible in order to improve access to medicines, have not been met. An alternative emergency solution for certain pandemics must be implemented".

"Trade distorting practices are unacceptable"

The MPs were also concerned at the lack of progress on the fundamental issue of enhancing real access to markets, stating that "it is crucial that agreement is reached on reducing barriers to trade in the field of agriculture, textiles and clothing. Agricultural support in wealthy countries, taken globally, is about four times the amount that is paid out in development assistance to the poor nations of the world. We consider that such trade distorting practices, and their social consequences, are unacceptable".

Legislators pledged to raise the issues in their parliaments and engage their respective trade negotiators in a dialogue. At the same time, they agreed to continue the ongoing parliamentary process relating to the WTO, especially in the lead-up to the forthcoming Ministerial Meeting in Cancun (Mexico).

The MPs stressed their shared conviction that that the days when foreign policy, and more specifically trade policy were the exclusive domain of the executive branch are over. The parliaments resolved to participate more in the running of public affairs that transcend national borders, declaring that a parliamentary interface was necessary to ensure better representation of citizens in the multilateral negotiating process.

Established in 1889 and with its Headquarters in Geneva, the IPU, the oldest multilateral organisation, currently has 144 affiliated national parliaments and five associated regional assemblies. The organisation of the world's parliaments also

has a Liaison Office with the United Nations in New York.

◀◀ Other press releases

More information ▶▶

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CONFERENCE PARLEMENTAIRE SUR L'OMC
PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON THE WTO

Genève / Geneva, 17-18 février / February 2003

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RAPPORTEURS AND DISCUSSANTS

Substantive theme (a) Access to markets

- Mr. Ildefonso Guajardo Villareal, MP (Mexico)
- Mr. Paul Rübig, Member of the European Parliament
- Ambassador M. Supperamaniam, Permanent Representative of Malaysia to WTO

Substantive theme (b) Development dimension of the multilateral trading system

- Mr. Robert Haydn Davis, MP (South Africa)
- Ms. Concepció Ferrer, Member of the European Parliament
- Ambassador Nathan Irumba, Permanent Representative of Uganda to WTO

Substantive theme (c) Options for a parliamentary dimension of the WTO

- Mr. Kobsak Chutikul, MP (Thailand)
- Ms. Erika Mann, Member of the European Parliament
- Baroness Hooper, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
- Mr. Ney Lopes de Souza, MP (Brazil), President of the Latin American Parliament

Closing session

- Ms. Erika Mann, Member of the European Parliament

* * *

PANEL DISCUSSION

The need for a coherent policy framework of technical assistance and capacity-building

Moderator :

- Dr. Jean-Pierre Lehmann, Professor of International Political Economy, Director of Evian Group

Panellists :

- Mr. Kipkorir Aly Azad Rana, WTO Deputy Director-General
- Ambassador Carlo Trojan
Permanent Representative of the European Commission to the WTO
- Mr. Faizel Ismail, Head of the South African delegation to the WTO
- Ms. Mina Mashayekhi, Chief, System Issues, Trade Negotiations and Commercial Diplomacy Branch, Division on International Trade in Goods and Services and Commodities, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

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KIKUCHI, Kyoko (Mme/Ms.) Interprète / Interpreter	

OYAMADA, Nana (Mme/Ms.)
Interprète / Interpreter

JORDANIE - JORDAN

AL MA'ANI, Subhieh (Mme/Mrs.)	Sénateur / Senator
MURAD, Haider (M./Mr.)	Sénateur / Senator
ZYOUN, Ali. (M./Mr.)	Directeur, Département des affaires parlementaires
Conseiller / Adviser	Director, Parliamentary Affairs Department
HAZIMEH, Fakhry (M./Mr.)	Conseiller, affaires économiques Conseiller, Economic Affairs
MADI, Shehab (M./Mr.)	
Ambassadeur / Ambassador	
MAJALI, Saja (Mme/Miss)	
Deuxième Secrétaire, Mission permanente	
Second Secretary, Permanent Mission	

KAZAKHSTAN

KOSMAMBETOV (M./Mr.)	Membre du Mazhilis Member of Mazhilis
BAINAZAROV (M./Mr.)	Membre du Mazhilis Member of Mazhilis

KENYA

ANGWENYI, Jimmy N. (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale Member of the National Assembly
SHABAANI, Naomi (Mme/Mrs.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale Member of the National Assembly
GITURA, Kembi (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale Member of the National Assembly
SHITANDA, Soita (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale Member of the National Assembly
ABONYO, Florence (Mme/Mrs.)	Administratrice parlementaire Parliamentary Officer

KIRGHIZISTAN - KYRGYZSTAN

BORUBAEV, Altai (M./Mr.)	Président de l'Assemblée du Peuple Speaker of the People's Assembly
JEENBEKOV, Soronbai (M./Mr.)	Vice-Président de la Chambre des Représentants Vice-Speaker of the Chamber of Representatives
AKULUEV, Suman (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement Member of Parliament
ERKINBAEV, Bayaman (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement Member of Parliament

SAVITSKY, Alexandr (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

KOWEÏT - KUWAIT

AL-SAQER, Mohammad (M./Mr.)

Membre de l'Assemblée nationale
Member of the National Assembly

AL-HAROON, Abdul-Wahab (M./Mr.)

Membre de l'Assemblée nationale, Président
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*Member of the National Assembly, Chairman
of the Committee on Financial and Economic
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JAMAL, Abdul-Mohsen (M./Mr.)

Membre de l'Assemblée nationale
Member of the National Assembly

AL-AZMI, Mekhlid (M./Mr.)

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Member of the National Assembly

AL-WEIHAIB, Tawfiq (M./Mr.)

Conseiller / *Adviser*

AL-AJMY, Abdullah (M./Mr.)

Secrétaire / *Secretary*

RAZZOGI, Dahrar (M./Mr.)

Ambassadeur / *Ambassador*

AL-BAGHLI, Naser (M./Mr.)

Attaché commercial, Mission
permanente

Trade Attaché, Permanent Mission

LESOTHO

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Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

PHORORO, Rakoro (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

NTSEKHE, Ntsekhe (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

PEETE, Peete Nkuebe (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

LITUANIE - LITHUANIA

BUDREVICIUS, Jonas (M./Mr.)

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MADAGASCAR

RAJEMISON, Rakotomaharo (M./Mr.)	Président du Sénat <i>Speaker of the Senate</i>
TOTOBESOLA, Jean-Pierre (M./Mr.)	Vice-Président du Sénat <i>Deputy Speaker of the Senate</i>
RAMILISON, Max (M./Mr.)	Vice-Président du Sénat <i>Deputy Speaker of the Senate</i>
RAKOTOARIVELO, Mamy (M./Mr.)	Vice-Président de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Vice-President of the National Assembly</i>
RASAMOELY, Frédéric (M./Mr.)	Sénateur / Senator
RAMBELOSON, Alfred (M./Mr.)	Ambassadeur / Ambassador
ABDOU, Olgatte (Mme/Mrs.)	Première Secrétaire, Mission permanente <i>First Secretary, Permanent Mission</i>

MALAISIE - MALAYSIA

THONG FAH CHONG (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliaments</i>	
YUSOF bin YACOB (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliament</i>	(Mme/Mrs. Azizah Beniamen)
MOHD ZAIN MOHD DOM (M./Mr.)	Conseiller / Adviser	
BALA CHANDRAN THARMAN (M./Mr.)	Conseiller / Adviser	

MAROC - MOROCCO

MAAOUNI, Asan (M./Mr.)	Deuxième Vice-Président de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Second Vice-President of the House of Representatives</i>
HANINE, Mustapha (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Member of the Chamber of Representatives</i>
KHALIL, Mohamed (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Member of the Chamber of Representatives</i>
RACHADI, Chafik (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Member of the Chamber of Representatives</i>
CHEGGAF, Ali Salem (M./Mr.)	Membre et Questeur de la Chambre des Conseillers <i>Member and Questor of the Chamber of Councillors</i>
BERKIA, Abdelkebir (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Conseillers <i>Member of the Chamber of Councillors</i>
AFOUT, El Miloudi (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Conseillers <i>Member of the Chamber of Councillors</i>

TAZIA, Mohamed (M./Mr.) Conseiller économique
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SATRAOUY, Said (M./Mr.)
Secrétaire administratif
Administrative Secretary

MAURICE – MAURITIUS

GUNNESS, Govindranath (M./Mr.) Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

MEXIQUE - MEXICO

HERRERA BERLTRÁN, Fidel (M./Mr.) Sénateur / Senator (Mme/Mrs. Rosa
Borunda de Herrera)

ÁNGELES CERÓN, Esteban (M./Mr.) Sénateur / Senator (Mme/Mrs. Maria
Teresa Peña de
Ángeles)

MARGÁIN BERLANGA, Fernando Sénateur / Senator

MADERO, Lydia (Mme/Mrs.) Sénateur / Senator

LOZANO, Jorge (M./Mr.) Sénateur / Senator (Mme/Mrs. Margaret
Soto de Lozano)

BURGOS, Laeticia (Mme/Mrs.) Sénateur / Senator

GUAJARDO VILLAREAL, Ildefonso
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Member of the Chamber of Deputies

CARVAJAL, Gustavo (M./Mr.) Membre de la Chambre des Députés,
Président de la Commission des affaires
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Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President
of the Foreign Affairs Committee

GÓMEZ MONT, María Teresa
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Member of the Chamber of Deputies

ESPADAS, Uuc-kib (M./Mr.) Membre de la Chambre des Députés
Member of the Chamber of Deputies

MENDIOLA, Alma (Mme/Mrs.)
Secrétaire / Secretary

DORANTES, Juan Antonio (M./Mr.)
Conseiller / Adviser

SALGADO, Humberto (M./Mr.)
Presse / Press

MONGOLIE - MONGOLIA

SHAGDARSUREN, Amarbayar(M./Mr.) Membre du Parlement, Membre de la
Commission permanente de la politique
économique
Member of Parliament, Member of the Standing
Committee on Economic Policy

TOGTOKH, Norjmoo (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement, Membre de la Commission permanente de la politique économique <i>Member of Parliament, Member of the Standing Committee on Economic Policy</i>
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BEKHBAT, Khasbazaryn (M./Mr.)
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ENKHBOLD, Voroshilov (M./Mr.)
Troisième Secrétaire, Mission
permanente
Third Secretary, Permanent Mission

NIGER

BOUREIMA, Gado (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member of the National Assembly</i>
ALLAMBEYE, Maïdagi (M./Mr.)	Deuxième Vice-Président de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Second Vice-President of the National Assembly</i>
HASSOUMI, Massoudou (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member of the National Assembly</i>
SABO, Janaïdou Gado (M./Mr.)	Membre et Premier Questeur de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member and First Questor of the National Assembly</i>
ALGOU BASS, Alhousseini (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member of the National Assembly</i>
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NIGERIA

ANYIM, Pius Anyim (M./Mr.)	Président du Sénat <i>President of the Senate</i>	
WALI, Abdallah (M./Mr.)	Sénateur, Membre de la Commission du Commerce <i>Senator, Member of the Committee on Commerce</i>	(Mme/Mrs. Wali)
ALUKO, Daniel O. (M./Mr.)	Sénateur, Président de la Commission sur les ressources pétrolières <i>Senator, Chairman, Committee on Petroleum Resources</i>	
GADA, Bello (M./Mr.)	Sénateur / Senator	
ZWYNGINA, Sylas (M./Mr.)	Sénateur / Senator	
MUSA, Abdullah (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants, Membre de la Commission du Commerce <i>Member of the House of Representatives, Member of the Committee on Commerce</i>	

ADEKOLA, Ishaq (M./Mr.)

Membre de la Chambre des Représentants,
Membre de la Commission du Commerce
*Member of the House of Representatives,
Member of the Committee on Commerce*

EMENALO, B.C. (M./Mr.)

Assistant

EZE, Ken (M./Mr.)

Conseiller / Adviser

OSI, Joseph (M./Mr.)

(M./Mr.)

Conseiller / Adviser

ABOUBAKAR, Aliu (M./Mr.)

Mission permanente

Permanent Mission

NORVEGE - NORWAY

VALLERSNES, Finn Martin (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement

Member of Parliament

LYSBAKKEN, Audun (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement

Member of Parliament

PAKISTAN

HUSSAIN, Amir (M./Mr.)

Président de l'Assemblée nationale

Speaker of the National Assembly

AMIN FAHEEM, Makhdoom

Muhammad (M./Mr.)

Membre de l'Assemblée nationale

Member of the National Assembly

CHATTA, Hamid Nasir (M./Mr.)

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Member of the National Assembly

AAMIR CHEEMA, Tanzeela (Mme/Mrs.)

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Member of the National Assembly

NASIM, Khalid (M./Mr.)

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Protocol Officer, National Assembly

MAHMOOD, Saleem Mahmood

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Secrétaire à l'Assemblée nationale

Secretary, National Assembly

SHAUKAT, Umer (M./Mr.)

Ambassadeur / Ambassador

MANZOOR, Ahmed (M./Mr.)

Ambassadeur auprès de l'OMC

Ambassador to the WTO

QURESHI, Nasim (M./Mr.)

Ministre Conseiller, Mission

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Minister, Permanent Mission, WTO

IMTIAZ, Hussain (M./Mr.)

Conseiller, Mission permanente

Counsellor, Permanent Mission

KHAN, Mujeeb A. (M./Mr.)
Secrétaire Commercial, Mission
permanente
*Commercial Secretary, Permanent
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PHILIPPINES

SALCEDA, Jose M. (M./Mr.) Membre de la Chambre des Représentants
Member of the House of Representatives

POLOGNE - POLAND

RZYMELKA, Jan (M./Mr.) Membre de la Diète
Member of the Diet

KEDRA, Ryszard (M./Mr.) Membre de la Diète
Member of the Diet

SAWICKI, Marek (M./Mr.) Membre de la Diète
Member of the Diet

LEWICKI, Marian (M./Mr.) Sénateur / Senator

WIELOWIEYSKI, Andrzej (M./Mr.) Sénateur / Senator

GRUBA, Wojciech (M./Mr.)
Secrétaire de la délégation
Secretary to the delegation

LESNY, Maciej (M./Mr.)
Secrétaire / Secretary

PORTUGAL

VELOSA, Hugo (M./Mr.) Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

GONCALVES, Herculano (M./Mr.) Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

MARTINS, Maximiano (M./Mr.) Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

DE CARVALHO, Lino (M./Mr.) Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

REPUBLIQUE CENTRAFRICAINE - CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

NGUIALO, Rigaud (M./Mr.) Membre de l'Assemblée nationale, Membre de
la Commission des Finances
*Member of the National Assembly, Member of
the Finance Committee*

BONGOLAPE, Simon (M./Mr.) Membre de l'Assemblée nationale
Member of the National Assembly

REPUBLIQUE DE COREE - REPUBLIC OF KOREA

HONG, Jae Hyong (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale, Président de la Commission spéciale du budget et des comptes <i>Member of the National Assembly, Chairman of the Special Committee on Budget and Account</i>
KANG, In Sup (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale, Membre de la Commission du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'énergie <i>Member of the National Assembly, Member of the Committee on Commerce, Industry and Energy</i>
KIM, Dae An (M./Mr.)	Directeur adjoint de la Division de l'Organisation interparlementaire <i>Deputy Director of the Inter-Parliamentary Organisation Division</i>

REPUBLIQUE DE MOLDOVA - REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

BONDARCIUC, Nicolae (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement, Président de la Commission pour la culture, la science, l'enseignement, la jeunesse et les médias <i>Member of Parliament, Chairman of the Committee on Culture, Science, Education, Youth and Media</i>
ILIESCU, Cornelius (M./Mr.)	Assistant

REPUBLIQUE TCHEQUE - CZECH REPUBLIC

EKERT, Milan (M./Mr.) Président du Groupe <i>President of the Group</i>	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Member of the House of Representatives</i>
JULINEK, Tomas (M./Mr.)	Sénateur / Senator
SCHLING, Jaromir (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Member of the House of Representatives</i>
BARTONOVA, Eva (Mme/Mrs.) Secrétaire du Groupe <i>Secretary of the Group</i>	
PETRICKOVA, Michaela (Mme/Mrs.) Secrétaire de la délégation <i>Secretary to the delegation</i>	

ROUMANIE - ROMANIA

DRAGOS, Liviu (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Députés <i>Member of the Chamber of Deputies</i>
VORNICU, Sorin Adrian (M./Mr.)	Sénateur / Senator

CHIRITA, Dumitru (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Députés, Membre de la Commission pour l'intégration européenne <i>Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Committee for European Integration</i>
DUMITRESCU, Cristina (Mme/Mrs.) Secrétaire de la délégation <i>Secretary to the delegation</i>	Conseillère au Département des relations parlementaires extérieures du Sénat <i>Counsellor, Foreign Parliamentary Relations Department, Senate</i>

ROYAUME-UNI - UNITED KINGDOM

McKECHIN, Ann (Mme/Mrs.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliament</i>
GROGAN, John (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliament</i>
NORTHOVER, Baroness	Membre de la Chambre des Lords <i>Member of the House of Lords</i>
ROGAN OF LOWER IVEAGH, Lord	Membre de la Chambre des Lords <i>Member of the House of Lords</i>

RWANDA

HIGERO, Prosper (M./Mr.)	Vice-Président du Parlement <i>Vice-President of the Parliament</i>
KANZAYIRE, Bernadette (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliament</i>
MAKABUZA, Nianney J.M. (M./Mr.)	Directeur technique de la Commission du budget et du patrimoine <i>Technical Director, Committee on Budget and Heritage</i>

SENEGAL

DIALLO, Yero Hamet (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliament</i>
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SLOVAQUIE - SLOVAKIA

BAUER, Edit (Mme/Mrs.)	Membre du Parlement, Vice-Présidente de la Commission des affaires sociales et du logement, Vice-Présidente de la Commission de l'intégration européenne <i>Member of Parliament, Vice-Chairperson of the Committee on Social Affairs and Dwelling, Vice-Chairperson of the Committee on European Integration</i>
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BROCKA, Julius (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement, Vice-Président de la Commission des finances, du budget et des affaires monétaires <i>Member of Parliament,, Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Finance, Budget and Monetary Affairs</i>
KOZLIK, Sergej (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement, Membre de la Commission des finances, du budget et des affaires monétaires <i>Member of Parliament,, Member of the Committee on Finance, Budget and Monetary Affairs</i>
CULAJ, Igor (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement <i>Member of Parliament</i>
KÁLMÁN, Petocz (M./Mr.) Représentant permanent <i>Permanent Representative</i>	
ILLKOVA, Barbara (Mme/Mrs.) Conseillère, Mission permanente <i>Adviser, Permanent Mission</i>	

SOUDAN - SUDAN

OBAIDALLA, Ibrahim (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale, Président de la Commission des affaires économiques <i>Member of the National Assembly, Chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee</i>
EL SAYED, Izzeldin (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member of the National Assembly</i>
OSMAN, Abdelwahab (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member of the National Assembly</i>

SUEDE - SWEDEN

GRANLUND, Marie (Mme/Ms.)	Membre du Parlement, Présidente de la Commission de l'industrie et du commerce <i>Member of Parliament,, Chairperson of the Committee on Industry and Trade</i>
ODENBERG, Mikael (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement, Premier Vice-Président de la Commission de l'industrie et du commerce <i>Member of Parliament,, First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Industry and Trade</i>
PALM, Veronica (Mme/Ms.)	Membre du Parlement, Membre de la Commission des affaires étrangères <i>Member of Parliament, Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs</i>
GAYE, Susanna (Mme/Mrs.)	Secrétaire adjointe de la Commission de l'industrie et du commerce <i>Deputy Secretary to the Committee on Industry and Trade</i>

SUISSE - SWITZERLAND

GÜNTER, Paul (M./Mr.)	Conseiller national <i>Member of the National Council</i>
CHAPPUIS, Liliane (Mme/Mrs.)	Conseillère nationale <i>Member of the National Council</i>
GADIENT, Brigitta (Mme/Mrs.)	Conseillère nationale <i>Member of the National Council</i>
LACHAT, François (M./Mr.)	Conseiller national <i>Member of the National Council</i>
ZEHNDER, Daniel (M./Mr.) Conseiller / Adviser	
THOENE, Patricia (Mme/Mrs.) Secrétaire / Secretary	Relations extérieures, protocole <i>External Relations, Protocol</i>

SURINAME

RODGERS, Otmar Roëll (M./Mr.)	Membre de l'Assemblée nationale <i>Member of the National Assembly</i>
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THAÏLANDE - THAILAND

CHUTIKUL, Kobsak (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants, <i>Member of the House of Representatives</i>
SOOKMARK, Khunying Jintana (Mme/Mrs.)	Sénateur / Senator
VIRAMETEEKUL, Virachai (M./Mr.)	Membre de la Chambre des Représentants, <i>Member of the House of Representatives</i>
KHAMASUNDARA, Supasinee (Mme/Ms.) Secrétaire de la délégation <i>Secretary to the delegation</i>	Directrice du Bureau de l'Organisation interparlementaire, Secrétariat de la Chambre des Représentants <i>Director of the Bureau of the Inter- Parliamentary Organisatio, Secretariat of the House of Representatives</i>
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TUNISIE - TUNISIA

SAÏBI, Hassen (M./Mr.)	Membre du Parlement, Membre de la Commission de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et du commerce <i>Member of Parliament, Member of the Committee on Agriculture, Industry and Trade</i>
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MEKRAZI, Aoun (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement, Membre de la
Commission de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et
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*Member of Parliament, Member of the
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TURQUIE - TURKEY

CETIN, Remzi (M./Mr.)

Membre de la Grande Assemblée nationale
Member of the Grand National Assembly

SANAY, Eyyup (M./Mr.)

Membre de la Grande Assemblée nationale
Member of the Grand National Assembly

UKRAINE

GURENKO, Stanislav (M./Mr.)

Membre du Parlement, Président de
Commission
Member of Parliament, Committee Chairman

KIROYANTS, Sergiy (M./Mr.)

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*Member of Parliament, Sub-Committee
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Membre du Parlement
Member of Parliament

DOBKIN, Mykhailo (M./Mr.)

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Member of Parliament

KASYANOV, Sergiy (M./Mr.)

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Member of Parliament

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Deputy Head of Department

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Chef de la Mission permanente
Head of the Permanent Mission

URUGUAY

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PIQUINELA, Oscar (M./Mr.)
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YEMEN

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Vice-Président du Parlement
Vice-President of the Parliament

AL-AHMAR, Hamid Bin Abdullah
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Member of Parliament

AL-MOALLEMI, Hisham Mohamed
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Directeur général du Bureau du Vice-Président
*Director General of the Office of the Vice-
President*

BIN GHANEM, Farag (M./Mr.)
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Attaché commercial
Commercial Attaché

AL-ZANDANY, Mohamed (M./Mr.)
Troisième Secrétaire, Mission
permanente
Third Secretary, Permanent Mission

ZAMBIE - ZAMBIA

PATEL, D.K. (M./Mr.) *Membre du Parlement*
 Member of Parliament

ZIMBABWE

MUTSAURI, W. (M./Mr.) *Membre du Parlement*
 Member of Parliament

MADZIMURE, W. (M./Mr.) *Membre du Parlement*
 Member of Parliament

MUTETWA, Beatrice (Mme/Mrs.)
Mission permanente
Permanent Mission

MUKANDURI, Samson (M./Mr.)
Mission permanente
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PARLEMENT EUROPEEN - EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

COX, Pat (M./Mr.), *Président / President*

PROVAN, James L.C. (M./Mr.), *Vice-Président / Vice-President*

IMBENI, Renzo (M./Mr.), *Vice-Président / Vice-President*

WESTERNDORP Y CABEZA, Carlos (M./Mr.),
Co-Président du Comité restreint, Co-President of the Steering Groupe

MANN, Erika (Mme/Ms.), *Rapporteur, Comité restreint*
Rapporteur, Steering Committee

RÜBIG, Paul (M./Mr.), *Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament*

HANSENNE, Michel (M./Mr.), *Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament*

VAN VELZEN, Wim (M./Mr.), *Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament*

DESIR, Harlem (M./Mr.), *Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament*

CLEGG, Nicholas (M./Mr.), *Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament*

DE ROO, Alexander (M./Mr.), *Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament*

FERRER, Concepció (Mme/Ms.), *Membre du Parlement*
Member of Parliament

MARTIN OAR, Luis (M./Mr.), Chef de Division / Head of Division
ECKER, Judith (Mme/Ms.), Administratrice / Administrator
RAMSTEDT, Sten (M./Mr.) Administrateur / Administrator
HULLMANN, Klaus (M./Mr.), Administrateur / Administrator
DREUTE, Olivier (M./Mr.), Conseiller / Adviser
REED, Derek (M./Mr.), Conseiller / Adviser
MAZZARO, Nicola (M./Mr.), Conseiller / Adviser
ZANELLA, Orietta (Mme/Mrs.), Assistante / Assistant
VON HOFF, Konrad (M./Mr.), Assistant
KEIJZER, Margriet (Mme/Mrs.), Assistante / Assistant

PARLEMENT ANDIN - ANDEAN PARLIAMENT

MADRIZ SOTILLO, Jhannett (Mme/Mrs.), Députée, Présidente (Vénézuéla)
Deputy, President (Venezuela)
DUQUE, Luis Fernando (M./Mr.), Député, Vice-Président (Colombie)
Deputy, Vice-President (Colombia)
MUÑOZ DE LIENDO, Adela (Mme/Mrs.), Députée / Deputy
DIAZ LAPLACE, Luis (M./Mr.), Député (Vénézuéla)
Deputy (Venezuela)
SOLÓRZANO, Héctor (M./Mr.), Député (Equateur)
Deputy (Ecuador)
QUEVEDO, Hugo (M./Mr.), Conseiller / Advisor

PARLEMENT CENTRAMERICAIN - CENTRAL AMERICAN PARLIAMENT

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Deputy, Secretary of the Directing Junta

PARLEMENT LATINO-AMERICAIN - LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT

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(Mme/Mrs. Abigail de
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PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE (PACE)**

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Membre de la Commission des affaires étrangères et du développement
Member of the Committee on Economic Affairs and Development
Baroness HOOPER
Membre de la Commission des affaires étrangères et du développement
Member of the Committee on Economic Affairs and Development
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Member of the Committee on Economic Affairs and Development
FREY, Claude (M./Mr.)

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Member of the Committee on Economic Affairs and Development

RAMANAUSKAITE, Aiste (M./Mr.)
Secrétaire / Secretary

II. OBSERVATEURS - OBSERVERS

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Mr. FAIZEL, Ismail (M./Mr.)
Chef de la délégation sudafricaine auprès de l'OMC
Head of the South African delegation to the WTO

ARABIE SAOUDITE - SAUDI ARABIA

AL-ESHAWY, Mussad (M./Mr.)
Représentant permanent
Permanent Representative
ADHAM, Imad (M./Mr.)
Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente
First Secretary, Permanent Mission

BANGLADESH

BADRUL, Hassan (M./Mr.)
Ministre de l'économie, Mission permanente
Economic Minister, Permanent Mission
RABAB, Fatima (Mme/Ms.)
Conseillère, Mission permanente
Consellor, Permanent Mission
TAUFIQUR, Rahman (M./Mr.)
Troisième Secrétaire, Mission permanente
Third Secretary, Permanent Mission

BELGIQUE - BELGIUM

NAYER, Philipp (M./Mr.)
Conseiller / Adviser
BINGOL, Cengiz (M./Mr.)
Conseiller / Adviser

BENIN

AMEHOU, Samuel (M./Mr.)
Représentant permanent
Permanent Representative
LAOUROU, Eloi (M./Mr.)
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Second Counsellor, Permanent Mission

CANADA

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Deputy Director, Foreign Affairs Department
MACKAY, Cameron (M./Mr.)
Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente
First Secretary, Permanent Mission
WATT, Fergus (M./Mr.)
Directeur exécutif, World Federalists of Canada
Executive Director, World Federalists of Canada

CHYPRE – CYPRUS

VIKIS, Alexandros (M./Mr.)
Ambassadeur / *Ambassador*
MINA, Helena (Mme/Mrs.)
Secrétaire, Mission permanente
Secretary, Permanent Mission

COMMISSION EUROPEENNE – EUROPEAN COMMISSION

TROJAN, Carlo (M./Mr.)
Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent
Ambassador, Permanent Representative

CROATIE - CROATIA

PERVAN, Josip (M./Mr.)
Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente
First Secretary, Permanent Mission
CAJO, Denis (M./Mr.)
Deuxième Secrétaire, Mission permanente
Second Secretary, Permanent Mission

DANEMARK - DENMARK

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Ambassador, Permanent Mission

KELSTRUP, Søren (M./Mr.)
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FRANCE

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Permanent Delegate

ISLANDE - ICELAND

JÓHANNESSON, Stefán Haukur (M./Mr.)
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Ambassador, Permanent Mission

ISRAEL

ISRAELI, Tuvia (M./Mr.)
Représentant permanent adoint
Deputy Permanent Representative
AKERMAN, Joseph (M./Mr.)
Représentant permanent adoint à l'OMC
Deputy Permanent Representative to the WTO
NETTER, Jerome (M./Mr.)
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Trade Officer
GULUMA, Teizu (Mme/Ms.)
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TONINI, Giulio (M./Mr.)
Représentant permanent adjoint
Deputy Permanent Representative
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Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente
First Secretary, Permanent Mission
BADOCCO, Erica (Mme/Mrs.)
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Secretary, Permanent Mission

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TAGA, Toshiyuki (M./Mr.)
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First Secretary, Permanent Mission

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KENYA

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MADAGASCAR

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MALAISIE - MALAYSIA

SUPPERAMANIAM, M. (M./Mr.)
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MAROC - MOROCCO

HILALE, Omar (M./Mr.)
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ARIFI, Abdesselem (M./Mr.)
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NIGERIA

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OMAN

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Chairman of the Economic Committee, State Council

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Representative, Permanent Mission

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REPUBLIQUE DE COREE – REPUBLIC OF KOREA

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Ministre, Mission permanente

Minister, Permanent Mission

PARK, Hee-Kwon (M./Mr.)

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PARK, Jae Hyun (M./Mr.)

Conseiller, Mission permanente

Counsellor, Permanent Mission

CHUNG, In-Gyun (M./Mr.)

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First Secretary, Permanent Mission

LEE, Choong-Myon (M./Mr.)

Deuxième Secrétaire, Mission permanente

Second Secretary, Permanent Mission

LEE, Chul-Hwan (M./Mr.)

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Counsellor, Permanent Mission

LEE, Tae-Yong (M./Mr.)

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Counsellor, Permanent Mission

SHIN, Seung-Guyn (M./Mr.)

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First Secretary, Permanent Mission

REPUBLIQUE DE MOLDOVA

CROITOR, Dumitru (M./Mr.)

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Counsellor, Permanent Mission

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Permanent Representative to the WTO

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Third Secretary, Permanent Mission

SRI LANKA

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Permanent Representative to the WTO

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Ministre Conseiller, Economic et commerce

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Première secrétaire

First Secretary

THAÏLANDE – THAILAND

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Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the WTO

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TURQUIE – TURKEY

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OZCAN, Mustafa (M./Mr.)
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Third Secretary, Permanent Mission

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BEVZA, Volodymyr M./Mr.)
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First Secretary, Permanent Mission

* ... * ... *

**ORGANISATIONS INTERGOUVERNEMENTALES
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BANQUE MONDIALE - WORLD BANK

GRAINGER-JONES, Elwyn (M./Mr.), Economiste / *Economist*
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**ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ALIMENTATION ET
L'AGRICULTURE
FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
(FAO)**

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INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)**

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Director, IMF Offices in Europe
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WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)

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Deputy Director General

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Director, External Affairs Division

RATA, Patrick (M./Mr.), Chargé de la Division des affaires extérieures
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**CONFERENCE DES NATIONS UNIES SUR LE COMMERCE ET LE
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* * *

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**ASSEMBLÉE INTERPARLEMENTAIRE DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ DES ÉTATS
INDEPENDANTS**
**INTER-PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF
INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS)**

OGANIAN, Oganés (M./Mr.)
Membre du Conseil de la Fédération, Président de la Commission de la politique économique
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ASSEMBLEE INTERPARLEMENTAIRE DE LA COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE EURASIENNE

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KAMAROU, Leanid (M./Mr.) Représentant (Belarus) / Representative (Belarus)

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PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE UNION OF BELARUS AND RUSSIA**

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LEKTOROV, Valery (M./Mr.), Député / Deputy

AKSIONOV, Vladimir (M./Mr.), Secrétaire général / Secretary General

MARTCHOUK, Serguei (M./Mr.)

Secrétaire de la Commission des relations extérieures

Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Relations

GRIDNEVA, Olga (Mme/Mrs.)

Secrétaire / Secretary

ASSEMBLEE PARLEMENTAIRE POUR LA COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE DE LA MER NOIRE

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE BLACK SEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION (PABSEC)

KAPUSUZ, Salih (M./Mr.), Député (Turquie) / Deputy (Turkey)

YEMELIANOV, Michael (M./Mr.)

Membre de la Commission des Affaires légales et politiques, Vice-Président de la Commission de la propriété, de la privatisation et des affaires économiques (Fédération de Russie)

Member of the Legal and Political Affairs Committee, Deputy Chairman of Committee on Property, Privatisation and Economic Affairs (Russian Federation)

GAPRINDASHVILI, Natia (Mme/Mrs.), Secrétaire / Secretary

**ASSOCIATION PARLEMENTAIRE DU COMMONWEALTH
COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION (CPA)**

STADDON, Anthony (M./Mr.), Assistant particulier du Secrétaire général
Special Assistant to the Secretary General

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Vice-Président de l'Assemblée nationale du Pays de Galles, Trésorier
Deputy Presiding Officer, National Assembly of Wales, Treasurer

**COMMISSION EUROPEENNE
EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

TROJAN, Carlo (M./Mr.), Ambassadeur / Ambassador

**CONSEIL NORDIQUE
NORDIC COUNCIL**

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Membre de la Commission du commerce et de l'industrie
Member of the Business and Industry Committee

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**ASSEMBLEE PARLEMENTAIRE ACP-EU
ACP-EU JOINT PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

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Member of Parliament (South Africa)

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**ORGANISATION INTERPARLEMENTAIRE DE L'ASEAN
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Member of Parliament

ACHMAD, Afni (M./Mr.), Membre du Parlement / Member of Parliament

**UNION PARLEMENTAIRE DES MEMBRES DE L'ORGANISATION DE LA
CONFERENCE ISLAMIQUE (UPMOCI)
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AUF, Ibrahim (M./Mr.), Secrétaire général, *Secretary General*

