**Trade Negotiations Committee** 

## TRADE NEGOTIATIONS COMMITTEE

## Twenty-Second Meeting: 10 November 1992

1. The Trade Negotiations Committee (TNC) held its twenty-second meeting at official level under the Chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Dunkel.

2. The Chairman recalled that the last such meeting had been held in January 1992. He said that the purpose of the present meeting was set out in paragraph 2 of GATT/AIR/3368, i.e., to consider steps to be taken to advance the negotiating process in the Uruguay Round. Since the January meeting, two new GATT members, Namibia and Mozambique, had become participants in the Uruguay Round negotiations. He formally welcomed them on the Committee's behalf.

3. He recalled that the TNC had had a first collective assessment of the Uruguay Round Draft Final Act (DFA) at its January meeting and that, on that basis, had agreed to move forward on a work programme comprising four tracks to further the negotiating process in the concluding phase of the Uruguay Round.

4. The agreed work programme had been in effect since February 1992. However, despite strenuous efforts by the Chairmen and a large number of participants, negotiations had never actually taken off.

5. This state of affairs had been recognized by the TNC in an informal session in April. On that occasion, participants had felt that despite efforts at the highest political levels in key capitals, little or no concrete progress had been achieved since January and that Tracks 1, 2 and 3 had been, in effect, blocked. They had concluded that political breakthroughs were urgently needed in certain central areas of the negotiating agenda, most importantly, but not exclusively, in agriculture. Further meetings and multilateral negotiations had been organized in the hope of achieving as much progress as circumstances would permit.

6. These meetings had not yielded any concrete results to date. In fact, the present situation was even more critical: unresolved and escalating trade disputes had put under threat even the existing multilateral trading system which was the very foundation for the ongoing efforts in the Round.

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7. Unless the present circumstances changed dramatically, any further work programme put in place by the TNC was not likely to achieve concrete results and would, on the contrary, destroy the credibility of the Geneva process.

8. In this respect, he had, once again, to point out that, even after the essential political breakthroughs had taken place, there would be a great deal of detailed work to be done in Geneva before the Round could be successfully concluded as a multilateral exercise. For example, negotiations pertaining to market access and initial commitments in services would be technically time consuming, even with the best political will of all participants. Other important tasks like the Group of Negotiations on Good's evaluation of the results from the viewpoint of develoring countries, including the least-developed, had also to be fulfilled. All this called for very urgent action.

9. As he had already mentioned, the purpose of the present meeting was stated in the convening airgram. However, before turning to this, he would give the background against which the meeting had to be seen.

10. To begin with, he had had extensive contacts with government representatives in Geneva and in capitals, also in the context of convening and preparing for the present meeting. On the positive side, these contacts had reinforced his view that all governments were ready and waiting to engage in, and rapidly conclude, the "give and take" of the multilateral negotiating process. On the negative side, an overwhelming majority of participants had expressed deep concern and helplessness in that the European Economic Community and the United States had not been able to provide the trigger to the multilateral process in the absence of satisfactory results in their bilateral negotiations.

11. In short, there was a deep sense of crisis, since it appeared that the Round itself was in danger of being lost. In this sense, the message to the so-called G-7 countries by twenty-nine -- and now even more -- Uruguay Round participants (MTN.TNC/W/102) was only the tip of the iceberg. In fact, the demand of a very large number of delegations representing both developed and developing economies, as well as economies in transition, for a formal TNC meeting at this juncture stemmed from the urgent need to address precisely these concerns and to devise a strategy for unblocking the negotiations.

12. Drawing again from his most recent consultations, he saw a growing consensus in favour of the following conclusions for the present meeting:

- (i) The TNC recognized that the Round was faced with a crisis and that the negotiating machinery set up by the Committee remained blocked;
- (ii) The TNC noted the widespread feeling among members that the blockage was largely due to the inability of the European Economic Community and the United States to provide the trigger for the multilateral process in Geneva in the absence of satisfactory results in their bilateral negotiations;

- (iii) The TNC expressed dissatisfaction with this state of affairs, because <u>first</u>, the Round was a multilateral undertaking with a large number of major national interests involved, and <u>second</u>, further delay in activating the multilateral negotiating process might mean failure which neither the world economy nor the participating governments could afford;
- (iv) The TNC appealed to the European Economic Community and the United States, the two major trading entities in the multilateral trading system, to discharge their responsibilities in safeguarding and maintaining this system;
- (v) The TNC requested its Chairman at official level personally to bring these concerns to the notice of the authorities in charge of the Round in Brussels and in Washington and to urge their cooperation in re-starting multilateral negotiations in Geneva. It further requested its Chairman to keep it informed of the results of these contacts; and finally,
- (vi) The TNC asked its Chairman to propose a concrete work programme as soon as developments indicated a genuine readiness by all governments to engage in substantive negotiations in Geneva on the basis of transparency and mutual trust.

13. The <u>Chairman</u> then said that if the elements he had just outlined had the consensus of the present meeting, he would propose that the TNC approve them without any further delay. He would, of course, be calling a meeting of the Committee in the near future to report on developments.

14. The representatives of <u>Uruguay</u>, <u>Australia</u>, <u>Tanzania</u>, <u>Brazil</u>, <u>India</u>, <u>Malaysia on behalf of the ASEAN contracting parties</u>, <u>Canada</u>, <u>Japan</u>, <u>Hong Kong</u>, <u>Switzerland</u>, <u>Finland on behalf of the Nordic countries</u>, <u>Korea</u>, <u>Cuba</u>, <u>Chile</u>, <u>China</u>, <u>Morocco</u>, <u>Bolivia</u>, <u>New Zealand</u>, <u>Israel</u>, <u>Colombia</u>, <u>Hungary</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Turkey</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, the <u>Czech and Slovak Federal Republic</u>, <u>Peru</u>, <u>Costa Rica</u>, <u>Côte d'Ivoire</u>, <u>Tunisia</u>, <u>Uganda</u>, <u>Senegal</u>, <u>Madagascar</u> and <u>El Salvador</u> -- representing forty participating countries -- said that their respective countries welcomed the Chairman's statement and were in general agreement with his analysis of the present state of the Round.

15. The representative of <u>Uruguay</u> said that in carrying out instructions received from his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hector Gros Espiell, TNC Chairman, his delegation wished to voice its deep frustration felt by the whole of the international community, and by the developing countries in particular, over the very serious situation facing them and which had totally paralyzed the Round. This anomalous situation had postponed the beneficial effects on the international economy which would be generated by an increase in world trade as a result of the Round. He recalled that in the 1986 Punta del Este Ministerial Declaration, the CONTRACTING PARTIES had committed themselves to the defense of the GATT's underlying principles and to the development of a multilateral trading system which would be more

open, viable and lasting, with the purpose of bringing greater expansion of trade to the benefit of all countries, in particular the developing ones. The multilateral trade negotiations -- which according to the Punta del Este Declaration should have wound up in 1990 -- had now been going on for six years despite the fact that the technical work was well advanced -- in some cases even concluded -- in the negotiating committees and with the help of the GATT Secretariat. Therefore, a determined and firm political will was required which would make it possible to reach the ensuing necessary agreements for immediately concluding the Round. Uruguay, which for obvious reasons had followed very closely the evolution of this process, considered that action was required on the part of the Director-General. It therefore gave its determined support to any action undertaken by him with the authorities of the United States and those of the European Economic Community. Such an understanding, it believed, was of fundamental importance in order to re-establish a fertile dialogue which would channel all efforts towards a successful result of the Round negotiations as soon as possible.

16. The representative of <u>Australia</u> said that his delegation fully supported the thrust of the Chairman's statement and conclusions. Since the latter had captured very well the deep feelings of concern shared by many delegations at the impasse in the negotiations, and had specifically drawn attention to document MTN.TNC/W/102 containing the text of a message addressed to the G-7 leaders by some twenty-nine countries, he considered it appropriate to put on record that, since its publication, support thereon had been growing, as the Chairman himself had indicated; the following countries had subsequently indicated their wish to be identified as supporting the message: Bangladesh, Cuba, Cyprus, El Salvador and Romania. The number -- thirty-four -- and range of countries, covering all levels of development and all continents, was very characteristic and broadly supportive of the Chairman's own message.

The representative of Tanzania said that he trusted he was not by any 17. means alone in voicing a comment of relevance to the least-developed countries (LLDCs). First of all, he was aware of a wide-spread feeling that the sentiments the Chairman had so cogently expressed were shared by more than just a few contracting parties. They wished him all success in the initiative he was taking on behalf of the TNC in persuading those with the potential to put the Round back on course in the shortest possible time. All participating countries, not least the least-developed ones, needed a well-functioning multilateral trading system which reflected the realities of a fast changing world. The least-developed countries could not at all rejoice if it were to collapse, since, for them their future progress was at stake. The Chairman did not need to be told that not losing the opportunity to develop according to one's potential within the real constraints of deep structural character was not, by itself, a guarantee of a forward movement for the LLDCs. For this to happen, it was absolutely essential that the most advanced countries continued to demonstrate their understanding of the LLDCs' very special problems.

18. The representative of <u>Brazil</u> joined his country's voice to those who had already supported the Chairman's conclusions. It was high time that the multilateral system spoke out. Unlike often-misled public opinion, he

believed that the Round was not a bilateral deal concerning a handful of farmers on both sides of the Atlantic, or, indeed, the North Atlantic. This was a global trade negotiation of utmost importance for the world economy. At stake was the possibility of preserving a global system as well as the reforms that many countries had already initiated in anticipation of the Round's results. All had learnt from history that nothing was irreversible or could be taken for granted, and signs that some of the boldest reforms were in danger were already noticeable. The Chairman, as a representative of the multilateral system, should carry the message to the two main participants. The participating countries stood ready, and were even eager, to negotiate, but could only do so if, as the Chairman had very aptly put it, dramatic changes took place in the capitals of the main partners. Statesmanship, and not only salesmanship, had to be displayed for that purpose. The Chairman could count on Brazil's full support in his efforts.

19. The representative of India joined the others in saying that his delegation was in general agreement with the Chairman's analysis of the present state of the Round. At the TNC meeting in January, a work programme based on a four-track approach had been proposed and accepted. India had then clearly expressed itself in favour of an early end to the negotiations with clear and balanced results. It had expected then that, apart from undertaking the unfinished business in Tracks One and Two, and the work in Track Three, an opportunity would arise for multilateral negotiations in areas of concern to it. That had not happened. Leaving aside the question of strengthening the multilateral trading system through a successful conclusion of the Round, the very foundations of the present system were today under threat. That issue, of course, was not the direct responsibility of the TNC. However, participating governments were, in an overwhelming majority, the ones who bore responsibility to uphold the present system. India was, therefore, concerned and worried about the potential consequences of the existing situation. It hoped that the larger trading entities who bore a great responsibility for the continued operation and the health of the existing system -- and even towards their avowed objective of strengthening that system -- would create conditions for the resumption of the multilateral process in Geneva.

20. India therefore agreed with the Chairman's conclusions. It also agreed with him that one was also faced with a time constraint; much work had to be done multilaterally and the vast majority of participants should not have to be put before a "fait accompli". The negotiations had to be wound up in an orderly fashion which would include an assessment under Section D of the Punta del Este mandate. The TNC participants had a mandate to carry forward and conclude the negotiations. In conclusion, India stood ready to support the Chairman's efforts to bring the process of negotiations back to Geneva and to conclude them early and in a transparent and orderly fashion with fair and balanced results.

21. The representative of <u>Malaysia</u>, <u>speaking on behalf of the ASEAN</u> <u>contracting parties</u>, said that they welcomed the Chairman's statement and conclusions. They supported his efforts and hoped that both the United States and the European Economic Community would be equally constructive, and that their patience would yield fruitful results for all the Round participants.

22. The representative of <u>Canada</u> said that his delegation totally subscribed to the view that one was now in a crisis and that there was a need to re-start the multilateral process in Geneva. Canada therefore fully supported the decision for the TNC Chairman to act as he had proposed. It also shared the frustration and deep concern, not just for the Round, but for the well-being of the multilateral trading system itself. Finally, Canada noted that the decision taken at the present meeting called on all to show the necessary flexibility in working towards an early conclusion of the Round and, as had been the case from the outset of these negotiations, to play their full part in that process.

The representative of <u>Japan</u> said that lest Japan's silence be 23. misunderstood, he was speaking somewhat against his own advice to state that his delegation shared the Chairman's deep sense of crisis over the possible course of the present state of the Round negotiations, as well as his concern over the escalating trade dispute to which he had referred. For this reason, his delegation strongly endorsed and supported his proposals and joined in approving on a consensus basis the elements he had enumerated. Japan also strongly urged, as it had done in the past, that the multilateral negotiating process in Geneva be re-started as soon as possible and that the difficult questions that participants other than the European Community and the United States might have in respect of the proposed Draft Final Act also be duly dealt with in that process. His delegation stood ready to actively take part in the multilateral negotiations with a strong commitment so that the Round could be brought successfully to an early and acceptable conclusion.

24. The representative of <u>Hong Kong</u> said that his delegation welcomed and supported the Chairman's statement, and shared profoundly his concern that the present crisis not only threatened the progress of the Round, but also the very basis of the multilateral trading system. It hoped that his visits to Brussels and to Washington to carry the Round participants' concern would help resolve the crisis and enable an early re-start of the Round process. His delegation was fully committed to an early and successful conclusion of the Round.

The representative of <u>Switzerland</u> said that as the Chairman had 25. pointed out in his analysis of the situation, one was indeed now facing a dual crisis of the GATT system, i.e., the world trading system, and also the Round. In this respect, either one might be tempted to dramatize the situation or one could attempt to minimize the extent of the crisis. His delegation felt that while considering that the crisis was serious -- even dramatic -- it was not necessary to dramatize this situation basically because the oilseeds dispute between the United States and the Community, in Switzerland's view, had three characteristics: (1) the dispute was between the two largest economic powers of the world and the two most important participants in the Round; (2) it had involved in its wake a Round which could have incalculable consequences for the world economy; and (3) it had now become public. A commercial and economic dispute had now become a major crisis in economic and political relations. Having gone into the public domain and into the sphere of international politics, it could not be settled with the same methods as in the past. The risk that this crisis could no longer be controlled, as one had hoped it could be, had to be faced in the context of the present circumstances.

26. Thus, in the light of the seriousness of the situation, his delegation fully supported the Chairman in fulfilling the duties that had been entrusted to him, namely, to express to the Community and to the United States that the other participants in the negotiations were alarmed, and to remind them that while they might have had a negotiating possibility in the past which no other partners in the Round had enjoyed, the corollary to this freedom of action should be a greater, not only bilateral but also multilateral, responsibility. Switzerland would be very grateful if the Chairman could pass this message on to those two partners so that this dispute could be settled and that finally a true negotiating multilateral process could be pursued in Geneva, towards the conclusion of the Kound.

27. The representative of <u>Finland</u>, <u>speaking on behalf of the Nordic</u> <u>countries</u>, said that they associated themselves with the previous speakers who had underlined the urgency in the present situation. Not only was the Round in deep trouble, but so was the present GATT system, the strengthening of which was one of the main objectives of the Round. There was not much time left if the Round was to be kept within its target. The withering of the Round would be in no-one's interest and therefore the risks were high and increasing. The Nordic countries fully supported the Chairman and were ready to endorse the proposed conclusions of the present meeting. They trusted that the action he had outlined would bring the negotiations back to the multilateral track rapidly, and they were confident that the argency of the situation was clearly understood by all participants.

28. The representative of <u>Korea</u> also added his delegation's voice to the previous speakers in supporting the conclusions drawn in the Chairman's statement. Korea hoped the course of action he intended to take would help provide a catalyst for the two majors to come to an agreement, so that the multilateral process could be brought back in place as quickly as possible. Korea noted that, for the moment, the international Press also seemed to be united behind this urgent wish to conclude the Round as quickly as possible; this should also help the Chairman in successfully fulfilling his mission. His delegation reiterated the firm commitment of its Government to the successful conclusion of the Round.

29. The representative of <u>Cuba</u> said that his delegation shared the deep concern felt by the Chairman and the international community in light of the very serious situation faced not only by the Round, but also by the GATT and its credibility. Cuba had joined its voice to the Group of 29 which, as the Chairman had mentioned, had also supported the view that this message be transmitted. Furthermore, Cuba expressed its support for his proposal to the TNC. It also wished that those who were responsible for this situation be requested to take the necessary decision to enable the negotiations to resume in Geneva, thus making it possible to conclude the Round with fair and balanced results which all, in particular the developing countries, hoped to see.

30. The representative of <u>Chile</u> said that his country had, in the past few years, experienced a development which was fundamentally based on the opening up of its economy to foreign markets. As a small country with 13 million inhabitants, it might therefore represent many countries which

did not usually speak in this forum. Chile fully supported the Chairman's conclusions, as well as the mission he had offered to undertake. Chile simply wished to request that he transmit to the authorities of the countries to be visited the great significance of international trade for many of the developing countries' economies, especially at a time when the world economy was facing a period of uncertainty and extended difficulties in overcoming a recession, and when such small countries depended so heavily on exports -- for one out of every six jobs in Chile. That was what Chile was putting at stake in these negotiations, i.e., not just the possibility of not receiving benefits for the future, but rather running the risk of increased unemployment if there was no successful conclusion of the Round. Chile, therefore, fully supported the Chairman's proposed mission and hoped that a successful conclusion could be achieved as soon as possible.

31. The representative of <u>China</u> warmly thanked the Chairman for his efforts since the last TNC meeting at official level and fully supported his statement as well as his suggestion aimed at helping conclude the Round as early as possible with balanced results.

32. The representative of <u>Morocco</u> joined his country's voice to those who had firmly supported the Chairman's conclusions. Morocco also supported his efforts towards preserving the multilateral trading system based on stable, predictable and equitable rules. It hoped that his efforts would be successful and that the negotiating process would be brought back to Geneva as soon as possible, because, as the Chairman had often pointed out, time was running out.

33. The representative of <u>Bolivia</u> joined others who had expressed concerns with the situation now being faced and which could endanger not only the rules on which the multilateral trading system was based, but also the GATT's activities. His delegation hoped in particular to see a speedy conclusion of the Round. It was not for his delegation to identify or point at any guilty parties, but rather to express the generally-felt concern over a crisis which could bring about uncontrollable effects. Bolivia, a country with an open economic policy, saw world trade as perhaps the only possibility to succeed in achieving economic stability and growth. If the expected trade benefits did not materialize, the world crisis would be even further aggravated. His delegation urgently appealed that the parties concerned avoid confrontations and return to the negotiating table. Finally, Bolivia firmly supported the Chairman's conclusions and proposed mission.

34. The representative of <u>New Zealand</u> said that his delegation agreed with the Chairman's conclusions and supported his endeavours. It hoped his mission would help to establish the conditions for the multilateral process to resume in Geneva quickly.

35. The representative of <u>Israel</u> said that much had already been stated about the seriousness of the present situation and the dangers therein, the importance of the multilateral process and the urgent need to resume and finalize the Round. Israel, as a small country dependent on international trade, shared those views and urged the United States and the Community to find a solution to their dispute within the boundaries of the GATT dispute

settlement process and thus maintain the multilateral process. Israel supported the Chairman's efforts and conclusions, and hoped for an early conclusion to the Round.

36. The representative of <u>Colombia</u> said his delegation shared the Chairman's views and conclusions and supported his mission. Colombia appealed to the common sense and the sense of responsibility of the authorities in the United States and the Community so that a prompt solution could be found which would avoid unnecessary trauma to an already suffering world economy. For the developing world, a trade confrontation could be catastrophic and, as his Government had indicated the previous day at the United Nations General Assembly, it could be the cause of having the seeds of democracy that had been sown not bearing any fruit.

37. The representative of <u>Hungary</u> said that although silence normally meant consent, he felt it necessary to add his delegation's voice to the previous speakers and to indicate that Hungary shared the Chairman's analysis of the situation and fully agreed with his conclusions. It hoped that the participants' common objective -- to bring the Round to a successful conclusion -- could, and would be achieved as soon as possible.

38. The representative of <u>Pakistan</u> said that, like Hungary, he had been compelled to speak lest his delegation's silence be misinterpreted. Pakistan agreed with the Chairman's analysis of the state of affairs of the Round. Indeed, not only the Round, but the GATT system itself stood dangerously close to collapse and it was the duty of all to do their very best to avoid such a situation. The countries of the world could not afford to have to live with the consequences of the collapse of a system that they themselves had built and nurtured for all these years. Pakistan, too, urged the world's two largest economic entities to rise up to their responsibilities and to save the multilateral trading system from which they, too, had benefited. Pakistan fully supported the Chairman's efforts.

39. The representative of <u>Turkey</u> said his delegation fully agreed with the Chairman's assessment and shared his concerns. Turkey, therefore, fully supported his efforts towards the early conclusion of the Round.

40. The representative of <u>Nigeria</u> joined the previous speakers in extending his delegation's support to the Chairman's statement. Nigeria fully supported his conclusions and hoped that his proposed initiative would yield useful results so that the multilateral process could be re-started in Geneva.

41. The representative of the <u>Czech and Slovak Federal Republic</u> (CSFR) said that his Government joined the previous speakers in that the Chairman's remarks, conclusions and suggestions were right and could be fully supported. The CSFR, as a smaller contracting party which used to be for a long time managed by central planning, felt the necessity of living in a predictable trade environment with a strengthened multilateral trading system. It therefore hoped that one would finally be able to bring the Round to a successful end.

42. The representative of <u>Peru</u> said that his country fully supported the Chairman's efforts to re-start the process of negotiations and hoped to

receive from him very shortly and in the same forum, information on the successful results of his undertaking which would enable the participants to conclude this Round in Geneva as soon as possible and with equitable and halanced results.

43. The representative of <u>Costa Rica</u> said his delegation joined its voice to those which had supported the Chairman's conclusions and the work which he was undertaking on behalf of the TNC. The world economy required a successful conclusion of the Round negotiations and a strong multilateral trading system.

44. The representative of <u>Côte d'Ivoire</u> said that his delegation would not wish its silence to be understood as manifesting any indifference as to what was taking place in the GATT. Small developing countries such as his attached great importance to this whole matter. His delegation had listened to the Chairman's conclusions and also to the appeal he had made to the two entities which were at the very basis of the present crisis and which were now blocking the Round negotiations. His Government supported the Chairman's conclusions and the appeal that he had made. The picture, however, would not be complete without some reaction from the two delegations to which the Chairman had referred.

45. The representative of <u>Tunisia</u> said that as a developing country Tunisia fully appreciated the importance of the multilateral trading system for the smaller countries. It was aware of the fact that the problem being faced at present in the Round might not only undermine the efforts undertaken therein, but could also jeopardize the very foundations of the system since it also threatened its dispute settlement mechanism. For this reason, Tunisia supported the Chairman's assessment of the present situation and his initiatives to bring about not only a breakthrough to the present impasse, but also to the multilateral character of the situation.

46. The representative of <u>Uganda</u> said that his delegation also wished to add Uganda's name to the many countries that had strongly supported the Chairman's initiatives and the course of action he had just proposed in relation to the long-stalled multilateral trade negotiations. The Round had faced a very long and frustrating period over the years, and with the current Brussels/Washington positions, the Round was faced with a possible death threat. His delegation hoped, therefore, that the Chairman would persuade the officials in the two capitals to cooperate and lend support to an early resumption of the multilateral trade negotiations.

47. The representative of <u>Senegal</u> said his delegation also subscribed to the comments made by previous speakers in voicing their full support for the Chairman's conclusions and also for his efforts towards re-initiating the negotiating process and ensuring the best possible balance therein.

48. The representative of <u>Madagascar</u> said that in order to safeguard the negotiating process, as well as to ensure the credibility of the multilateral trading system, her delegation supported the Chairman's conclusions. It hoped that the different bilateral disputes between the two major trading parties would not constitute a permanent barrier to the progress in the multilateral process on which the economy of the whole

world depended. It welcome the Chairman's efforts undertaken in order to resolve the situation.

49. The representative of <u>El Salvador</u> said that her country subscribed to the comments made by the previous speakers. It believed that the economy of countries such as hers urgently needed to see a reactivation of the world economy. The end of the Round and the preservation of the world trading system were of fundamental importance. El Salvador therefore fully supported the Chairman's proposal.

The representative of the European Communities said that this was a 50. grave moment, a high risk situation. Everything had to be undertaken to avoid an escalation and irreparable damage. In order to do this, two things were required. First, one should not dwell on the past, but rather try and draw on the lessons learnt and help look towards the future and channel all energy and know-how. Second, he stressed that one also had to look beyond domestic interests -- however respectable such interests might be, particularly when they were specific and sectoral -- in order to manifest good faith, goodwill and, above all, courage, in such a way that a global balance could be achieved both at the domestic and collective levels. In short, one had to put in the balance the short- and even medium-term interests with the long-term interest. He drew attention to the fact that he was using the plural, i.e., short-, medium-term interests with, in the singular, the long-term interest. It was easy enough to get drawn into a spiral, but it was very difficult, sometimes even impossible, to pull out of that spiral. Therefore, the only chance of salvation and overcoming the difficulties were the two approaches he had just mentioned.

These were the Community's concerns which he wanted to share with the 51. participants because they were underlying all the Chairman's very sober and balanced six-point conclusions. However, he could only go along with four points of these conclusions: the first, second, third and sixth points. He was not in a position to subscribe to points four and five for the good reason that the Community and the United States were in fact the addressees of these two points and it would therefore be more appropriate for the CONTRACTING PARTIES as a whole, with the exception of these two, to address this message to Washington and to Brussels. He committed himself to recommending to and calling on his authorities to listen to the appeals of, and to receive, the message from the TNC as whole, asking them to give it their closest attention, their most detailed consideration, and to heed the appeals asking them to hear their partners, in particular the appeal made by the thirty-four countries to the G-7. He had listened very carefully to his colleagues and this appeal should also be put into the balance.

52. The representative of <u>United States</u> said that his delegation had listened very carefully to all the statements and it was quite apparent that there was a very broad and very deep consensus for an initiative by the TNC Chairman to intensify the search for an urgent solution to the very difficult outstanding problems. It was obvious why his delegation had not joined earlier in this debate because, as the Community had said, it would have been unusual for him to take the floor to urge the participants to deliver a message to his own capital. He could, however, say at this point that his Government would welcome this involvement and would do everything

in its power to provide a constructive forum for any discussions that took place over the coming days. The present meeting, as the Community had said, was not a time for looking back, but rather for looking forward to what could be done collectively to avoid a disastrous failure of the international trading system and to secure the success that all knew was in the best interests of the world economy. This was an urgent matter. The United States recognized the important responsibility it had to show leadership and continuity at this critical juncture. He believed that both the President and the President-elect had given clear signals as to the United States' commitment to a successful outcome for a good world trade agreement. Obviously, all had work to do and his Government wanted to pledge its best efforts to this endeavour. He hoped one could get on with the task.

53. The <u>Chairman</u> proposed that the Trade Negotiations Committee take note of the statements made and of the assessment of the situation he had presented. He further proposed that the Committee approve the conclusions, as to the next steps, which he had outlined in his introductory remarks (paragraph 12 above).

54. The Trade Negotiations Committee so decided.

55. The <u>Chairman</u> thanked the participants for their unanimous support for the multilateral system. He accepted the mandate they had given him and counted on their continued support in fulfilling his responsabilities. The TNC remained on call and he would report on further developments as soon as possible.