

**COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION
WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION**

**REGIONAL WORKSHOPS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS
ON THE
MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEM**



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The purpose of the present publication is threefold:

To provide basic information on the multilateral trading system and Doha Development Agenda – essentially repeating core material provided to parliamentarians at two workshops held in Cape Town in May 2003 and Port-of-Spain in July 2003. (Note that in light of recent events, including the Fifth Session of the WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancún, the basic information has been updated since the workshops took place and is current as at end-September 2003);

To provide a summary of some of the issues raised at the Cape Town and Port-of-Spain workshops. Parliamentarians shared many insights and concerns and these will be of interest to a wider readership;

To explore some of the issues involved in a parliamentary dimension of the multilateral trading system and offer practical tips to parliamentarians who might wish further to familiarise themselves with the international trade agenda.

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**Foreword by Hon. Denis Marshall, QSO
Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association**



In late February 2002, the CPA organised a Study Group in Saint Lucia on Parliament and the International Trading System. The Group consisted of eight parliamentarians from all regions of the CPA and some technical advisers. The aim was to examine the implications for parliamentarians of developments relevant to strengthening world trade in a rules-based international trading system. The report from this meeting recommended steps to assist parliamentarians to be able to influence key areas of discussion and debate in the area of trade.

This work has now progressed to a series of Regional Workshops for Parliamentarians, organized in partnership with the WTO - the first time in which the CPA and the WTO have joined together formally to arrange programmes for parliamentarians. We hope these meetings are the first of several joint projects in the future with the WTO which will assist us in our work to ensure a parliamentary input to international cooperation and to extend the influence of Commonwealth Members in the global community.

I would like to thank WTO Members for agreeing to co-fund these workshops and, in particular, the Director-General of the WTO, Dr. Supachai, who is keen to develop the relationship between the WTO and parliamentarians. This work is important as parliaments are the principal democratic institution which can communicate trade issues to the people while scrutinizing the actions of governments and influencing the direction and outcomes of trade talks.

Over fifty parliamentarians from Branches in the CPA Africa, and Caribbean, Americas and Atlantic regions took part in the workshops. Three members of the CPA Executive Committee participated in the programme: Hon. Dev Ramnah, MP (Mauritius); Senator, the Hon. Constance Simelane (Swaziland) and Hon. Leroy Rogers, MLA (Anguilla). Senator Peter Cook of Australia, a member of the original CPA Study Group, acted as the leading parliamentary resource person at both events.

The CPA and the WTO would like to acknowledge the hosts of the two workshops – the CPA Branches in the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago – and also express appreciation to the governments of South Africa and Trinidad and Tobago respectively for their support and involvement. Thanks are extended as well to the guest speakers, trade experts, resource persons and regional organizations that participated. Finally, we extend our profound appreciation to the parliamentary participants for their engagement and enthusiasm in all aspects of the two workshops.

**Hon. Denis Marshall, QSO
Secretary-General**

**Foreword by Dr. Supachai Panitchpakdi
Director-General of the World Trade Organization**



In recent years, the interest of parliamentarians in international trade matters has grown steadily. I welcome this interest and believe it is correct and proper. While it is for governments to negotiate international trade rules and agreements, as legitimate representatives of the people who elect them, parliamentarians have a constitutional role to consider and ratify these agreements and implement their provisions through domestic legislation and appropriate budgetary allocations.

WTO's current drive to engage with parliamentarians also recognises the wider role they can play in terms of bringing international organizations and people closer together. Specifically, parliamentarians can help explain the workings and benefits of the trading system; parliamentarians can help citizens understand and cope with the complexities of globalization; and parliamentarians can also encourage greater awareness and informed debate on international trade issues.

In addition, as legitimate representatives of the people, parliamentarians provide an important interface between the people, civil society and government. Thus, in my view it is vital that we assist parliamentarians to perform their duties effectively. The greater their understanding of what our agreements are all about and what is happening at the WTO, the more effective the WTO will be as an organization. Or, expressed conversely, I strongly believe parliamentarians will benefit from knowing about trade-related processes that may potentially affect the communities they represent, and from having opportunity as well to make known the interests and concerns of their constituents.

It has been a pleasure working with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to organise two regional workshops in 2003 in Cape Town and Port-of-Spain respectively. These workshops have allowed us to share with parliamentarians a wealth of information concerning the multilateral trading system and Doha Development Agenda. The workshops have allowed us as well to engage directly with stakeholders on a parliamentary dimension of WTO. We have learnt a great deal too; as you will see in the pages to follow, parliamentarians are not shy in expressing their views, concerns and insights with respect to the international trading system.

Since the workshops were held, the WTO has recently suffered a disappointment at our Ministerial Conference in Cancún in September 2003. Because Ministers were unable to reach consensus on how to carry our work forward in a number of areas, the future of some issues is now uncertain. Ministers did, however, reaffirm all their Doha Declarations and Decisions and recommit themselves to working to implement these decisions and declarations fully and faithfully. This remains our point of departure as we work to get the process back on track. And as we undertake our work, we must also bring with us all sectors of civil society, including of course parliamentarians.

I hope you find this report a useful summary of initiatives undertaken jointly by CPA and WTO in the current year, and informative in terms of the Doha Development Agenda and the potential benefits offered by this agenda to people in all parts of the globe.

**Dr. Supachai Panitchpakdi
Director-General**

SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION



Introduction

In 2003, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) and World Trade Organization (WTO) cooperated for the first time jointly to organise two regional initiatives on trade issues in the Africa and Caribbean regions respectively.

The CPA/WTO Regional Workshop for African Parliamentarians took place in Cape Town, South Africa, from 19 to 22 May 2003 and brought together more than 30 parliamentarians from 14 English-speaking African countries. The workshop also involved South African government officials, guest speakers, trade experts and resource persons from both CPA and WTO.

Similarly, the CPA/WTO Regional Workshop for Caribbean Parliamentarians was held in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, from 28 to 30 July 2003 and involved 28 parliamentarians from 8 WTO Member countries and 4 non-WTO Member countries. There was also involvement from Trinidad government officials, guest speakers, trade experts, resource persons and some regional organizations.

The objectives of both workshops were the same: to foster greater understanding of and interest in the multilateral trading system; to inform parliamentarians on the basic operations of the WTO and current issues on the international trade agenda, and to encourage exchanges of views and ideas among parliamentarians on trade-related and development-related issues of particular relevance to the Africa and Caribbean regions.

Towards these objectives, workshop programmes included introductory sessions on the WTO and Doha Development Agenda and presentations and discussions on specific areas of the international trade agenda including agriculture, services, market access for non-agricultural products, intellectual property, dispute settlement, trade and environment, development issues and technical cooperation.

As well, in both workshops, local experts were invited to make presentations on trade and development issues and also to reflect on some of the challenges facing Africa and the Caribbean respectively in participating in the multilateral trading system. Throughout the workshops, parliamentarians considered their role in multilateral processes and ways to increase parliamentary awareness of the WTO agenda.

Feedback has shown the workshops were timely. Parliamentarians appreciated the level at which the workshops were pitched (ie, introductory). They also appreciated the information provided on the multilateral system and Doha Development Agenda and the opportunity to explore in detail some of the more crucial aspects of the current negotiations. Parliamentarians particularly welcomed presentations by experts from the two regions and insights provided by resource persons with direct multilateral negotiating experience.

The two workshops were highly interactive and parliamentarians laid down many strong challenges. In both Cape Town and Port-of-Spain, parliamentarians approached issues principally from a developing country perspective. Thus, while acknowledging the need for an effective system to manage global trade between nations, many parliamentarians questioned the fairness of the current system and the ability of this system to deliver on the developmental aspirations of poor countries – particularly in key areas such as agriculture, non-agricultural market access and trade in services.

These concerns notwithstanding, parliamentarians in both Cape Town and Port-of-Spain underscored the importance of developing countries remaining engaged and pursuing actively their interests in the current round of multilateral negotiations.

Discussions on a parliamentary dimension of WTO were wide-ranging. Parliamentarians emphasised their constitutional role to consider WTO agreements and implement their provisions through appropriate domestic legislation. But they added that often they did not have adequate information on the agreements to enable their decisions to be fully informed ones.

Many parliamentarians also referred to a lack of parliamentary involvement when governments are preparing national negotiating positions and a lack of regular reporting by executive branches to keep legislators informed of the evolution of negotiations. While recognising these are essentially issues between national executives and legislatures, parliamentarians urged greater effort by organizations like CPA and WTO to ensure relevant information is made available.

Finally, parliamentarians urged follow-up to the present workshops and also suggested further initiatives be undertaken in other regions. There were also calls for the provision of technical assistance and capacity building to enable parliamentarians further to build up their understanding of the multilateral system.

The Cape Town and Port-of-Spain workshops have shown the high level of interest among parliamentarians in trade issues. It is on this basis that CPA and WTO hope to continue these types of workshops in the future. At the same time, the workshops have also shown the lack of easily digestible information available to parliamentarians on WTO and trade issues. Accordingly, there are a number of aspects to the present report:

-In Section Two, we provide basic information on the multilateral trading system and Doha Development Agenda – essentially repeating core material from the workshops. We hope this material will be useful to a wide readership of parliamentarians. It is not practical in the present report to summarise the entire work programme. Instead we set out the mandates in some (not all) of the key areas of the negotiations and provide references and website details so readers can follow up directly. We have also updated the basic information to be current as at end-September 2003.

-*In Section Three*, we provide a summary of some of the issues raised in the Cape Town and Port-of-Spain workshops. Parliamentarians shared many insights and concerns and these will be of interest to a wider readership. We do not report verbatim on the discussions but instead offer brief summaries of some of key areas of discussion.

-*In Section Four*, we explore some of the issues involved in a parliamentary dimension of the multilateral trading system and offer practical tips to parliamentarians who might wish further to familiar themselves with the international trade agenda.

On the Website

www.wto.org

You can find information on the multilateral trading system on the WTO website – www.wto.org. The site is created around 'gateways' leading to various subjects – for example, the 'trade topics' gateway or the 'Doha Development Agenda' gateway. Each gateway provides links to all material on its subject.

References in this text show you where to find the material. This is in the form of a path through gateways, starting with the navigation links on the top right of the WTO homepage or any other page on the site. For example, to find material on the current agriculture negotiations, you go through this series of gateways and links:

www.wto.org > trade topics > goods > agriculture > agriculture negotiations

You can follow this path, either by clicking directly on the links, or via drop-down menus that will appear in most browsers when you place your cursor over the 'trade topics' link at the top of any web page on the site.

On the Website

www.cpahq.org

Through its activities and publications, the CPA promotes debate on the important contemporary issues for members of the Commonwealth. It also seeks to develop awareness of the vital role Commonwealth Parliaments can play in these policy debates – including, of course, the role of parliamentarians in the international trading system. The report of the February 2002 CPA Study Group on Parliamentarians and the International Trading System is available on the site.

You can find information on the various activities of the CPA and parliamentary developments across the Commonwealth on the CPA website – www.cpahq.org. The site includes a directory of Parliaments and Legislatures within the Association and lists the Officers of the Association and current members of the CPA Executive Committee.

The website was launched with a new design in October 2003. The site will be further expanded to feature online news, event management and communications and commerce facilities.

SECTION TWO

OVERVIEW



1. Overview of the Multilateral Trading System

The World Trade Organization came into being in 1995. However, the history and background of the multilateral trading system extends back much further.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

After the global recession in the 1930s and devastation of the Second World War, many governments identified trade as a key factor in rebuilding economies by generating growth and maintaining political stability. This view (coupled with an aborted attempt in the 1940s to establish an International Trade Organization), led to the signing of a provisional agreement by 23 contracting parties in 1948 called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)¹. From 1948 to 1994, and even though it was provisional, the GATT provided the rules for much of world trade and presided over periods that saw some of the highest growth rates in international commerce.

Much of the growth was achieved through a series of eight multilateral trade negotiations known as 'trade rounds'. In all trade rounds, the concentration was on reducing tariffs. In the latter rounds, however, other elements were also addressed or introduced. The Kennedy Round in the mid-1960s, for example, brought about a GATT Anti-Dumping Agreement and a section on development; the Tokyo Round in the 1970s saw the first major attempt to tackle trade barriers that do not take the form of tariffs, and to improve the system. By the 1980s, the system under the GATT needed a thorough overhaul. This led to the Uruguay round of trade negotiations from 1986 to 1994.

¹ Eventually, the GATT became two things: (1) an international agreement, ie, a document setting out rules for conducting trade, and (2) an ad hoc international organization created to support the agreement.

It took seven and a half years, almost twice the original schedule. By the end, however, there were 123 participants and the final agreements² covered almost all trade; from toothbrushes to pleasure boats, from banking to telecommunications, from the genes of wild rice to AIDS treatments. The Uruguay Round was quite simply the largest trade negotiation ever, and most probably the largest negotiation of any kind in history. It brought about the biggest reform of the world's trading system and led to the creation of the World Trade Organization.

The GATT trade rounds			
Year	Place/ name	Subjects covered	Countries
1947	Geneva	Tariffs	23
1949	Annecy	Tariffs	13
1951	Torquay	Tariffs	38
1956	Geneva	Tariffs	26
1960–1961	Geneva (Dillon Round)	Tariffs	26
1964–1967	Geneva (Kennedy Round)	Tariffs and anti-dumping measures	62
1973–1979	Geneva (Tokyo Round)	Tariffs, non-tariff measures, 'framework' agreements	102
1986–1994	Geneva (Uruguay Round)	Tariffs, non-tariff measures, rules, services, intellectual property, dispute settlement, textiles, agriculture, creation of WTO, etc	123

World Trade Organization

Today, the WTO is the only international organization dealing with the global rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations. These documents provide the legal ground-rules for international commerce. They are essentially contracts, binding governments to keep their trade policies within agreed limits. Although negotiated and signed by governments, the goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters and importers, conduct their business, while allowing governments to meet social and environmental objectives.

The WTO is very different from the GATT and deals with a much wider range of issues and concerns. Whereas GATT had mainly dealt with trade in goods, the WTO and its agreements also cover trade in services, and in traded inventions, creations and designs (intellectual property). Put simply, the WTO's main objective is to help trade flow smoothly, freely, fairly and predictably. It pursues this objective by:

- administering WTO trade agreements
- acting as a forum for trade negotiations
- settling trade disputes
- reviewing national trade policies
- assisting developing countries in trade policy issues, through technical assistance/training, and
- cooperating with other international organizations.

² The table of contents of "The Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations: The Legal Texts" is a daunting list of around 60 agreements, annexes, decisions and understandings.

The WTO has 146 Members³, accounting for 90% of world trade. Members are mostly governments but can also be customs territories. Approximately three-quarters of the Members are developing countries, least developed countries and customs territories; a quarter are developed countries. At the present time, nearly 30 applicants are negotiating to become members of the WTO.

The WTO is a member-driven organization and decisions are taken by the entire membership, typically by consensus. The WTO's top level decision-making body is the Ministerial Conference which meets at least once every two years.⁴ In the intervals between sessions of the Ministerial Conference, the next highest-level decision-making body is the General Council where Members are usually represented by ambassadors or heads of delegation. The General Council acts on behalf of the Ministerial Conference and oversees the work and management of the WTO. The General Council also meets as the Trade Policy Review Body and Dispute Settlement Body. At the next level, the Council for Trade in Goods, Council for Trade in Services and TRIPS Council all report to the General Council.

Numerous specialized committees, working groups, and working parties deal with individual agreements and other important areas such as the environment, development, membership applications, regional trade agreements, trade and investment, trade and competition policy, and transparency in government procurement. Electronic commerce is being studied by various councils and committees. The working languages of the WTO are English, French and Spanish.

The WTO Secretariat, with offices only in Geneva, has 596 regular staff and is headed by a Director-General. Since decisions are taken by Members only, the Secretariat has no decision-making powers. Its main duties are to supply technical and professional support for the various councils and committees, to provide technical assistance for developing countries, to monitor and analyze developments in world trade, to provide information to the public and the media, and to organise the ministerial conferences. The Secretariat also provides some forms of legal assistance in the dispute settlement process and advises governments wishing to become Members of the WTO.

2. Basic Principles

The WTO agreements are lengthy and complex. They cover a vast array of subjects including agriculture, services, intellectual property, the environment, settlement of disputes, and much, much more. There are, however, a number of simple and fundamental principles that run throughout all the documents.

Non-discrimination - Two key principles are involved here: Most-favoured-nation treatment – Under the WTO Agreements, countries cannot normally discriminate between their trading partners. Grant someone a special favour (such as a lower customs duty rate for one of their products) and you are obliged to do the same for all other WTO Members. This principle is known as most-favoured-nation treatment. National Treatment – This is about treating foreigners and locals equally. Under the main WTO agreements, imported and locally-produced goods should be treated equally – at least after the foreign goods have entered the market. National treatment only applies once a product, service or item of intellectual property has entered the market. Therefore, charging customs duty on an import is not a violation of national treatment even if locally produced products are not charged an equivalent tax.

³ 146 Members as at August 2003. At the WTO Conference in Cancún in September 2003, two new Members were approved – Cambodia and Nepal. Once their ratifications are achieved, the number of WTO Members will increase to 148.

⁴ WTO Ministerial Conferences have been held in Singapore in 1996, Geneva in 1998, Seattle in 1999, Doha in 2001, and Cancún in 2003.

Freer trade - The WTO is about helping trade flow openly and fairly among Members. Lowering trade barriers is one of the most obvious means of encouraging trade. The barriers concerned include both tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers.

Predictability - Sometimes, promising not to raise a trade barrier can be as important as lowering one, because the promise gives businesses a clearer view of their future opportunities. With predictability and stability, investment is encouraged, jobs are created and consumers can enjoy the benefits of competition – choice and lower prices. In the WTO, when countries agree to open their markets for goods or services, they ‘bind’ their commitments.

Promoting fair competition - The WTO is sometimes described as a ‘free trade’ institution, but that is not entirely accurate. For example, the system does allow tariffs and, in limited circumstances, other forms of protection. More accurately described, the WTO is a system of rules dedicated to open, fair and undistorted competition.

Special Provisions for Developing Countries - The WTO system contributes to development. At the same time, the system recognises that developing countries need flexibility in the time they take to implement the various WTO agreements. And the agreements themselves inherit the earlier provisions of GATT that allow for special assistance and trade concessions for developing countries.

3. Doha Development Agenda

Work Programme

At the Fourth WTO Conference in Doha, Qatar, in November 2001, Ministers adopted a Ministerial Declaration and other decisions setting out a work programme for the WTO for the coming years.⁵ The work programme is sometimes referred to as the Doha Development Agenda.

The work programme includes specific negotiations in a range of areas including agriculture, services, market access for non-agricultural products, aspects of intellectual property, rules (covering antidumping, subsidies and countervailing measures, and regional trade agreements), dispute settlement, and aspects of trade and environment.

Negotiations in the areas of trade and investment, trade and competition policy, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation were also due to begin after the Fifth Session of the Ministerial Conference in Cancún - on the basis of decisions to be taken, by explicit consensus, at that session on modalities of negotiations in these areas.⁶

Other elements of the work programme which do not involve specifically mandated negotiations relate to additional aspects of intellectual property and trade and environment, electronic commerce, small economies, trade, debt and finance, trade and transfer of technology, technical cooperation, least-developed countries, and special and differential treatment.

⁵ The topics listed in the Ministerial Declaration are: Implementation-Related Issues and Concerns; Agriculture; Services; Market Access for Non-Agricultural Products; Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights; Relationship between Trade and Investment; Interaction between Trade and Competition Policy; Transparency in Government Procurement; Trade Facilitation; WTO Rules; Dispute Settlement Understanding; Trade and Environment; Electronic Commerce; Small Economies; Trade, Debt and Finance; Trade and Transfer of Technology; Technical Cooperation and Capacity Building; Least-Developed Countries; Special and Differential Treatment.

⁶ Note, however, that in the absence of consensus among Ministers in Cancún on these and other issues, Members are presently considering the action necessary to enable WTO to move towards a successful and timely conclusion of the negotiations – refer section below on the Cancún Ministerial Conference.

Ministers in Doha also adopted a Decision on Implementation-Related Issues and Concerns. Under this Decision, Ministers took immediate action on a number of problems faced by developing country Members with regard to implementation of WTO Agreements. Ministers further agreed negotiations on outstanding implementation issues should be an integral part of the work programme; and they gave directions regarding the management of these issues.

A Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health was also adopted in Doha in response to concerns expressed about the possible implications of the TRIPS Agreement for access to drugs. The Declaration affirmed that the TRIPS Agreement can and 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. It further reaffirmed the right of WTO Members to use, to the full, the provisions of the TRIPS Agreement which provide flexibility for this purpose.

In the Declaration, Ministers recognised that WTO Members with insufficient or no manufacturing capacities in the pharmaceutical sector could face difficulties in making effective use of compulsory licensing under the TRIPS Agreement. Accordingly, Ministers instructed the TRIPS Council to find a solution to this problem and to report to the General Council. Subsequently, specific action on this matter was taken by the General Council in August 2003.

Organization and Management of the Work Programme

The negotiations being pursued under the terms of the Doha Ministerial Declaration are scheduled to conclude not later than 1 January 2005 (in many areas, the Declaration also specifies intermediate deadlines). Exceptions are the negotiation on improvements and clarifications of the Dispute Settlement Understanding, originally scheduled to end by May 2003 and now extended to May 2004, and the negotiation on the establishment of a multilateral register of geographical indications for wines and spirits, which was due for completion by the time of the Fifth Session of the WTO Ministerial Conference.⁷

The overall conduct of the Doha negotiations is supervised by a Trade Negotiations Committee under the authority of the General Council. The Director-General serves as Chairman of the Trade Negotiations Committee and negotiations on individual subjects are conducted in new groups for market access and rules and in special sessions of existing bodies for agriculture, services, intellectual property, dispute settlement and the environment.⁸ Subsidiary bodies report to the Trade Negotiations Committee.

Various principles and arrangements govern the work programme. First, with one exception (negotiation on the Dispute Settlement Understanding), the conduct, conclusion and entry into force of the outcome of the negotiations is treated as parts of a single undertaking. Put simply, this means that in the negotiations, 'nothing is agreed until everything is agreed'.

Second, while the negotiations are open to Members as well as states and separate customs territories in the process of joining the WTO (or intending to join), decisions on the outcomes of the negotiations can only be taken by Members.

⁷ This latter deadline was not met – see section below on the Cancún Ministerial Conference.

⁸ At its first meeting in January 2002, the Trade Negotiations Committee agreed to a structure for the work it would oversee comprising the following bodies: Special Session of the Committee on Agriculture; Special Session of the Council for Trade in Services; Negotiating Group on Market Access; Special Session of the Council for TRIPS; Negotiating Group on Rules; Special Session of the Dispute Settlement Body; Special Session of the Committee on Trade and Environment; and Special Session of the Committee on Trade and Development. This listing was without prejudice to the position of any Member on the latter body.

Third, the negotiations must be conducted in a transparent manner among participants in order to facilitate the effective participation of all; they must also be conducted with a view to ensuring benefits to all participants and to achieving an overall balance in the outcome of the negotiations.

Fourth, the negotiations and the other aspects of the work programme must take fully into account the principle of special and differential treatment for developing and least-developed countries. Fifth, the Committee on Trade and Development and the Committee on Trade and Environment have been designated to identify and debate developmental and environmental aspects of the negotiations, in order to help achieve the objective of having sustainable development appropriately reflected.

With regard to the elements of the work programme that do not involve negotiations, these are accorded high priority. They are being pursued in various WTO bodies, under the overall supervision of the General Council.

4. Selected Mandates of the Doha Development Agenda

Based on the subject areas of most interest to parliamentarians in Cape Town and Port-of-Spain, and drawing also from presentations made, the following detailed comments are provided on selected mandates of the Doha Development Agenda:

Development - Noting that the majority of WTO Members are developing countries, Ministers in Doha determined to place their needs and interests at the heart of the work programme. Ministers also reaffirmed their commitment to make positive efforts to ensure developing countries, and especially the least-developed among them, can secure a share in the growth of world trade commensurate with the needs of their economic development. Ministers also gave particular recognition to the vulnerability of least-developed countries and the special structural difficulties they face in the global economy. Ministers committed themselves to addressing the marginalization of least-developed countries in international trade and to improving their effective participation in the trading system.

Most, if not all, negotiating mandates and other work activities in the Doha Ministerial Declaration refer to such matters as the importance of the development dimension, special and differential treatment, the priorities of developing countries, and the need for technical assistance and capacity building. Some of these matters are taken up in distinct sections in the Declaration. In addition, developing countries were instrumental in putting certain other issues on the agenda such as small economies, trade, debt and finance, trade and transfer of technology, least-developed countries, and implementation issues. In the eyes of many, the 'Doha Development Agenda' is not just a description reflecting the pervasiveness of development issues in the Ministerial Declaration and associated decisions; it is also a benchmark against which the results of the negotiations will be judged.

Agriculture - Building on work already undertaken (initiated under Article 20 of the Agreement on Agriculture), and without prejudging the outcome of the negotiations, Ministers in Doha committed themselves to comprehensive negotiations aimed at: substantial improvements in market access; reductions of, with a view to phasing out, all forms of export subsidies; and substantial reductions in trade-distorting domestic support. Ministers further agreed that special and differential treatment for developing countries shall be an integral part of all elements of the negotiations and shall be embodied in the Schedules of concessions and commitments and as appropriate in the rules and disciplines to be negotiated. Ministers confirmed as well that non-trade concerns will be taken into account in the negotiations as provided for in the Agreement on Agriculture. In the timetable established by Ministers, modalities ('formulas') for the further commitments were to be established by 31 March 2003; participants were to submit their comprehensive draft Schedules based on these modalities by the time of the Fifth Session of the Ministerial Conference. As at end-September 2003, while much progress has been achieved, including at Cancún, agreement is yet to be reached on modalities.

Trade in Services - Under Article XIX of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (1995), Members agreed to enter into successive rounds of negotiations, beginning not later than five years from the date of entry into force of the WTO Agreement and periodically thereafter, with a view to achieving a progressively higher level of liberalization (in trade in services). Accordingly, the services negotiations started officially in early 2000. In March 2001 the Council for Trade in Services (Special Session) fulfilled a key element in the negotiating mandate by establishing guidelines and procedures for the negotiations. In the Ministerial Declaration adopted in Doha, Ministers agreed the negotiations on trade in services shall be conducted with a view to promoting the economic growth of all trading partners and the development of developing and least-developed countries. Ministers also recognized the work already undertaken, reaffirmed the guidelines and principles agreed earlier as the basis for continuing the negotiations, and established a timetable including submission of initial offers by 31 March 2003. As at end-September 2003, 35 WTO Members (the EC as one), have submitted their initial offers. More offers are expected to be submitted in the near future.

Market Access for Non-Agricultural Products - In the Doha Ministerial Declaration, Ministers agreed to negotiations which shall aim, by modalities to be agreed, to reduce or as appropriate eliminate tariffs, including the reduction or elimination of tariff peaks, high tariffs, and tariff escalation, as well as non-tariff barriers, in particular on products of export interest to developing countries. Ministers further agreed product coverage shall be comprehensive and without a priori exclusions, and that the negotiations shall take fully into account the special needs and interests of developing and least-developed country participants. On 19 July 2002, the Negotiating Group on Market Access adopted its Programme of Meetings for the Negotiations on Market Access for Non-Agricultural Products, which included, inter alia, the date of 31 May 2003 for reaching agreement on modalities for the negotiations. As at end-September 2003, while much progress has been achieved and work done, Members are yet to reach agreement on modalities.

Singapore Issues – In Doha, Ministers agreed that negotiations in the areas of Trade and Investment, Trade in Competition Policy, Transparency in Government Procurement and Trade Facilitation should take place after the Fifth Session of the Ministerial Conference on the basis of decisions to be taken, by explicit consensus, at that session on modalities of negotiations in the respective areas. However, in the absence of consensus among Ministers in Cancún on these and other issues, Members are presently considering the action necessary to enable WTO to move towards a successful and timely conclusion of the negotiations.

Intellectual Property - With a view to completing the work started in the Council for Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (Council for TRIPS) on the implementation of Article 23.4 of the Agreement on TRIPS, Ministers in Doha agreed to negotiate the establishment of a multilateral system of notification and registration of geographical indications for wines and spirits by the Fifth Session of the Ministerial Conference. The deadline was not reached and further work remains to be done in this area.

Dispute Settlement Understanding - Ministers in Doha agreed to negotiations on improvements and clarifications of the Dispute Settlement Understanding. Ministers further agreed the negotiations should be based on 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 a meeting on 24 July 2003, the General Council agreed to extend the timeframe for negotiations in the Dispute Settlement Body Special Session (which is reviewing rules for dispute settlement) until 31 May 2004.

Trade and Environment - Ministers in Doha agreed to negotiations, without prejudging their outcome, on the relationship between existing WTO rules and specific trade obligations set out in multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs); procedures for regular information exchange between MEA Secretariats and the relevant WTO committees, and the criteria for the granting of observer

status; and the reduction or, as appropriate, elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers to environmental goods and services. These aspects are still being addressed.

5. Cancún Ministerial Conference

The Fifth Session of the WTO Ministerial Conference took place in Cancún, Mexico, from 10 to 14 September 2003. Under the mandate agreed by Ministers two years earlier, the key objectives at this session were to take stock of progress in the negotiations, provide any necessary political guidance, and take decisions as necessary.

While progress was made in Cancún, Ministers were unable to reach consensus on how to carry work forward in a number of important areas. As a consequence, Ministers have instructed officials to continue working on outstanding issues and to convene a meeting of the General Council at Senior Officials level in December 2003 to take the action necessary to allow the process to move forward. The relevant paragraphs from the Cancún Ministerial Statement read as follows:

"3. All participants have worked hard and constructively to make progress as required under the Doha mandates. We have, indeed, made considerable progress. However, more work needs to be done in some key areas to enable us to proceed towards the conclusion of the negotiations in fulfilment of the commitments we took at Doha.

"4. We therefore instruct our officials to continue working on outstanding issues with a renewed sense of urgency and purpose and taking fully into account all the views we have expressed in this Conference. We ask the Chairman of the General Council, working in close co-operation with the Director-General, to coordinate this work and to convene a meeting of the General Council at Senior Officials level no later than 15 December 2003 to take the action necessary at that stage to enable us to move towards a successful and timely conclusion of the negotiations. We shall continue to exercise close personal supervision of this process.

"5. We will bring with us into this new phase all the valuable work that has been done at this Conference. In those areas where we have reached a high level of convergence on texts, we undertake to maintain this convergence while working for an acceptable overall outcome.

"6. Notwithstanding this setback, we reaffirm all our Doha Declarations and Decisions and recommit ourselves to working to implement them fully and faithfully."

On the Website

-For more information on the WTO and basic principles:

www.wto.org > the WTO > What is the WTO?

-For more information on the Doha Development Agenda, individual elements of the work programme, current status of the negotiations, and to obtain copies of the Doha Ministerial Declaration, Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health, and Decision on Implementation-Related Issues and Concerns:

www.wto.org > trade topics > Doha Development Agenda

-For more information on the Cancún Ministerial Conference:

www.wto.org > the wto > ministerial conferences > Cancún

SECTION THREE

CPA/WTO REGIONAL WORKSHOPS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS



CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, 19-22 MAY 2003

Africa and the Multilateral Trading System

The workshop in Cape Town involved a variety of lecturing styles and formats. Basic presentations were made by CPA and WTO staff, including resource persons, on the multilateral trading system and Doha Development Agenda; there were also presentations on key trade issues of interest to the Africa region including agriculture, trade in services, trade and environment, intellectual property, and WTO relations with civil society. In addition, experts from the region (including parliamentarians), were invited to lead discussions on such topics as trade and development, Africa and the multilateral trading system, and opportunities and challenges of the Doha Round. In all sessions, emphasis was on information-sharing and exchanging of views; this emphasis was also carried into the related breakout groups. Some of the more common themes from the discussions are summarised below.

Workshop participants recognised the importance and potential benefits of a well-functioning multilateral trading system. Such a system, providing the legal ground-rules for international commerce, can promote peace and the peaceful resolution of disputes, stimulate trade expansion and economic growth (including raised incomes, improved living standards and greater consumer choice), and ensure all Members, even the smallest and most vulnerable, have a voice in the management of global trade. But many workshop participants felt strongly that the system under the GATT, while presiding over periods that saw some of the most profound growth rates in international commerce, had failed to deliver significant benefits to developing countries, especially in Africa, and had often marginalized them from the global economy. This was evident in the rules developed under the GATT which favoured the interests of developed countries and allowed them to maintain high levels of protection in areas where African countries have competitive advantage. It was also evident in the fact that Africa's share of global trade had shrunk in recent decades - to less than one per cent.

Some workshop participants expressed similar apprehensions about the Uruguay Round and the operation of the WTO since its establishment in 1995. Developing countries had participated in the Uruguay Round in the hope that the negotiations would assist their development efforts and facilitate their successful integration into the global economy. However, the results of the Round, in the view of many workshop participants, were high adjustment costs, continued marginalization of African countries, a widened gap between rich and poor countries, and the setting of legal obligations well beyond the capacity of some developing countries. The establishment of the WTO, moreover, had not led to significant gains or advantages for African and other developing countries (in terms of improved market access opportunities, new inflows of investment or greater resources to support supply-side constraints). In fact, according to some workshop participants, WTO's present agenda remained biased towards developed country interests; negotiating processes were uneven and unfamiliar to developing countries; and the level of resources and expertise (both human and financial) required to participate in the system was beyond many countries.

In the face of these challenges, most workshop participants felt the correct response was not to opt out of the multilateral trading system (in any event, the dramatic effects of globalization meant this was not really an option), but rather to improve Africa's effective participation and 'rebalance' the system so it is more representative of, and responsive to, the needs of African countries. This required effort at national, regional and international levels. At the national level, effective participation in global trade starts from a clear understanding of a country's human and resource base and developmental needs. It also requires sound domestic economic policies, good governance, political stability and security, and strategies to encourage trade opportunities and investment.

At the regional level, workshop participants felt the 'shared priorities' of the African continent needed to be more clearly identified. The challenges are huge; Africa is home to the poorest countries on earth and has the highest concentration of least-developed countries. At the same time, work to be done in areas such as poverty-eradication, post-conflict reconstruction, employment, health, education, etc, extends well beyond the means of African governments and beyond the current levels of development assistance provided by rich countries. In this context, workshop participants identified some of the priorities for the continent as follows: addressing supply-side constraints; improving competitiveness; building strong bureaucracies; developing and retaining trade expertise and negotiating skills; ensuring policy environments friendly to capital and private investment; and effectively promoting Africa as an attractive and secure investment destination.

Also at the regional level, workshop participants emphasised the potential of intra-Africa trade and the importance of removing barriers to trade within the continent so this potential can be realised. The role of regional institutions such as NEPAD was recognised in this regard, including NEPAD's market access initiative. Many workshop participants also advocated a central role for regional institutions in the development of shared, Africa-wide, priorities and in the formulation of strategies to advance these priorities in multilateral negotiations. The NEPAD market access initiative was again a good example to the extent it includes a call by Africa for structural adjustment by developed countries in those sectors where high levels of protection and support are maintained and the competitive advantage currently lies in the developing world. Some workshop participants also referred to regional organizations as the means through which African countries could present united positions in multilateral negotiations.

At the global level, workshop participants emphasised the need for African countries to work in unison towards a multilateral trading system that is more responsive to the developmental needs of poor countries. In this regard, they underlined the importance of achieving a 'developmental' outcome of the current Doha negotiations. In the first instance, assistance was needed to enable African countries to participate fully and effectively in the negotiations. The WTO's technical assistance work was appreciated but more could be done, including by other institutions. In the second instance, work

must focus on 'rebalancing' the inequities of the present system (inherited from the GATT) and towards a 'more level playing field' for international trade.

Most workshops participants asserted that in the negotiations proper, special recognition should be given to the particular circumstances of Africa and such recognition should be provided in terms of meaningful special and differential treatment, longer timeframes for implementing obligations, and enhanced training and technical assistance. Participants also emphasised that rich countries must 'live up' to the promises they made in Doha (and in other international initiatives such as the Millennium Declaration) and embrace in a more meaningful way the developmental dimension of the Round. In this regard, negotiations should be accelerated in areas of importance to African countries, especially agriculture (greater market access, elimination of export subsidies and reduction of domestic supports by developed countries) and market access for non-agricultural products. Other areas of the WTO work programme covering such aspects as transfer of technology and trade and debt should also be advanced as quickly as possible. Finally, many workshop participants felt that developed countries should show sensitivity to the concerns of poor countries about the launch of negotiations in new areas (investment, competition policy, government procurement, trade facilitation) while poor countries are struggling to implement obligations from past rounds and while they have only limited capacity to participate in existing Doha negotiations.

In the final analysis, workshop participants saw the initiative resting with Africans themselves to reshape the multilateral trading system into an institution responsive to the needs of their continent. This is summarised most succinctly in a comment by one of the presenters, Mr. Francis Moloji from the Department of Trade and Industry, South Africa:

"I would argue that our serious engagement in the Doha Development Agenda is the only chance we have as Africa and developing countries to take charge of our destinies in the area of international commerce and trade. This is the only chance to:

- *"ensure that development is truly at the centre of the multilateral trading system and that the outcomes of the Doha Round truly support poverty-reducing economic growth;*
- *"address the imbalances and inequities that exist in current WTO Agreements;*
- *"come up with proposals that will truly take into account our very own concerns;*
- *"address all those measures in current WTO Agreements that are inimical to our development, that restrict our products from accessing markets, that continue to keep our farmers and producers perpetually trapped in the production of primary commodities whose terms of trade have been declining over time, that reduce us to the Cinderella people who have no place in the sun of international comity.*

"The stakes are high! And we cannot leave anything to chance. Unless all of us, including our partners in the North, take development of Africa and the rest of the world seriously, we run the risk of perpetuating the status quo. We run the risk of contributing, through our inaction, to the widening chasm between the rich and the poor. We run the risk of leaving a great majority of the world's people desperate. And you know, a desperate people, in a desperate situation, will employ desperate means to address a desperate situation. We dare not fail."

SECTION THREE

CPA/WTO REGIONAL WORKSHOPS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS



PORT-OF-SPAIN, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 28-30 JULY 2003

Caribbean Region, Small States and the Multilateral Trading System

The workshop in Port-of-Spain followed a similar format to the Cape Town event including basic presentations on the multilateral trading system and Doha Development Agenda, detailed presentations on key issues of interest to the region (in this instance agriculture, trade in services, dispute settlement and technical cooperation), and discussions led by regional experts on the topics of trade and development, Caribbean region and the multilateral trading system, and opportunities and challenges of the Doha Round. In general, parliamentarians in Port-of-Spain voiced similar concerns about globalization and the multilateral trading system as were expressed in Cape Town, but from a perspective of small economies.

In the workshop, both presenters and participants highlighted a range of important challenges facing economies in the Caribbean region: small domestic markets; limited range of export products and lack of resources to allow for diversification; remoteness from markets; reliance on tourism - which is always susceptible to movements in the global economy; extreme vulnerability to external and exogenous shocks (including not just natural disasters but also geopolitical uncertainties and global health emergencies such as SARS); and limited human resources. Added to these challenges, many Caribbean economies were now being adversely affected by loss of trade preferences and crises in traditional sectors such as banana, rice and sugar industries. On the latter aspects, many workshop participants placed the blame squarely on the multilateral trading system.

While recognising that small economies can derive meaningful gains from a well-functioning multilateral trading system, most workshop participants felt the Caribbean's experience in the system to date had not been encouraging. First, gains from GATT were limited. Second, while governments from the region had had only limited influence in the Uruguay Round negotiation, they were obliged

fully to accept the outcomes of the negotiation. Moreover, the result of the Round was an unequal distribution of benefits in favour of developed countries. Third, in the current Doha negotiations under the WTO, issues of vital concern to small economies were not being progressed; nor were developed countries showing any real willingness to open their markets, address their trade distorting supports (especially export subsidies), or give true meaning to the 'development' promise of Doha.

In this regard, the mood of workshop participants was captured most profoundly by the Minister of Trade and Industry of Trinidad and Tobago, Hon. Kenneth Valley, in his address to the workshop:

"Not surprisingly, in the presence of the poor performance of the global economy and the inequitable distribution of the benefits from trade liberalization in favour of developed countries, many developing economies seem reluctant to engage in further multilateral liberalization initiatives. They have become increasingly wary of the multilateral trading system, seeking other seemingly inviting initiatives such as regional trading and bilateral free trade agreements.

"Further, many developing countries have instituted the full spectrum of liberalization initiatives, both autonomously and under the instructions of the World Bank and IMF, and continue to acquiesce to pressures to provide additional market access. At the same instance, many [WTO] developed members continue to provide extensive subsidies to their domestic producers and exporters, effectively distorting global production and trade. This 'you liberalize while we subsidize' phenomenon has also served to weaken confidence in the international trading system."

While clearly wary of further liberalization efforts, workshop participants in Port-of-Spain reached the same basic conclusion as parliamentarians in Cape Town – namely, that the correct response is not to opt out of the multilateral system but rather to direct the Caribbean region's efforts towards 'rebalancing' the system so it is more representative of, and responsive to, their developmental needs. In this regard, workshop participants variously identified a number of priorities for Caribbean countries in the Doha negotiations, including (examples):

- agriculture – elimination of export subsidies and opening of markets by developed countries (most participants identified agriculture as the most important aspect of the Round);
- market access – including the possibility of flexible modalities for tariff reductions to accommodate the special circumstances and development requirements of poorer countries;
- special and differential treatment – meaningful results that adequately accommodate the special circumstances of small and developing economies;
- trade preferences – maintenance of preferences to the extent possible (some workshop participants also raised the idea of compensation for loss of trade preferences).

A number of workshop participants also emphasised the need for progress to be made in other areas of the WTO work programme including on small economies, trade, debt and finance, and trade and transfer of technology. Some participants also spoke about a need for the WTO to establish a new category of membership - to recognise the unique circumstances of small island developing states.

Amongst workshop participants, there was agreement that Caribbean countries should build alliances to reflect a regional position on issues being negotiated. In this regard, CARICOM was identified as having an important role (and there was much discussion on how this role might be developed). One view was also expressed that the Cairns Group and CARICOM should present a united front on agricultural issues and apply pressure on Europe and the United States to open their markets.

A lack of institutional and administrative capacity was identified as a key problem for the Caribbean region. In order to make the system work properly, workshop participants urged WTO to do more to support capacity-constrained countries, especially those countries unable to establish a fulltime presence in Geneva. Within the region, it was suggested that negotiating teams should be expanded to include ministries other than trade ministries (e.g. tourism, agriculture), so that the interests of all national stakeholders could be reflected in negotiating positions. Some workshop participants suggested greater use could be made of facilities in the region (including the University of the West Indies and the Caribbean Development Bank) to build up trade expertise. Consideration might also be given to more practical technical assistance activities such as providing attachments and internships.

Finally, public education was felt absolutely critical to ensuring that constituents understand the implications of the trade agreements that governments are negotiating. This was not just a question of understanding the issues involved at the WTO but also a matter of passing on the technical information in a user-friendly format to different sectors.

SECTION FOUR

PARLIAMENTARY DIMENSION OF THE WTO



Parliamentary Dimension of the World Trade Organization

In both Cape Town and Port-of-Spain, workshop participants applauded efforts by various stakeholders to create a parliamentary dimension to the WTO and to international trade issues in general. It was noted, for example, that parliamentarians were increasingly forming part of national delegations to WTO ministerial conferences; parliamentarians were also becoming more and more active in organising opportunities to discuss international trade issues amongst themselves. To some extent, the increased activism had to do with frustration felt by many parliamentarians about the lack of opportunities for them to be involved in national policy development and implementation processes with regard to trade. It also reflected growing anxieties among parliamentarians' constituent groups about the impact of globalization and liberalization.

The significant impact of the WTO on the work of parliaments was discussed at both workshops; concerns were expressed repeatedly that WTO rules and regulations agreed by governments were encroaching on policy-making areas beyond tariffs and trade. In this regard it was widely agreed that a rules-based international trading system had significant repercussions for parliamentary practice and procedure, accountability and scrutiny.

There was considerable discussion on whether there should be a more formal connection between WTO and parliamentarians – as a means to correct a perceived ‘democratic deficit’ in the multilateral trading system. In this context, workshop participants expressed great interest in the inter-parliamentary process for the WTO which, whilst not formally associated with WTO, has now evolved, based around regular parliamentary meetings held on the occasion of WTO Ministerial Conferences. These meetings were seen as providing valuable opportunities for parliamentarians to learn more about current trade issues, to take the pulse of negotiations, and to network with fellow

parliamentarians on trade matters. To ensure balance, some workshop participants urged that greater effort be made to involve parliamentarians from developing countries in these inter-parliamentary dialogues. It was further suggested that workshops on the multilateral trading system similar to the present initiatives be extended to other regions.

In contemplating a more formal relationship between WTO and parliamentarians, most workshop participants agreed this was an issue that needed to be discussed with their respective executive branches in the first instance. Similarly, workshop participants agreed that the interplay between parliamentarians and their respective governments was something for each country to work out. It was stressed, however, that any international role by parliamentarians must be *in addition* to their existing national responsibilities.

Participants fully accepted that it was the responsibility of governments to negotiate international trade agreements. But, that said, parliaments had responsibility to legislate and scrutinize government action. The two critical issues identified were the transparency of the negotiations leading to an agreement (are parliamentarians aware of what is going on?) and the accountability of executives to their legislatures (can parliament express views, debate the policy approach and influence the final agreement?). These two issues were felt especially important because some parliaments vote on the final deal and all vote on the consequential legislation which arises from trade deals negotiated in multilateral settings.

It was pointed out that in many parts of the world parliamentarians are now seeking greater accountability from their executive branches. Coupled with this, it is becoming increasingly evident that international organizations also require the involvement of parliamentarians to legitimize their work. That said, the experience of many workshop participants showed that proper consultation between executive and legislative branches was still lacking and, in the international context, was sometimes non-existent.

Although parliamentarians will in due course be asked to ratify the results of the current Doha negotiations, many workshop participants felt parliaments were still being treated as rubber stamps by Governments. They urged greater consultation and a change of approach and attitude on the part of executive branches. To achieve this, some participants argued that parliaments should define the parameters within which the executive branch can negotiate – not least of all because involving parliaments at an early stage in multilateral negotiations could assist ratification of the final package.

It was felt that domestic implementation of legislation through enactment would be better with a report-back mechanism involving Members. In this regard, participants suggested parliamentary committees should monitor developments in the negotiations and the Minister in charge of the negotiations should be made answerable to parliament, either in committee or on the floor of parliament, at all stages of the negotiation process. It was further argued that Members should make use of Question Time to ask relevant Ministers questions on negotiations.

Much of the debate in the workshops concerned *how* parliamentarians could play a more active and informed role in their own parliaments. First, of course, parliamentarians have to obtain a basic understanding of the workings of the WTO and multilateral negotiating processes; the WTO and CPA could assist in this regard by making available information on the negotiations and the topics under discussion. Parliamentarians also need to ensure they are fully familiar with domestic processes; one practical suggestion was for parliamentarians to set out a flow chart showing how trade issues are decided under their country's constitutional structure. This would help them establish key moments in the process and best opportunities for their inputs (authorization of a country's participation in multilateral negotiations; approval of the negotiating mandate, regular scrutiny of progress, and eventually adoption of a final agreement). Fundamentally, workshop participants recognised the

responsibility rested with them to ensure their understanding of the multilateral system and familiarity with developments in the process.

Further Research

For readers wishing further to pursue their interest in international trade issues, some useful sources of information are given below:

- WTO website – www.wto.org
- WTO Reporter News Service – accessible via the WTO website, you can register to receive latest trade news by email
- CPA website – www.cpaHQ.org
- Parliamentary Libraries
- Trade Ministries, including their websites.

Some useful basic publications are also suggested:

- Understanding the WTO (downloadable free of charge from the WTO website)
- Dictionary of Trade Policy Terms (information on this book is provided on the WTO website)
- Doha Development Agenda (downloadable free of charge from the WTO website)
- Parliament and the International Trading System (accessible on the CPA website).

REGIONAL WORKSHOPS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS

19 – 22 MAY 2003, SOUTH AFRICA
28 – 30 JULY 2003, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

APPENDIX 1: LISTS OF PARTICIPANTS

CPA AFRICA REGION

Botswana	Hon. Chapson Butale, MP
Ghana	Hon. Modestus Ahiable, MP
Ghana	Hon. Benjamin Kufour, MP
Kenya	Hon. Mutahi Kagwe, MP
Kenya	Hon. (Ms) Amina Abdallah, MP
Lesotho	Hon. Mokone E Lehata, MP
Lesotho	Hon. (Dr.) K D Raditapole, MP
Mauritius	Hon. Leela Dookun-Luchoomun, MP
Mauritius	Hon. Dharmarajen Nagalingum, MP
Mauritius	Hon. Dev Ramnah, MP
Namibia	Hon. Johannes Haushiku Thighuru, MP
Namibia	Hon. Lydia Katjita, MP
Nigeria	Hon. Abdullah Mussa, MP
Seychelles	Hon. Wavel Ramkalawan, MP
Seychelles	Mr. Terence Mondon, MP
Sierra Leone	Hon. J Q B Sawi, MP
Sierra Leone	Hon. Haja Afsatu Olayinka Kabba, MP
South Africa	Mrs. Connie September, MP
South Africa	Mr. Graham McIntosh, MP
South Africa	Mrs. Priscilla Themba, MP
Western Cape	Hon. Lynne Brown, MPP
Western Cape	Mr. Ludwig Andersen, MPP
Western Cape	Ms Alletta (Alta) Rossouw, MPP
Western Cape	Ms Matilda Gene Vantura, MPP
Swaziland	Chief Mkhumbi Dlamindi, MP
Swaziland	Hon. Thandi Maziya, MP
Tanzania	Hon. Mary Michael Nagu, MP
Tanzania	Hon. Kilontsi M M Mporogomyi, MP
Uganda	Hon. Margaret Ateng Otim, MP
Uganda	Hon. Joseph Kif'omusana Mugambe, MP

RESOURCE PERSONS AND GUEST SPEAKERS

Australia	Senator the Hon. Peter Cook
South Africa	Hon. Robert Hayden Davies, MP
South Africa	Mr. Francis Moloji
Swaziland	Senator the Hon. Constance Simelane
CPA	Hon. Denis Marshall, QSO
CPA	Mr. Anthony Staddon
CPA	Ms Meenakshi Dhar
WTO	Mr. Patrick Rata
WTO	Mr. Bernard Kuiten
WTO	Mr. Peter Ungphakorn
WTO	Ms Marie-Isabelle Pellan

CPA CARIBBEAN, THE AMERICAS AND THE ATLANTIC REGION

Anguilla	Hon. Leroy Rogers, MLA
Antigua & Barbuda	Hon. H Humphries, MP
Antigua & Barbuda	Senator Joanne Massiah
Barbados	Senator (Miss) Lynette V Eastmond
Barbados	Dr. David Estwick, MP
Belize	Hon. Rodwell Ferguson, MRH
Belize	Senator Patricia Lopez
Belize	Senator Ambrose Tillett
Cayman Islands	Mr. Rolston Anglin, MLA
Grenada	The Hon. Claris Charles, MP, JP
Grenada	Senator The Hon. Chester Humphrey
Guyana	Hon. E. Lance Carberry, MP
Guyana	Hon. Clinton Collymore, MP
Guyana	Hon. Philomena Sahoye-Shury, MP
Jamaica	Mr. Lenworth Blake, MP
Jamaica	Mr. A. Neville Gallimore, MP
Jamaica	Dr. E. V. Patrick Harris, MP
Nevis	Hon. Laughton Brandy
St. Christopher and Nevis	Hon. Cedric Liburd, MP
Trinidad & Tobago	Senator the Hon. Dr Linda Baboolal
Trinidad & Tobago	Senator the Hon. Hazel Manning
Trinidad & Tobago	Senator Danny Montano
Trinidad & Tobago	Dr. Adesh Nanan, MP
Trinidad & Tobago	Hon. Camille Robinson-Regis, MP
Trinidad & Tobago	Senator the Hon. Christine Sahadeo
Trinidad & Tobago	Senator Carolyn Seepersad-Bachan
Trinidad & Tobago	Hon. Barendra Sinanan, MP
Turks & Caicos	Hon. Karen Delancey, MLC

RESOURCE PERSONS & GUEST SPEAKERS

Australia	Senator the Hon. Peter Cook
Jamaica	Senator the Hon. Syringa Marshall-Burnett
Trinidad & Tobago	Hon. Kenneth Valley, Minister of Trade and Industry
Trinidad & Tobago	Mr. Bernard Sylvester
Association of Caribbean States	Mr. Juan Carlos Martinez Piva
CARICOM	Mr. Byron Blake
CPA	Mr. Anthony Staddon
CPA	Ms Meenakshi Dhar
Inter-Parliamentary Union	Mr. Serguei Tchelnokov
International Trade Centre	Mr. Philip Williams
WTO	Mr. Patrick Rata
WTO	Mr. Hans-Peter Werner

OBSERVERS

CARICOM	Dr. Winston Anderson
Cayman Islands	Mr. Alden McLaughlin, MLA
Trinidad & Tobago	Senator Mary King
Trinidad & Tobago	Mr. Anthony Arnold, Tobago House of Assembly
Trinidad & Tobago	Mr. Anthony Hosang (Manufacturers Association)

