I am honoured to represent Pakistan at this Fourth Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization.

Let me congratulate you on your well deserved election as the President of this historic meeting.

The Pakistan delegation is very happy to be in Doha, this beautiful capital of fraternal Qatar. The convening of this meeting in your noble country transmits to the world an essential message: the fundamental convergence of interests and values in our rapidly integrating world. We thank the people and Government of Qatar for their generous and traditional hospitality, especially His Highness the Emir, who is also the current Chairman of the Islamic Summit.

The Doha Ministerial is destined to be historic. It will witness the long awaited accession of the People's Republic of China to the WTO. This momentous event will not only strengthen the multilateral trading system, it will greatly enhance the ability of the developing countries to promote greater equity in the system.

After the atrocities of 11 September, the world nations have joined, in a coalition of cooperation security, to oppose terrorism. This campaign must also bring peace and stability to Afghanistan and bring the relief and reconstruction which the long suffering people of Afghanistan have been denied so far by global indifference and within the new paradigm of cooperative security, underlying the causes of popular anger, conflicts and disputes, poverty and deprivation, inequality within and among nations must be effectively addressed.

The current global economic slowdown is not only the result of a cyclical downturn; it also manifests the systemic weaknesses of the world economy. The answer to our problems is not as much to launch a new round of trade negotiations, but to build a more effective structure for the governance of globalization, progressively and equitably integrating the developing countries into the world economy and focused on advancing development and eradicating hunger and poverty from all parts of the world. Such global governance must realize the following essential goals:

- A quick, effective and sustainable solution for the enormous (2.5 trillion) debt burden of the developing countries, especially low income developing countries;

- the generation of adequate concessional assistance for the poorest countries to address their urgent social, financial and infrastructure deficits;
- a strategy to channel adequate investment finance towards the developing countries which most need such finance to transform three million of impoverished peoples into the dynamic consumers and producers of tomorrow; and

- the creation of an open, equitable and humane global trading system.

Pakistan's ambitions at Doha are very high. These are not limited to merely launching a "new Round". "Development Round" will be an oxymoron, if not a deception, so long as it does not give priority to the development objectives of the developing countries. Pakistan wants to see this Conference conclude with a consensus which initiates the process of creating an open, equitable and humane global trading system.

Towards this end, Pakistan advocates that the Doha Ministerial take the following actions:

- First, we must rectify the inequity of the past. The promised benefits from the Uruguay Round – especially from the textiles and agriculture liberalization – have failed to transpire for most developing countries. The commitment to "progressive liberalization" of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing has remained a dead letter. The so-called implementation proposals to rectify the imbalance of the past have been strung out in WTO processes for over two years. The package of implementation measures proposed for adoption at Doha is almost a bare cupboard. Some major countries want to take away what little it contains – such as the provision for "growth on growth" in textiles. We would also press for urgent negotiations on the implementation issues which will remain outstanding. These must be addressed and resolved by the end of 2002.

- Second, the Doha Meeting must adopt the development agenda as proposed in Geneva – for priority action under the WTO's future work programme. This development agenda, apart from implementation issues, should include the following:

  - The removal of tariff peaks and tariff escalations and adoption of the Development Box as central objectives of the Agriculture negotiations;

  - first priority for meaningful liberalization of the movement of natural persons in the services negotiations;

  - focus in the review of the TRIMs Agreement on the "development dimension" and due restraint in dispute settlement action during this review;

  - adoption and implementation of the Declaration on TRIPS and public health and a development review of the Agreement’s implications;

  - a specific commitment and designated mechanism to operationalize and make legally binding the provisions in the WTO Agreement for special and differential treatment of developing countries; a specific commitment and designated mechanism to operationalize and make legally binding the provisions in the WTO Agreement for special and differential treatment of developing countries;

  - the negotiation of a Framework Agreement on Special and Differential Treatment;

  - establishment of Working Groups on Trade and Debt Finance, and on Trade and Transfer of Technology.
Third, we should not negotiate additional agreements which can exacerbate the imbalance in the multilateral trading system. The WTO is not the place, certainly not yet, to negotiate international agreements on investment and competition policy. An explicit consensus is required for this. It does not exist at present. The process of studying these issues should continue, perhaps in a more explicit and focused manner, without a decision *ab initio* to commence negotiations. Likewise, the content of possible rules of behaviour or guidelines in Transparency in Government Procurement and Trade Facilitation need to be clarified prior to any negotiations.

Fourth, we must not legitimize new protectionism. The Pakistan delegation is deeply concerned at the insertion of a reference to labour standards in the draft Declaration despite the strong objections of the developing countries. Whatever the disclaimers, we see the underlining motive of such a move as protectionist. We were told that this contentious issue had been buried at the Singapore Ministerial. Raising the ghost of this issue and insisting on negotiations on the environment, threatens to disrupt any possibility of consensus on the Ministerial Declaration at Doha.

We are glad that the Chairman of the General Council acknowledged yesterday that the "distance between positions in some key areas remained significant" and that the draft texts of the Ministerial Declaration and the one on TRIPS and public health "did not purport to be agreed in whole or part at this stage". These texts unfortunately do not reflect the strong views and positions of the developing countries as expressed in the Geneva process.

We have not endorsed the concept of conducting negotiations within a "single undertaking", especially since the areas and scope of negotiations remains to be determined. Moreover, there will need to be a relationship between agreed negotiations, the mandated reviews, and other elements of the WTO work programme. Therefore, we believe that the issue of the Single Undertaking should be deferred for decision to the next WTO Ministerial Conference.

Pakistan sincerely desires the success of the Doha Conference. We wish to see it conclude with consensus on a important Ministerial Declaration. This will not happen so long as there is a presumption that procedure and power can in combination succeed in securing an outcome that ignores the priority concerns and development objectives of the developing countries. The consensus in Doha must be real: it must reflect the views and interests of all WTO Members. If not, we risk repeating the debacle of Seattle.

We repose full trust and complete confidence in your ability and wisdom. We trust that you will succeed through an open and democratic process, in evolving a genuine consensus at Doha – a consensus which is responsive to the requirements of a global economic revival but also one which lays the foundation for the creation of a new, equitable and humane multilateral trading system. Meeting at this moment of global crisis and political and economic transition, this historic Doha Ministerial meeting can do no less.