



G-24 Discussion Paper Series

Interests and Options of Developing and Least-developed Countries in a New Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations

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PREFACE

The *G-24 Discussion Paper Series* is a collection of research papers prepared under the UNCTAD Project of Technical Support to the Intergovernmental Group of Twenty-Four on International Monetary Affairs (G-24). The G-24 was established in 1971 with a view to increasing the analytical capacity and the negotiating strength of the developing countries in discussions and negotiations in the international financial institutions. The G-24 is the only formal developing-country grouping within the IMF and the World Bank. Its meetings are open to all developing countries.

The G-24 Project, which is administered by UNCTAD's Macroeconomic and Development Policies Branch, aims at enhancing the understanding of policy makers in developing countries of the complex issues in the international monetary and financial system, and at raising the awareness outside developing countries of the need to introduce a development dimension into the discussion of international financial and institutional reform.

The research carried out under the project is coordinated by Professor Dani Rodrik, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. The research papers are discussed among experts and policy makers at the meetings of the G-24 Technical Group, and provide inputs to the meetings of the G-24 Ministers and Deputies in their preparations for negotiations and discussions in the framework of the IMF's International Monetary and Financial Committee (formerly Interim Committee) and the Joint IMF/IBRD Development Committee, as well as in other forums. Previously, the research papers for the G-24 were published by UNCTAD in the collection *International Monetary and Financial Issues for the 1990s*. Between 1992 and 1999 more than 80 papers were published in 11 volumes of this collection, covering a wide range of monetary and financial issues of major interest to developing countries. Since the beginning of 2000 the studies are published jointly by UNCTAD and the Center for International Development at Harvard University in the *G-24 Discussion Paper Series*.

The Project of Technical Support to the G-24 receives generous financial support from the International Development Research Centre of Canada and the Governments of Denmark and the Netherlands, as well as contributions from the countries participating in the meetings of the G-24.

INTERESTS AND OPTIONS OF DEVELOPING AND LEAST-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN A NEW ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

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Abstract

Negotiating interests and options have to be identified against the background of the possible agenda of a new round. Several important elements of this agenda are codified in what is referred to as the "built-in agenda", including: (i) an assessment of the implementation of Uruguay Round Agreements (URAs); (ii) specific reviews of particular agreements that were mandated by the Uruguay Round; and, as the core of a new round, (iii) new negotiations on agriculture, GATS, and TRIPs. Possible further components of the agenda could be negotiations on trade and investment, competition policy, trade facilitation, transparency in government procurement, environmental and labour standards, and further liberalization of industrial tariffs, and textiles and clothing.

Many developing and least-developed countries are reluctant to support such a comprehensive agenda, because they are still pre-occupied with difficult administrative, institutional and financial problems arising from the implementation of various URAs. They also have difficulties in articulating the strategies that could underpin the identification of their negotiating interests and options. Their preparation for a new round is likely to be mostly inadequate owing to a lack of human knowledge and institutional capacity that an effective participation in the WTO process requires. They will thus have to take decisions on complex issues that they may not have adequately analysed and understood. But a new trade round will also present an important opportunity for developing countries to press for enhanced market access and to undo some of the damages imposed by the URAs dealing with rules and standards. They have taken on many mandatory obligations in exchange for non-binding and "best endeavour" concessions from the developed countries. Rebalancing this situation should be a major concern for both the developing and the least-developed countries. The new round should also offer the low-income countries an opportunity to be more pro-active in terms of defining its agenda, for instance in proposing multilaterally negotiated decisions regarding the criteria for categorizing WTO member countries, as well as the form and context of "special and differential treatment" for the developing and least-developed countries.

This paper discusses the trade-strategy options of low-income countries, the areas of greatest interest to developing countries, as well as those that are to pose the greatest difficulties, the question of how developing countries can enhance the effectiveness of their participation in the new Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, and also makes some suggestions on how to change WTO governance and management structures in order to ensure that the concerns of low-income members are given greater prominence in the organization's activities.

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I. Introduction

An important component of the preparation process leading to the launch of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations is the identification and analysis of negotiating interests and options by the various categories of the membership of the WTO. This should be attempted against the background of an understanding of what the agenda of the negotiations will look like. Important elements of the agenda have been pre-determined and are codified in what is referred to as the "built-in agenda". This includes three key components. First is an assessment of the implementation of existing Uruguay Round Agreements (URAs). This embraces a review of the implementation experience and its primary purpose would be to identify areas where difficulties have been encountered and, hence, where appropriate changes may need to be made so as to facilitate enhanced adherence to rules and commitments as well as the realization of the benefits which the URAs were intended to yield to the participating countries. The envisaged review and assessment is, in principle, quite comprehensive as it should cover all articles

Second are the specific reviews of particular agreements that were mandated by the UR and stipulated in each of the affected agreements. Under this heading, specific reviews are due by early 2000 with respect to various elements of the agreements on agriculture, anti-dumping, customs valuation, dispute settlement, rules of origin, sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) measures, trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights (TRIPs), trade-related investment measures (TRIMs), and GATS, among others.

The third key component of the negotiating agenda is, perhaps, even more pre-determined than the earlier two. While these call for assessment and reviews which may lead to changes that will then have to be negotiated, the third agenda item more specifically mandates new negotiations on agriculture, GATS, and TRIPs. The negotiations on these items can be regarded as the core of a new trade round.

There is a possible fourth component. At the Singapore Ministerial Conference, a work programme was adopted which included the establishment of working groups around a number of issues.

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