The Doha Development Agenda

Why is it taking so long?

RIETI
BBL Seminar – 19 November 2008
Tokyo

Johann Human
Director: Rules Division
WTO Secretariat
History:
- Uruguay Round
  - Built-in Agenda
    - Agriculture
    - Services
- Seattle Ministerial - 1999
- Doha - Nov 2001
DDA

- Cancun - September 2003
- Hong Kong - December 2005
- July 2006, Potsdam, July 2008
- December 2008?
DDA

- Uruguay Round versus DDA:
  - UR: Target was 4 years
    - September 1986 - December 1993
  - DDA: Target was 4 years
    - November 2001 - ?
DDA

- Deadlines:
  - Why set deadlines?
  - US Trade Negotiating Authority
  - Effect of missing deadlines
DDA - Factors

- Timing after implementation of UR
- Political factor: post- 11 September 2001
- Support by major players for a new round
- Position of small players post-UR
  - Implementation issues – difficult issues deferred
- Interest of industry
DDA - Factors

- “Member-driven organization”
  - Role of DG
    - Length of appointment
    - Role of DDGs - length of appointment
  - Role of Secretariat

- “Rules-based system”
  - Legalism vs pragmatism
  - Lawyers involved in process from start

- Role of Chairpersons of NGs
DDA Factors

- Role of informal groups
  - UR
    - Quad
    - De la Paix Group
    - Café Ole
    - Others/Facilitators?
  - DDA
    - G-20
    - G-11
    - ACP
    - African Group
    - Cairns
    - Others
DDA Factors

- Role of informal groups
  - Primarily political groupings
  - Trade interests of members of Groups vary substantially and across issues
  - Absence of a “Quad” approach
DDA - Factors

- Consensus rule
- Nothing is agreed until everything is agreed
- Too many negotiators?
  - UR - 96 CPs in 1986
    - 121 CPs in 1995
    - 128 participants

- DDA - 153 Members
  - July 2008 “experiment”
    - 36 Ministers in Green Room
    - Reduce to Group of 7 Ministers
    - Issues of inclusiveness and transparency
DDA Factors

- Nature of tariff negotiations:
  - Before UR – request/offer process
  - UR – 1988 Montreal Ministerial agreed on basic formula cut (Swiss formula)
    - Exceptions negotiated later
  - DDA – modalities
    - Exceptions negotiated as part of the modalities
    - Draft NAMA Modalities Document of 110 pages
DDA - Factors

- Super specialization of negotiators
- Geneva dynamics
So where does all this lead us to?

- Nature of future Rounds?
- Ongoing negotiations all the time?
- Structure of negotiations?
Trade Remedies

Current situation
Trade Remedies

- Anti-Dumping
- Countervailing Measures
- Safeguards
ANTI-DUMPING
NUMBER OF MEASURES
1995 – 2007

Total: 2,052


0 50 100 150 200 250
ANTI-DUMPING MEASURES BY IMPORTING COUNTRY
1995 – June 2008

Total: 2,106

Japán: 72
Australia: 81
Brazil: 88
Mexico: 108
Canada: 113
China: 124
Turkey: 165
South Africa: 245
Argentina: 252
US: 372
EU: 2,106
India: 372

Total: 2,106
ANTI-DUMPING MEASURES BY EXPORTING COUNTRY
1995 – June 2008

Total: 2,106

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
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<td>China</td>
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ANTI-DUMPING
INITIATIONS BY SECTOR
1995 – June 2008

Total: 3305
ANTI-DUMPING MEASURES 1995 – June 2008
Developed / Developing Members

TOTAL MEASURES: 2 106
- Developing 68%
- Developed 32%

Developed Members' Measures
- Developing 80%
- Developed 20%

Developing Members' Measures
- Developing 75%
- Developed 25%

Whose exports are affected and who imposed the measures?

Total 682
- Developing 80%
- Developed 20%

Total 1 424
- Developing 75%
- Developed 25%
COUNTERVAILING MEASURES BY YEAR
1995 – 2007

Total: 119
COUNTERVAILING MEASURES BY IMPORTING MEMBER
1995 – June 2008

Total: 121

Venezuela: 1
Japan: 1
Costa Rica: 1
Chile: 2
Australia: 2
Peru: 3
South Africa: 4
New Zealand: 4
Argentina: 4
Brazil: 6
Mexico: 8
Canada: 12
EC: 50
US: 23
COUNTERVAILING MEASURES: EXPORTING MEMBER
1995 – June 2008

Total: 121

- Japan: 0
- Venezuela: 3
- Thailand: 3
- Malaysia: 3
- Canada: 3
- South Africa: 4
- Argentina: 4
- China: 5
- Indonesia: 8
- Brazil: 8
- Korea: 9
- India: 26
- EC: 33
COUNTERVAILING MEASURES BY SECTOR
1995 – June 2008

Metals
Prep Food
Plastics
Vegetables
Other

Total: 162
Trade Remedy Measures Imposed Between 1995 and June 2008

- Anti-Dumping: 2,106
- CVDs: 121
- Safeguards: 87

Total: 2,314

*As notified to the WTO
Anti-Dumping
Initiations Against Japan: 1995-2008
Anti-Dumping
Initiations Against Japan: Importing Countries
1995-2008

Argentina: 4
Australia: 4
Canada: 2
China: 28
EC: 9
India: 23
Korea: 14
US: 33
Others: 25
Anti-Dumping Measures Against Japan: 1995-2008

- 1995: 3
- 1996: 5
- 1997: 7
- 1998: 11
- 1999: 19
- 2000: 7
- 2001: 8
- 2002: 10
- 2003: 9
- 2004: 7
- 2005: 4
- 2006: 7
- 2007: 1
- 2008: 0
Anti-Dumping Measures Against Japan: Importing Countries 1995-2008

- Argentina: 4
- Australia: 2
- Canada: 2
- China: 23
- EC: 5
- India: 18
- Korea: 11
- US: 20
- Others: 13
Anti-Dumping Measures Against Japan: Sectors 1995-2008

- Chemicals: 29%
- Plastics: 17%
- Metals: 32%
- Machinery: 9%
- Others: 13%
Anti-Dumping
Duration of Measures Against Japan

US: 2 >25 Years, 4 20-25 Years, 2 15-20 Years, 3 10-15 Years, 10 <10 Years
Australia: 1 >25 Years, 1 20-25 Years, 1 15-20 Years, 1 10-15 Years, 1 <10 Years
India: 1 >25 Years, 8 20-25 Years, 1 15-20 Years, 1 10-15 Years, 1 <10 Years
Argentina: 2 >25 Years, 2 20-25 Years, 2 15-20 Years, 2 10-15 Years, 2 <10 Years
Trade Remedies – Future?

- Increase in protectionism?
- Anti-Dumping?
- Countervailing measures?
- Safeguards?
- WTO-inconsistent support programmes?
- Grey area measures?
- More disputes?
Trade Remedies

It might be a somewhat bumpy ride, so ... Ladies and gentlemen, please fasten your seat-belts!
THANK YOU!