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Starptautiskās tirdzniecības komiteja

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ZIŅOJUMA PROJEKTS

par PTO Honkongas Ministru konferences rezultātiem
2005/2247(INI)

Starptautiskās tirdzniecības komiteja
Referents: *Georgios Papastamkos*

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EIROPAS PARLAMENTA REZOLŪCIJAS PRIEKŠLIKUMS

par PTO Honkongas Ministru konferences rezultātiem 2005/2247(INI)

Eiropas Parlaments,

- ņemot vērā 2005. gada 18. decembrī pieņemto Pasaules tirdzniecības organizācijas (PTO) Ministru konferences sestās sesijas deklarāciju¹,
- ņemot vērā 2005. gada 12.-15. decembra un 2004. gada 25.-26. novembra PTO Parlamentārās konferences Noslēguma deklarāciju,
- ņemot vērā tā 2005. gada 1. decembra rezolūciju par gatavošanos Sestajai PTO Ministru konferencei Honkongā,
- ņemot vērā Padomes slēdzienus par PTO Dohas attīstības programmu, kas sekoja 2005. gada 18. oktobra Ārlietu Padomes Luksemburgas ārkārtas sanāksmei (13378/05),
- ņemot vērā tā 2005. gada 12. maija rezolūciju par Dohas sarunu kārtu, kas sekoja PTO Vispārējās padomes 2004. gada 1. augusta lēmumam²,
- ņemot vērā PTO Vispārējās padomes 2004. gada 1. augusta lēmumu³,
- ņemot vērā 2001. gada 14. novembrī pieņemto PTO Dohas ministru deklarāciju⁴,
- ņemot vērā tās iepriekšējās rezolūcijas, ko pieņēma 1999. gada 15. decembrī Trešajā PTO Ministru konferencē Sietlā⁵, 2001. gada 13. decembra PTO sanāksmē Katarā⁶ un 2003. gada 25. septembra Piektajā PTO Ministru konferencē Kankūnā⁷,
- ņemot vērā *P. Sutherland* ziņojumu „PTO nākotne - institucionālo problēmu risināšana jaunajā tūkstošgadē”⁸,
- ņemot vērā tā 2005. gada 9. marta rezolūciju par priekšlikumu Padomes regulai par vispārējo tarifa preferenču sistēmas piemērošanu⁹,
- ņemot vērā Reglamenta 45. pantu,
- ņemot vērā Starptautiskās tirdzniecības komitejas ziņojumu un Reģionālās attīstības komitejas un Lauksaimniecības un lauku attīstības komitejas atzinumus par rūpniecības, pētniecības un enerģijas, kā arī ekonomikas un monetārajiem jautājumiem (A6-0000/2006),

¹ Dokumenta numurs 05-6248, dokumenta simbols WT/MIN(05)/DEC

² Pieņemtie teksti 1.12.2005, P6_TA(2005)0461

³ Pieņemtie teksti 12.5.2005, P6_TA(2005)0182

⁴ Dokumenta numurs 04-3297, dokumenta simbols WT/L/579)

⁵ Dokumenta numurs 01-5859, dokumenta simbols WT/MIN(01)/DEC/1)

⁶ OV C 296, 18.10.2000., 121. lpp.

⁷ OV C 177 E, 25.7.2002., 290. lpp

⁸ OV C 77 E, 26.3.2004, 393. lpp.

⁹ Konsultatīvās padomes ziņojums ģenerāldirektoram Supachai-Panichpakdi, PTO, 2004. g. decembris

¹⁰ Teksti pieņemti 9.3.2005, P6_TA-PROV(2005)0066

- A. tā kā daudzpusīgā tirdzniecības sistēma, ko pārstāv PTO, ar daudzpusējiem noteikumiem, sodiem un domstarpību risināšanu tiesiskā ceļā veicina starptautiskās tirdzniecības drošību, pārredzamību un stabilitāti, kā arī globalizācijas procesu labāku kontroli;
 - B. tā kā Dohas sarunu kārtas sekmīga slēgšana, kas nodrošina reālu tirdzniecības liberalizāciju nākotnē un spēcīgākus daudzpusējos noteikumus, var būt svarīgs parametrs pasaules ekonomikas izaugsmes stimulēšanai, attīstībai un nodarbinātībai un dod lielu ieguldījumu jaunattīstības valstu integrācijā pasaules ekonomikā;
 - C. tā kā ES sarunās ir bijusi vadošā loma kopš Dohas sarunu kārtas uzsākšanas, un tā visās sarunu jomās, lauksaimniecību ieskaitot, ir iesniegusi ticamus un būtiskus piedāvājumus, kamēr citas attīstītās valstis un progresīvās jaunattīstības valstis nav parādījušas šo elastīgumu un nelokāmību;
 - D. tā kā centieni, lai Dohas sarunu kārtā iekļautos 2006. gada termiņā, nedrīkst negatīvi ietekmēt pretencioza un līdzsvarota iznākuma sasniegšanu;
 - E. tā kā Dohas sarunu kārtai ir jānodrošina attīstību veicinoši iznākumi visās sarunu skartajās jomās, īpaši vismazāk attīstīto valstu interesēs;
 - F. tā kā ir panākta vienošanās par lauksaimniecības eksporta subsīdiiju likvidēšanas termiņu, tā kā iekšzemes atbalsta un tirgus pieejamības jomās līdzīgs progress nav sasniegts;
 - G. tā kā nelauksaimniecības tirgus pieejamībai (*NAMA*) ir nozīmīgs tirgus kāpuma potenciāls gan ES, gan arī jaunattīstības valstīs, kur ievērojama tirdzniecības daļa notiek ar rūpniecības precēm un, tirgojoties ar citām jaunattīstības valstīm, tās saskaras ar augstām tarifu barjerām;
 - H. tā kā pakalpojumu jomā patreizējā sarunu metode nav devusi apmierinošus rezultātus, tā kā ES izvirzītais mērķis ir reāla turpmāka liberalizācija, saglabājot PTO dalībvalstu politiskos mērķus un tiesības regulēt sabiedriskos pakalpojumus;
 - I. tā kā PTO nosacījumu uzlabošana par tirdzniecības sekmēšanu, antidempingu un citiem nosacījumiem būtu izdevīga visiem PTO locekļiem, uzlabojot tiesisko drošību, pazeminot tirdzniecības darījumu izmaksas un novēršot aizskarošu vai protekcionistisku izmantošanu;
 - J. tā kā globalizācijas procesu un PTO lomu bieži sagroza un pārprot, un PTO pastāv nepieciešamība pēc lielākas atbildības un pārskatāmības,
1. atgādina, ka arī turpmāk saglabās savu daudzpusējo pieeju tirdzniecības politikai un atbalstīs PTO kā globalizācijas kontroles galveno diskusiju vietu; norāda, ka neveiksmīgas daudzpusējās sarunas un pārbīde divpusējo/reģionālo nolīgumu virzienā novestu pie nevienmērīga liberalizācijas procesa un nevienmērīgas attīstības un tādējādi būtu kaitīgas, īpaši jaunattīstības valstīm;

2. pauž nožēlu par sarunu lēno virzību līdz šim un iepriekš noteikto zemo līmeni Honkongas Ministru konferences centieniem, taču pauž apmierinātību par to, ka Ministru deklarācija vismaz sagatavo ceļu turpmākām sarunām galvenajās jomās;
3. uzstāj, ka visas galvenās sarunu jomas ir jāaplūko paralēli, kopā ar Vienotā pasākuma jēdzienu un ar vienādi augstu ambīciju līmeni;
4. atgādina par nepieciešamību respektēt ES lauksaimniecības daudzfunkcionālo raksturu;
5. atgādina, ka KLP 2003. gada reformas dēļ ES ir ievērojami samazinājusi tās vietējo atbalstu, kas sekmē tirgus sagrozījumus;
6. uzsver svarīgo nozīmi, kas ES izteiktajam piedāvājumam ir eksporta atmaksājumu sistēmas likvidēšanā līdz 2013. gadam un uzstāj, ka eksporta kredītu, valsts tirdzniecības uzņēmumu un pārtikas palīdzības jomā ir nepieciešams, lai paralēli darbotos pārējie PTO locekļi,
7. attiecībā uz tirgus pieejamību uzsver, ka ir nepieciešama ierobežota elastības pakāpe, izmantojot gan tarifu samazināšanas formulu, gan jutīgo produktu statusa piešķiršanu; atsaucas uz iespēju, ka jaunattīstības valstis varētu pašas norādīt īpašus ražojumus, šīnī sakarībā atzinīgi vērtē īpašu rādītāju vienota kopuma paredzēšanu;
8. atzinīgi vērtē, ka tika atcelts nolīgums par eksporta subsīdijām kokvilnai līdz 2006. gadam un par vismazāk attīstīto valstu pieejas nodrošināšanu bez muitas nodokļiem un kvotām, taču pauž nožēlu par progresa trūkumu iekšējo subsīdiju sakarā;
9. pauž nožēlu par progresa trūkumu vīnu un stipro alkoholisko dzērienu reģistra izveidē, kā arī citu ražojumu ģeogrāfisko rādītāju aizsardzības paplašināšanā, atgādina, ka sarunu līdzsvarotam iznākumam šie faktori ir būtiski;
10. aicina *NAMA* sarunās sasniegt labus rezultātus, garantējot jaunas reālas tirgus pieejamības iespējas, ieskaitot dienviņu-dienvidu tirdzniecību, būtiski samazinot uzliktās likmes, aicina progresīvās jaunattīstības valstis uzņemties savu daļu atbildības, tai pat laikā paziņojot, ka iznākumam ir jāatspoguļo pieņemtais princips par nepilno savstarpību;
11. atzinīgi vērtē vienošanos tarifu samazināšanai izmantot šveiciešu formulu, taču uzsver, ka šādas formulas saskaņojošo ietekmi nevajadzētu mazināt ar vairāku koeficientu noteikšanu, atbalsta nozaru iniciatīvu praktizēšanu ES eksporta interešu nozarēs;
12. atzīmē, ka ir stratēģiski svarīgi, lai visi tirdzniecības partneri atceltu savas nepamatotās beztarifu barjeras;
13. pauž nožēlu par progresa trūkumu pakalpojumu jomā un aicina pastiprināti vest sarunas, veltot pienācīgu uzmanību vāju un neaizsargātu tautsaimniecības nozaru interesēm, pauž nožēlu par faktu, ka Noslēguma deklarācija neuzstāda nekādus kvantitatīvus mērķus sakarā ar mainīto piedāvājumu iesniegšanu, atgādina, ka liberalizācijā nebūtu jāiekļauj veselības, izglītības un audio-vizuālie pakalpojumi;

14. atgādina, ka sarunu sekmīgam noslēgumam jāsniedz savs ieguldījums, nodrošinot konkrētus attīstības rezultātus visās sarunu jomās, īpaši skarot vismazāk attīstīto valstu intereses un nodrošinot TAM mērķu sasniegšanu;
15. atzinīgi vērtē vienošanos attiecībā uz tirgus pieejamības nodrošināšanu vismazāk attīstītajām valstīm, atbrīvojot tās no muitas un tarifiem, taču nožēlo, ka nav izmantota iespēja saglabāt ierobežojumus vismazāk attīstīto valstu galvenajiem ražojumiem un ka šādas saistības progresīvajām jaunattīstības valstīm paliek fakultatīvas, aicina visas attīstītās un progresīvās jaunattīstības valstis ievērot ES iniciatīvu „Viss, izņemot ieročus”;
16. uzskata, ka lai gan īpašai un atšķirīgai pieejai ir jābūt PTO nolīgumu kompleksai sastāvdaļai, tālākā pakāpeniskā dienvienu-dienvidu tirgus atvēršana un rūpīgāka daudzpusējo nosacījumu ievērošana sekmēs jaunattīstības valstu attīstību un integrāciju globālajā ekonomikā;
17. uzsver piemērotas tehniskās palīdzības nozīmi, lai palīdzētu jaunattīstības valstīm izpildīt jaunus pienākumus, piemēroties reformām un līdz galam īstenot PTO nosacījumus, uzsver arī nepieciešamību veicināt vāju un neaizsargātu tautsaimniecību tirdzniecības integrēšanos valsts attīstības politikā un nabadzības samazināšanas stratēģijā, atbalsta „tirdzniecības palīdzības” palielināšanu jaunattīstības valstīm, kuras mērķis ir to komercspēju un eksporta jaudu stiprināšana, dažādojot to pamatprodukciju un aizvietojojt muitas izmantotos līdzekļus ar citiem finanšu resursiem;
18. atzinīgi vērtē progresu, kas sarunās par tirdzniecības veicināšanu ir sasniegts līdz šim, aicina nodibināt daudzpusīgas saistības, palielinot tiesisko noteiktību, vienkāršojot un modernizējot tirdzniecības procedūras, uzsver, ka šīnī jomā īpaši svarīgi ir sniegt tehnisko palīdzību noteiktām grupām;
19. uzsver valsts un politiskā atbalsta nozīmi PTO daudzpusējas tirdzniecības sistēmas veicināšanā, uzsver, ka pilsonisko sabiedrību ir nepieciešams vairāk informēt un plašāk ar to apspriesties, šīnī sakarībā atgādina par svarīgo devumu, ko parlamentārā dimensija var nodrošināt, nostiprinot savu demokrātisko atbildību un pieejamību pilsoņiem;
20. konstatē vēlēšanos dot pozitīvu ieguldījumu sarunu procesā, izmantojot deputātu plašos kontaktus ar saviem darījumu partneriem valstīs, ar kurām ES ir kopējas intereses;
21. atgādina cik svarīgi ir, ka Komisija pilnībā informē Eiropas Parlamentu par ES stratēģiju pēc Honkongas konferences un sarunu virzību;
22. uzdot tā priekšsēdētājam nosūtīt šo rezolūciju Padomei un Komisijai, kā arī dalībvalstu, pievienošanās dalībvalstu un kandidātvalstu parlamentiem, PTO Ģenerāldirektoram un Starpparlamentu savienības priekšsēdētājam.

PASKAIDROJUMS

Ηράκλειτος [έφη] "το αντίζουον συμφέρον και εκ των διαφερόντων καλλίστην αρμονίαν και πάντα κατ' έριν γίνεσθαι"

Αριστοτέλης, Ηθικά Νικομάχεια, Θ2.1155 β 5

Heracleitus [said] that "it is what opposes that helps and from different tones comes the fairest tune and all things are produced through strife"

Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, Book 8I

1. The Hong Kong Ministerial Conference: limited expectations - modest results

The aim of this own-initiative report is to provide an assessment of the Doha Round following the 6th WTO Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong (13-18 December 2005).

The current round of multilateral trade negotiations has been going on since November 2001 and, given the collective ambition to conclude this round before the end of 2006, it has now entered its final phase.

The previous phases of the negotiations - from Doha to Hong Kong via Cancún and Geneva - have revealed wide differences in the expectations, approaches and strategies of the main participants, and highlighted the difficulties involved in trying to reach an ambitious and balanced outcome covering all negotiating areas. As a result, progress has often proven elusive, many intermediate deadlines have been missed and negotiations have not been brought as much forward as one could have hoped and expected.

Because of the complete failure of the 5th Ministerial Conference in Cancún in September 2003 and the sketchy character of the Framework adopted by the WTO General Council in August 2004, the initial objective of the Hong Kong meeting was to consolidate the latter and to achieve a breakthrough by defining modalities in a number of key negotiating areas, such as agriculture, non-agricultural market access and services, and to agree on a significant development package, while encouraging progress in other chapters of the negotiations. Due to a persistent stalemate on the key issue of agricultural market access and a lack of flexibility on the part of other major players, however, the level of ambition for this event had to be eventually scaled down and it became clear, even before the Ministerial Conference started, that only modest results could be achieved.

Parliamentary monitoring of the Hong Kong negotiations - the European Parliament being represented in Hong Kong by a delegation of MEPs - led to the adoption of a joint declaration by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament on 15 December 2005.

Although this contribution was undoubtedly positive, the current arrangements still fall short, in qualitative terms, of a proper forum to ensure WTO democratic accountability and openness. The European Parliament delegation was assisted by the information provided by the Commission and the United Kingdom Presidency regarding the EU negotiating strategy and the general progress achieved in the negotiations before and during the Hong Kong Conference.

The present report comments upon the limited results achieved in Hong Kong. It also draws attention to the considerable work that remains to be done, contains a message of support to the EU negotiators and is intended to focus attention in view of the next phases of the negotiations.

2. Results of the Conference by Subject

This section is based on the text of the Ministerial Declaration, with special reference to EU negotiating positions.

2.1 Agriculture

The question of agricultural products was designated by a number of developing and developed countries as crucial to the negotiations as a whole, placing the EU and the US in particular on the defensive. It was therefore necessary to break this deadlock if negotiations in other areas were to make any progress. The Hong Kong Conference made a valuable contribution on certain aspects of this dossier as indicated below:

- Agreement was reached on the definitive elimination of all forms of export subsidies by 2013, the year in which current CAP arrangements are due to end. In order to ensure parallelism between export refunds and other forms of export subsidies, such as export credits, exporting state trading enterprises and food aid, however, this date will only be confirmed upon completion of appropriate disciplines on these practices. Other issues, such as the substantial subsidy cuts to be made before 2013, also remain to be settled.
- Regarding domestic support, there was agreement on the fixing of three bands for reductions and on greater linear cuts in the higher levels of support (higher bands). There also appears to be some convergence concerning cuts to be made in Final Bound Total Aggregate Measure of Support (AMS), the overall cut in trade-distorting domestic support, and the *de minimis* limits. A review of the Green Box criteria was also agreed.
- On the difficult issue of market access, i.e. the reduction of agricultural tariffs, no substantive progress was made. There appears to be agreement on the adoption of four bands for structuring tariff cuts, but not on the limits of those bands, the magnitude of the cuts, and other issues such as the selection and special treatment of sensitive products, the operation of the Special Safeguard Mechanism, etc.
- Reference was made to the continuation of work in relation to geographical indications (establishment of a register for wines and spirits and extension of GI protection to other products), but no progress has been recorded on this issue of crucial importance for the EU.
- On the specific subject of cotton, it was agreed that export subsidies would be eliminated by developed countries in 2006, and that these countries would give duty and quota free access for cotton exports from LDCs from the commencement of the implementation period. However, no progress was made on the important issue of domestic support.

2.2 Non-Agricultural Market Access (NAMA)

The limited progress made in the agricultural negotiations helped to satisfy, to a certain

extent, the demand of the EU and other developed countries for the acceptance of a progressive reduction in tariffs, leading to the adoption of a 'Swiss Formula' for the elimination or reduction of tariffs. There was also agreement on special treatment for developing countries, including asymmetrical reciprocity arrangements regarding tariff reductions.

While acceptance of the Swiss Formula is a particularly significant development, difficult decisions will have to be reached by 30 April 2006 regarding the magnitude of the tariff reductions (through the adoption of coefficients) and the establishment of base rates for commencing such reductions. The Declaration also encourages members to submit proposals aimed at addressing the issue of non-tariff barriers (NTBs).

2.3 Services

On the subject of services, reference was simply made to progress achieved from the establishment of the GATS to the agreement of August 2004. A statement was also issued by members concerning the intensification of the relevant negotiations in accordance with Annex C to the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration. The Conference failed to make any substantial headway regarding the further liberalisation of international trade in services, which means that spectacular progress must now be made, both on a plurilateral and bilateral basis, if the objectives of the Doha Round are to be achieved. For the EU, progress in this sector is of vital importance to the development of its economy and to employment.

2.4 Trade and Development

Regarding support for developing countries and their smoother integration into the global economy, a number of decisions were taken, such as:

- The abolition, by 2008 or no later than the start of the implementation period, of tariff and quantitative restrictions for exports from the LDCs. However, this concession will only be given by developed countries and developing countries "declaring themselves in a position to do so" and restrictions may be maintained for up to 3 percent of tariff lines. The Ministerial Declaration also refers to measures to facilitate transactions and simplify rules of origin, increase technical support, encourage the creation of institutions, etc.
- The more active involvement of the WTO in efforts by international organisations and individual countries to implement 'Aid for Trade' arrangements enabling the LDCs to reinforce their production and export capacity and requisite commercial infrastructure.
- The reappraisal and further enhancement of the WTO's strategy for the provision of Technical Assistance and Training Plans to developing countries.

2.5 Other Business

On all other matters (e.g. WTO rules, Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), environment, trade facilitation, implementation of existing agreements, small economies, trade and transfer of technology, e-commerce, cooperation with other international organisations, etc.), the Hong Kong Conference did not, essentially, add

anything new, but merely reconfirmed the *acquis* and called on participating members to continue and step up the negotiations.

3. Overall Assessment

Considered as a whole, the outcome of the Hong Kong Conference may, under the circumstances, be regarded as positive, although the actual results were modest, given the absence of any creative breakthroughs on many crucial issues. A package of development measures was agreed upon and, even more importantly, members reiterated their commitment to a successful conclusion of the round by the end of 2006 and set a number of intermediate deadlines to achieve this objective.

The EU once again made a major contribution to this positive result by accepting a conditional commitment to 2013 as the end-date for the elimination of export subsidies. It is not clear, however, that much has been obtained in return for this concession, whether in other chapters of the agriculture negotiations or in other key areas.

Major advanced developing countries continue to reject the EU proposal on agricultural market access, despite the considerable sacrifices this proposal entails for our rural communities, and they have thus far refused to make any meaningful concessions in NAMA and services. This attitude is all the more worrying if one considers that these countries are those which maintain the highest levels of protection and hold the key to the development of poorer countries through the promotion of South-South trade.

Although development concerns should and will continue to remain at the heart of these negotiations, they should not be confused with the single-sided advancement of the interests of large agricultural exporters nor be allowed to serve as a cover for protectionism.

The EU has, along the different phases of the negotiations, exercised leadership in the adoption of measures in favour of the poorest members, such as those concerning access to medicines, duty-free quota-free access to markets for LDCs and cotton. Although other members have also accepted commitments on these issues before and during the Hong Kong Ministerial Conference, these commitments are not as far reaching (duty-free quota-free access, cotton) or at the same advanced stage of implementation (access to medicines) as in the case of the EU.

The EU has also, alongside other developed country members, launched the idea of a "round for free" in favour of the poorest members which, as a result of all these initiatives, stand to obtain a lot, including in the form of increased aid for trade, and are expected to give little.

Further unilateral EU concessions in agriculture at this stage would clearly jeopardise the implementation of our reformed CAP and be of no or little benefit to those countries for which the development agenda has been designed.

It is time therefore that the attention of negotiators start shifting to other important areas of the negotiations, such as NAMA, services, but also trade facilitation and rules issues, with a view to defining modalities and disciplines which really make a difference in international trade.

This would be in the interest of the EU, whose participation in the Doha Round should remain consistent with the objectives of enhanced growth, employment and competitiveness laid out in its Lisbon Strategy. It would also be in the interest of those many developing countries which enjoy actual or potential comparative advantages in industrial or services sectors and for which an "agriculture only" round would represent a major loss of opportunities.

4. Beyond Hong Kong

The Hong Kong Conference showed that the road to a successful conclusion of the current round remains open. However, this road is a bumpy one and may soon hit a dead end.

The political will seems to be there but positions still widely differ and the almost exclusive focus of the negotiations on agriculture thus far has not allowed the trade-offs across issues to materialise, which are so crucial at such an advanced stage.

Whether the very tight deadlines defined in Hong Kong can be met remains to be seen.

As WTO members engage into the last and most difficult phases of the negotiations, it would probably be useful to replace this whole process into a general perspective.

There should be an awareness on all sides that there is no viable alternative to the multilateral trading system when it comes to ensuring economic integration and development, the effective management of increased economic interdependency and the peaceful and fair settlement of disputes. The successful conclusion of the Doha Round would strengthen and widen international trade and development, making the international trading system fairer and more effective for the benefit of all members. Moreover, it would act as a barrier to the spread of protectionism. Likewise, in an age where demand for international institutions and for the management of world politics outstrips supply, the success of the Doha Round could provide a significant impetus to international cooperation and integration as a whole.

While there is some room in the WTO for considerations related to the development of the poor countries of the South, environmental protection and social responsibility, it should be borne in mind that the WTO is not purely a development body and much less an environment or social-policy organisation. It is in fact a specialised organisation with specific terms of reference regarding international trade. Overloading its agenda with matters beyond the confines of 'trade-related issues' and overemphasising them in the Doha Declaration has made the negotiations even more difficult. These difficulties tend to be exacerbated by a lack of democracy in the WTO's relations with civil society and insufficient efforts of communication and information.

Moreover, the direction taken by negotiations so far, set against the increasingly heterogeneous composition of the WTO, has shown that moves to regulate those areas of its members' domestic economic policies which have a trade-policy dimension meet with resistance, causing negotiations to become bogged down and resulting in persistent breakdowns in communication.

During the pre-Hong Kong negotiations, and at the conference itself, the EU has continued to promote a comprehensive vision of the Doha round, seeking at the same time a further liberalisation of international trade in goods and services and the strengthening of multilateral trade rules and disciplines, while encouraging and supporting the development efforts of the world's poorest countries. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the Commission's team of able negotiators, the unity of its Member States, and the support of the European Parliament, the EU was able to submit important, credible and constructive proposals on all the subjects covered by the Hong Kong negotiations. The EU will certainly continue its efforts during the months to come and should become even more actively involved in efforts to ensure the successful conclusion of the Round.

The EU's negotiating springboard and objective reference framework is provided by the regulatory *acquis* of its internal market. The cognitive projection of the European governance model – based on the characteristics of normative power – at the larger scale of world trade governance runs contrary to the less regulatory and less binding WTO system. The more stable and comprehensive the WTO regulatory system becomes, the greater the resulting global convergence, and the closer the multilateral trading system will come to the European model of external action.