

20 years of the WTO

A retrospective



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Who we are

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the international body dealing with the global rules of trade between nations. Its main function is to ensure that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible, with a level playing field for all its members.

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Foreword by WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo

In the 20 years since the birth of the World Trade Organization, the world has seen huge changes. New centres of economic growth have emerged. New technologies have proliferated. Communication has been revolutionised. In 1995, less than 0.8 per cent of the world's population used the internet, while in 2015 it was around 44 per cent.

Trade itself has been transformed over these two decades. Production chains have become increasingly international, offering new opportunities (and challenges) to countries aiming to participate in global trade flows. Overall trade in goods has nearly quadrupled, while WTO members' import tariffs have declined by an average of 15 per cent. Over half of world trade is now tariff-free.

Each of these developments has been supported by the multilateral trading system. When they founded the WTO and agreed the legal texts, WTO members created a constitution for global trade, enshrining essential and perennial principles in law. These principles have held true as the global economy has evolved, supporting growth and development, while also guarding against the creation of new trade barriers. Indeed, the clear system of common rules and obligations

provided by the WTO was pivotal in ensuring that the financial crisis of 2008 was not followed by an outbreak of protectionism. Building on these firm foundations, the trading system has evolved over the years alongside the changing global economy.

This evolution has taken place in a variety of ways. For example, the WTO's dispute settlement system, which has successfully dealt with almost 500 trade disputes since 1995, has allowed the rulebook to evolve and modernise, as jurisprudence develops and new precedents are set. New agreements have also helped members to tackle some important issues. The WTO's Trade Facilitation Agreement, negotiated in 2013, will ease the flow of goods across borders and reduce trade costs. The Telecoms Agreement and the Financial Services Agreement committed WTO members representing more than 90 per cent of trade in these sectors to open up their markets to imported goods and services. More recently a deal has been struck to expand the Information Technology Agreement (which was originally signed in 1996) and eliminate tariffs on a range of new IT products valued at around US\$ 1.3 trillion in annual trade. These include products such as GPS navigation systems and touch screens – items which simply did not exist 20 years ago.



◀ **Left** Roberto Azevêdo,
WTO Director-General.

The system has also evolved significantly in its recognition of development as a central issue. A range of steps have been taken to support the increased participation of developing and least-developed countries in global trade. Capacity-building programmes such as the Aid for Trade initiative, launched in 2005, aim to deliver on this objective. Special provisions in WTO agreements afford developing countries longer periods to implement the agreements or special measures to increase their trading opportunities. The Trade Facilitation Agreement goes even further by offering practical help to developing countries to give them the assistance they need to implement the terms of the Agreement – and we have created the Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility to support this effort. This is a first for the WTO. Moreover, the requirement to implement the Agreement is directly linked to the capacity of the country to do so. Many of the decisions taken at the Bali Ministerial Conference in 2013 also sought to help developing countries, and particularly least-developed countries, play a greater role in world trade.

There is no doubt that the WTO has achieved a great deal during its short history. It has grown and adapted as an organization, and it has become a central pillar of the global economic architecture. But, of

course, there is much, much more to do. We need to go further in leveraging trade's potential as a force for growth and development – and we must deliver further negotiated outcomes, starting at our 10th Ministerial Conference in Nairobi in December 2015.

This book takes a look back at the first two decades of the WTO. Through a selection of quotes, photos and statistics, it provides a snapshot of the key moments of our history so far. It highlights the essential but often unsung day-to-day work of the organization, it features friends new and old, it covers the successes and the missed opportunities alike, and it reminds us of why we must redouble our efforts to achieve even more in the future. I hope it will serve to inspire us as we look ahead to the next 20 years.

Roberto Azevêdo
Director-General

Origins

The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995, replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which had been set up over 40 years earlier to oversee the rules of trade. The aim of the WTO is to ensure that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible. Whereas the GATT only dealt with trade in goods, the WTO covers trade in goods and services as well as trade-related intellectual property rights. It also oversees strengthened rules for the settlement of disputes between members.

Through rounds of trade negotiations, the WTO seeks to reduce barriers to trade by lowering tariffs and tackling non-tariff measures, such as import licensing restrictions or the use of trade measures for protectionist purposes. The WTO also seeks to ensure that existing trade rules are respected by its 161 members around the world and that the needs of developing countries remain central to its work.



▲ Above The Centre William Rappard as it was in 1995.

Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO

The WTO was established at the Marrakesh ministerial meeting in April 1994, which formally concluded the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. The Final Act of the Uruguay Round signed by 123 members of the GATT in Marrakesh included the Agreement Establishing the WTO, which spells out the goals and structure of the organization. The Agreement specifies that the WTO is headed by a Ministerial Conference, which meets at least once every two years, and a General Council which oversees the work of the WTO on a regular basis. The preamble to the Agreement underlines the fundamental principles of the WTO, including its commitment to sustainable development.

By including agreements on trade in services and intellectual property, the Marrakesh Agreement extended the role of the WTO beyond the GATT's emphasis on trade in goods. It also created a strengthened dispute settlement body and established a specific Agreement on Agriculture.



Trade and economic endeavour should be conducted with a view to raising standards of living, ensuring full employment and a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, and expanding the production of and trade in goods and services, while allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development, seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and to enhance the means for doing so in a manner consistent with... respective needs and concerns at different levels of economic development.

— Preamble to the WTO Agreement



The parties to this Agreement [seek to contribute] to these objectives by entering into reciprocal and mutually advantageous arrangements directed to the substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and to the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international trade relations.

— Preamble to the WTO Agreement



There is a need for positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries, and especially the least developed among them, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economic development.

— Preamble to the WTO Agreement



▲ Above Signing of the Marrakesh Agreement by Thailand's Deputy Prime Minister Supachai Pantichpakdi, who later served as WTO Director-General (2002-05).

◀ Left GATT Director-General Peter Sutherland holding a signed copy of the Marrakesh Agreement.



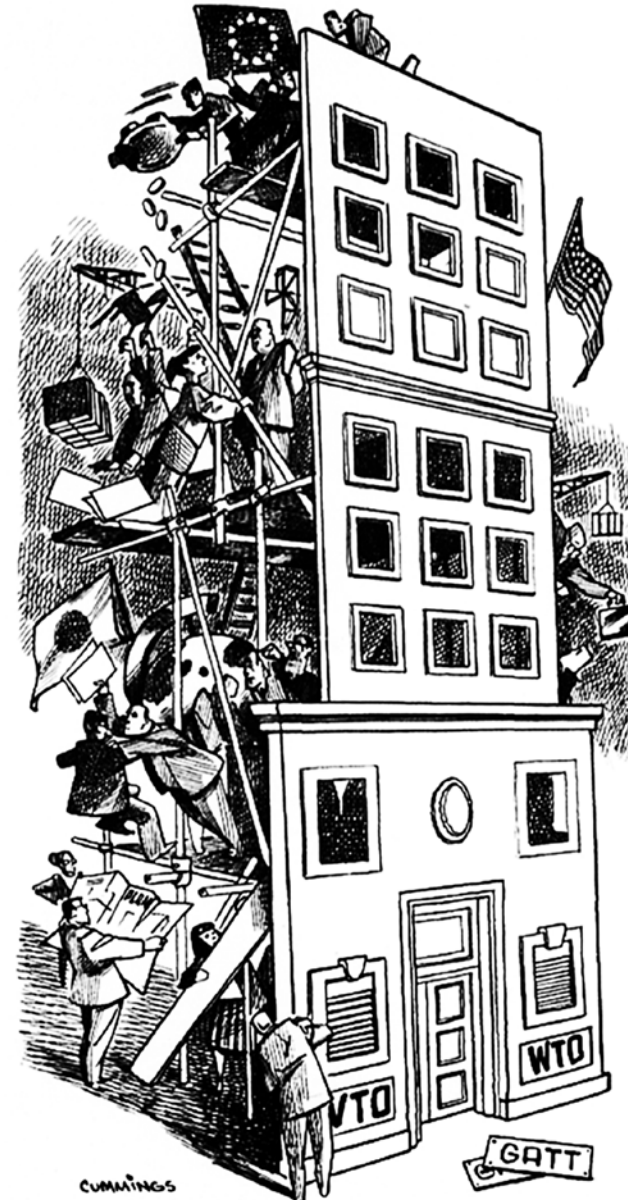
Birth of the WTO

The WTO was born on 1 January 1995. At the first meeting of the General Council later that month, 76 WTO members began the task of overseeing the work of the organization. By the end of its first year, the WTO's membership stood at 112, accounting for nearly 91 per cent of global trade.



Rarely has the birth of an international institution been preceded by higher expectations. The WTO has been widely hailed as the centrepiece of a stronger and more cohesive framework for accelerating the liberalisation of economies worldwide and promoting more effective policy co-ordination between them. Some observers, however, fear the optimism may be overdone and could even prove

self-defeating. ... Even the WTO's most enthusiastic supporters admit the enterprise involves a big leap of faith. Unlike the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, the organisation will have no resources of its own other than its operating budget. 'Its role will depend entirely on its credibility,' says a senior trade official in Geneva.





The World Trade Organisation [sic] comes into being officially Sunday [1 January 1995], but the birth of the new global policeman for the planet's commercial dealings will be attended by no fanfare. With virtually all the thousands of international civil servants who work in this Swiss city absent for the end-of-year celebrations, only a shiny bronze nameplate on the old General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) headquarters marks the takeover.

— Gilles Laffon, *Agence France Presse*,
31 December 1994



Two themes will dominate 1995: the rise of supranational organizations and the explosive growth of near instant global communications through electronic networks like Internet. Call it the triumph of the bureaucrat-nerd. If you work for the World Trade Organization and use e-mail, consider yourself the shape of things to come.

— Eric Reguly, *The Financial Post*,
31 December 1994



Dear Peter,

I write to congratulate you and your staff on the creation of the World Trade Organization. The contribution of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to world economic welfare was incalculable, and it can only be beneficial to extend its influence and put it onto a more permanent footing. Your personal leadership in bringing this process to a successful outcome has been quite remarkable.

— Letter of Lewis T. Preston, President of the World Bank, to Director-General Peter Sutherland, dated 3 January 1995

The World Bank and its staff have always enjoyed cordial and fruitful relations with the staff of the GATT, and we look forward to even stronger relations with the WTO. Please accept my best wishes for the future as the World Trade Organization and the World Bank look forward together to the next fifty years of cooperation and success in fostering world economic development.

Sincerely,
Lew

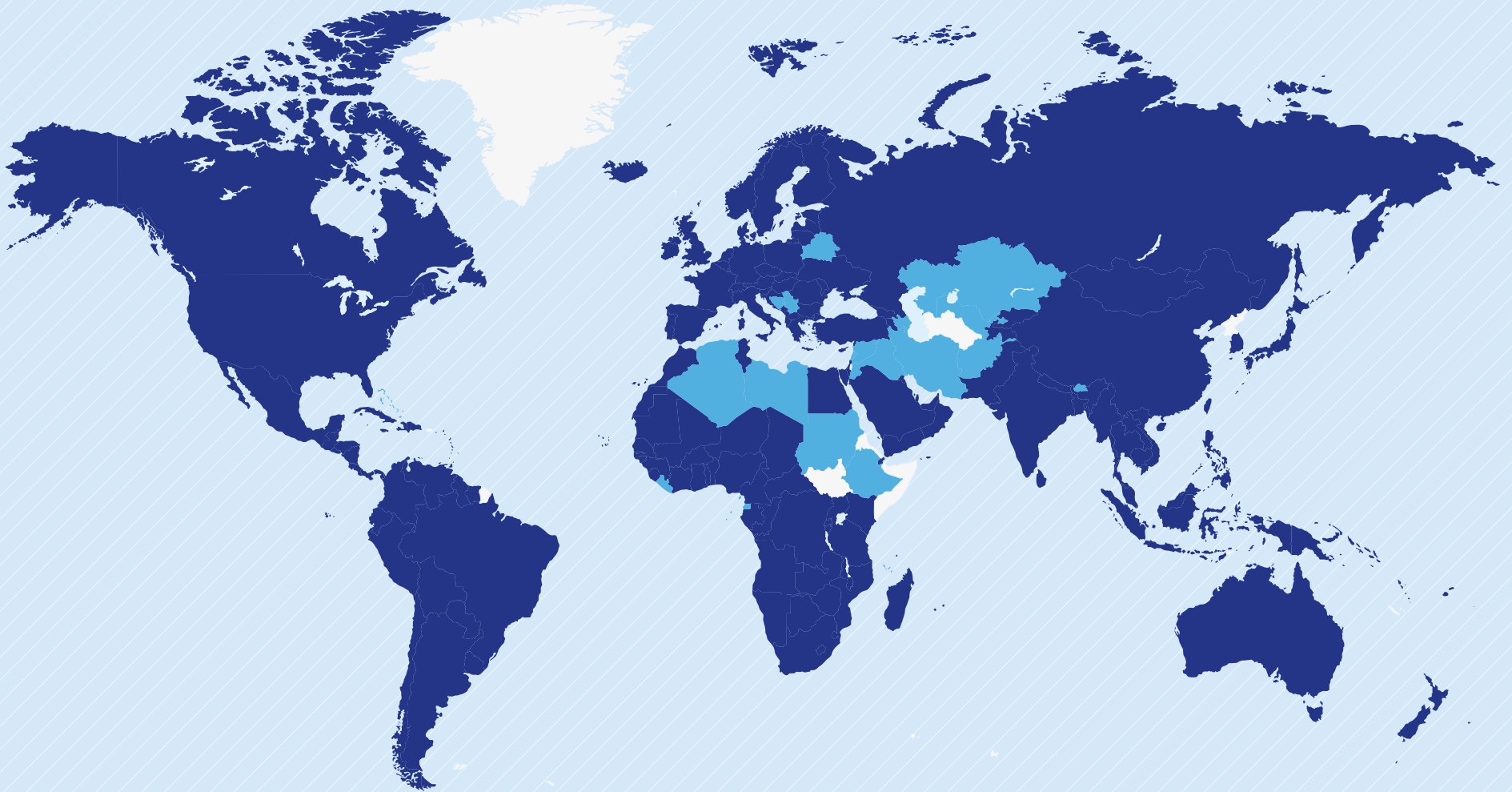


▲ Above World Bank President Lewis Preston.

A growing membership

When the WTO was established in January 1995, its members represented approximately 91 per cent of world trade. By September 2015, the WTO's membership had grown to 161 countries and customs territories, accounting for 98 per cent of global trade, bringing the WTO ever closer to reaching its goal of universal membership.

Thirty-three economies have joined the organization since 1995, ranging from some of the least-developed countries such as Nepal (in 2004) and Vanuatu (in 2012) to some of the world's largest traders such as China (in 2001) and Russia (in 2012).



WTO membership

- WTO member
- Observer country negotiating accession
- Non-members

New members 1995–99



Bulgaria

1 December 1996
Population 6.92m



Mongolia

29 January 1997
Population 2.95m



Ecuador joined the World Trade Organization in January 1996, after a long process of negotiation. Membership in the WTO is part and parcel of the policy of openness and closer ties with external markets which Ecuador has been following in recent years. The intense short-term economic pressures experienced last year,

for instance, did not induce Ecuador to resort to protectionist expedients, which is evidence of its respect for free trade conducted on a transparent and equitable basis in conformity with multilateral rules whose application and observance should be the constant concern of all the countries that today make up the WTO.

— Ruben Flores, Ecuador's Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, statement to the first Ministerial Conference held in Singapore, 1996

Ecuador

21 January 1996
Population 15.65m



Mongolia is one of the youngest members, having joined the WTO after the Singapore Ministerial. Despite the difficulties it faces in transition from central planning system to a market-based, outward looking economy Mongolia took a courageous and challenging decision to exercise from 1 May 1997 an import duty regime for almost all products. This decision is a political message showing our full commitment to and confidence in the multilateral trading system which we reaffirm at this Conference.

— R. Amajargal, Mongolia's Minister for External Relations, statement to the Second Ministerial Conference held in Geneva, 1998



The Government of the Republic of Latvia attaches the greatest importance to the completion of our accession negotiations and obtaining a status of full membership which we consider as a logical way of progressive and effective integration of the Republic of Latvia into the global trading

system. We believe that the universal nature of the WTO ensures our participation in an open, fair, rule based and dynamic trade system, leading to the growth of the world trade and investment thus creating possibilities for new jobs.

— Valdis Birkavs, Latvia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, statement to the Second Ministerial Conference held in Geneva, 1998



Latvia

10 February 1999
Population 2.16m



Estonia

13 November 1999
Population 1.25m

Panama

6 September 1997
Population 3.60m



Kyrgyz Republic

20 December 1998
Population 5.60m



I am speaking here as the representative of the newest WTO member. Estonia finally acceded to this organization only two weeks ago. The open and liberal trade policy that my country has pursued for almost a decade has resulted in remarkable economic growth; extremely high foreign direct investment as well as integration of the Estonian economy into the world trade

system to a far greater degree than expected from a small, formerly planned economy. A decisive role in this process can be attributed to the pursuit of similar goals within the WTO. Successful application of these principles is evidence of the viability and necessity of a liberal and open trade regime.

— Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Estonia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, statement to the Third Ministerial Conference held in Seattle, 1999

New members 2000–01



Albania
8 September 2000
Population 3.02m



Croatia
30 November 2000
Population 4.47m

Jordan
11 April 2000
Population 7.93m



Georgia
14 June 2000
Population 4.93m



Oman
9 November 2000
Population 3.21m





Lithuania

31 May 2001

Population 3.50m



Accession to the World Trade Organization is one of the crucial steps toward my country's full reintegration into the world economy. ... The accession process has already played a significant part in shaping our trade regime and environment for foreign investments. Discussions in my country about the advantages of WTO membership have also inspired us to examine thoroughly the best practices of the world trade system and integrate them into our legal environment.

— Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, statement to the General Council, 8 December 2000

Republic of Moldova

26 July 2001

Population 3.58m



China

11 December 2001

Population 1.35b



China, one of the fastest growing economies in the world, has made tremendous progress in the last decade in reducing poverty thanks to an economic system increasingly open to trade and foreign investment. Now this economy will be subjected to the rules-based system of the WTO, something which is bound to enhance global economic cooperation.

— Director-General Mike Moore's statement to the Fourth Ministerial Conference, held in Doha, 10 November 2001

New members 2002–09



This event not only illustrates the support and acknowledgement we receive from the WTO members, but also represents the trust and commitments of our 23 million people toward the multilateral trading system embodied by the WTO.

— Chinese Taipei Minister of Economic Affairs Lin Hsin-I, statement to the Fourth Ministerial Conference in Doha, 11 November 2001



Chinese Taipei

Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu
1 January 2002
Population 23.35m



Armenia

5 February 2003
Population 3.06m



Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

4 April 2003
Population 2.09m



Cambodia

13 October 2004
Population 15.45m



It is our conviction that joining this organisation will not only enhance our effectiveness and efficiency in trading capacity but will also result in the expansion of trade, leading to a higher level of growth and enhancement of quality of life of our people.

— Hari Bahadur Basnet, Nepali Minister of Industry, Commerce and Supplies, statement to the Cancún Ministerial Conference, 11 September 2003



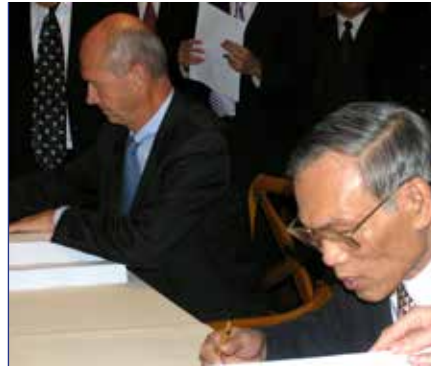
Nepal

23 April 2004
Population 30.98m



WTO accession poses major challenges to Viet Nam's economy. However, we do believe that with cooperation extended by the members, Viet Nam will make the most of the opportunities, successfully handling challenges, ensuring fast and sustainable growth, pro-actively playing its part in the development of the multilateral trading system.

— [Truon Dinh Tuyen, Vietnamese Trade Minister, statement to the General Council, 7 November 2006](#)



Viet Nam

11 January 2007

Population 93.42m



Ukraine

16 May 2008

Population 44.29m



Ukraine's membership of the WTO is truly an historic moment and is a decisive milestone in the development of our economy. We are convinced that our efforts will yield results and allow us to build closer economic ties worldwide.

— [Ukrainian President Victor Yushchenko, statement to the General Council, 5 February 2008](#)



Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

11 December 2005

Population 27.34m



The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia looks forward to occupying its seat as a member of the WTO. We look forward to working with other members to strengthen and reinforce the WTO. We also look forward to working with developing countries to ensure that they secure an increasing share in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economic development. We will work alongside other countries, especially developing countries, to strive for a more fair and equitable multilateral trading system.

— [Hashim A. Yamani, Saudi Arabian Minister of Commerce and Industry, statement to the General Council, 11 November 2005](#)

Tonga

27 July 2007

Population 0.10m



Cabo Verde

23 July 2008

Population 0.53m



New members 2010–15



Russian Federation

22 August 2012

Population 142.47m



The agreement as negotiated brings us into the system of multilateral trading rules, creating new opportunities for our traders and investors and enabling us to protect their commercial interests even more effectively than before.

— Maxim Medvedkov, Chief Negotiator for the Russian Federation, statement after Working Party approval of Russia's accession package, 10 November 2011

Montenegro

29 April 2012

Population 0.65m



Samoa

10 May 2012

Population 0.19m



Vanuatu

24 August 2012

Population 0.26m





Lao People's Democratic Republic

2 February 2013
Population 6.80m



The accession process has been a guide and a pushing force towards reforms in our trade and economic framework taking into account international best practices. Working Party Members were constantly supportive, with their comments, suggestions, cooperation and understanding, allowing us to

— Thongloun Sisoulith, Lao PDR Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, statement to the General Council, 26 October 2012

gradually introduce the necessary economic restructuring. ... We are privileged to see the benefits of our reforms already during the process. The Lao PDR has experienced a protracted period of sustained growth rates of its economy, over seven per cent on average during this past ten-year period.



As a government and people, in a democracy, we have taken a major step forward and in the right direction. ... Deservedly, this is a proud moment in the economic history of Seychelles. Membership of the WTO carries scope for immediate benefits and significant opportunities.

— Jean Paul Adam, Seychelles Minister of Finance, Trade and the Blue Economy, statement on the Seychelles' accession, 15 April 2015



Tajikistan

2 March 2013
Population 8.05m



Yemen

26 June 2014
Population 26.05m



Seychelles

26 April 2015
Population 0.09m

Membership of the WTO

Any state or customs territory with full autonomy over its trade policies may become a member of the WTO but all WTO members must agree on the terms of its membership. This may take many years of negotiations. When these negotiations are completed, a package of commitments (known as an accession protocol) is formally compiled. This lists the levels of access that the new member is willing to give to other members in regards to its domestic markets for goods and services.

It also commits the new member to bring its trade policies in line with WTO rules. Once the accession protocol has been ratified by the member's government and formally submitted to the WTO, membership automatically occurs 30 days later.

161 members (as of September 2015)*

Albania	Colombia
Angola	Congo
Antigua and Barbuda	Costa Rica
Argentina	Côte d'Ivoire
Armenia	Croatia
Australia	Cuba
Austria	Cyprus
Bahrain, Kingdom of	Czech Republic
Bangladesh	Democratic Republic of the Congo
Barbados	Denmark
Belgium	Djibouti
Belize	Dominica
Benin	Dominican Republic
Bolivia, Plurinational State of	Ecuador
Botswana	Egypt
Brazil	El Salvador
Brunei Darussalam	Estonia
Bulgaria	European Union
Burkina Faso	Fiji
Burundi	Finland
Cabo Verde	France
Cambodia	Gabon
Cameroon	The Gambia
Canada	Georgia
Central African Republic	Germany
Chad	Ghana
Chile	Greece
China	Grenada

Guatemala
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hong Kong, China
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait, the State of
Kyrgyz Republic
Lao People's Democratic Republic
Latvia
Lesotho
Liechtenstein
Lithuania
Luxembourg
Macao, China

Madagascar
Malawi
Malaysia
Maldives
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mexico
Moldova, Republic of
Mongolia
Montenegro
Morocco
Mozambique
Myanmar
Namibia
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Oman
Pakistan
Panama
Papua New Guinea
Paraguay

Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Qatar
Romania
Russian Federation
Rwanda
Saint Kitts and Nevis
Saint Lucia
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Samoa
Saudi Arabia, Kingdom of
Senegal
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Slovak Republic
Slovenia
Solomon Islands
South Africa
Spain
Sri Lanka
Suriname
Swaziland
Sweden
Switzerland
Chinese Taipei

Tajikistan
Tanzania
Thailand
The Former Yugoslav Republic
of Macedonia (FYROM)
Togo
Tonga
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
Ukraine
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom
United States of America
Uruguay
Vanuatu
Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of
Viet Nam
Yemen
Zambia
Zimbabwe

* WTO members formally adopted Kazakhstan's WTO terms of entry in July 2015. Kazakhstan will become a member 30 days after it notifies its ratification to the WTO.

Decision-making

The WTO is run by its member governments, with decisions taken by consensus among all members. The Ministerial Conference is the top level of decision-making in the WTO. It typically meets every two years and brings together all members of the WTO. The most important decision-making body outside of the Ministerial Conference is the General Council, which meets regularly in Geneva to carry out the functions of the WTO.

The WTO's First Ministerial Conference was held in Singapore in December 1996 almost two years after the signing of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO. At the WTO's Fourth Ministerial Conference in Doha in November 2001, the Doha Round of trade negotiations was launched. The first elements of the Doha Round were concluded at the WTO's Ninth Ministerial Conference in Bali in December 2001.



▲ Singapore 1996
26



▲ Geneva, Switzerland 1998
28



▶ Seattle, United States 1999
30



▶ Doha, Qatar 2001
32



▶ Cancun, Mexico 2003
34



▲ Hong Kong, China 2005
36



▲ Geneva, Switzerland 2009
38



▶ Geneva, Switzerland 2011
40



▶ Bali, Indonesia 2013
42

▶ Nairobi, Kenya 2015
44



First Ministerial Conference

Singapore
9-13 December 1996

Ministers from more than 120 WTO member governments and from acceding countries participated in the Singapore Ministerial Conference in December 1996, the first to be held since the WTO was established on 1 January 1995.

The Conference examined issues related to the WTO's first two years of activity, including the implementation of WTO agreements following the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. The Conference was chaired by Singapore's Trade Minister Yeo Cheow Tong.



If the completion of the Uruguay Round in Marrakesh [in April 1994] closed an important chapter of economic history, this first Ministerial Conference in Singapore opens a new one. This is not a new chapter just because our organization has a new name or new sectors of responsibility or a new dispute settlement procedure. It is a

new chapter in the sense that we have brought together 127 countries in a single undertaking and under a set of fundamental rules shared by all. It is a new chapter in the sense that our world of deepening integration and interdependence is demanding a new unity of vision.

— Director-General Renato Ruggiero, speaking at the opening of the Conference





I have listened with great interest to the numerous statements made by my colleagues and have found that they say essentially two things: first, that the WTO is important and has achieved much during its first two years, and second; and here there is a difference of views, some saying that the Organization should go further, faster and deeper into the process of liberalization; others saying that the process is already too fast and should be slowed. All agree on one salient fact and it is that the

— Mervyn Assam, Trinidad and Tobago's Minister of Trade and Industry

WTO can do no more than provide an opportunity; an opportunity to fish in a larger pond, to participate in a global rule-based system which strives to bring greater transparency to trading systems worldwide; an opportunity to challenge even the Goliaths of international trade, by way of dispute settlement mechanisms, when they appear to fail to live up to the letter of the law formulated in Marrakesh, two short years ago.



The choice before us is clear: we can refuse to adapt, and lose the primacy of this Organization and the opportunity it offers for a rational, stable framework for a better standard of living through trade. Or, we can accept that we are living in a global village, and make it easier for our citizens to participate in the global marketplace. I encourage this Conference to take the second approach, so that we can manage world market forces effectively, and harness their good effects for the people of our respective countries.

— Arthur C. Eggleton, Canada's Minister for International Trade

Singapore Ministerial Declaration, 13 December 1996



For nearly 50 years Members have sought to fulfil, first in the GATT and now in the WTO, the objectives reflected in the preamble to the WTO Agreement of conducting our trade relations with a view to raising standards of living worldwide. The rise in global trade facilitated by trade liberalization within the rules-based system has created more and better-paid jobs in many countries. The achievements of the WTO during its first two years bear witness to our desire to work together to make the most of the possibilities that the multilateral system provides to promote sustainable growth and development while contributing to a more stable and secure climate in international relations.

We believe that the scope and pace of change in the international economy, including the growth in trade in services and direct investment, and the increasing integration of economies offer unprecedented opportunities for improved growth, job creation, and development. These developments require adjustment by economies and societies. They also pose challenges to the trading system. We commit ourselves to address these challenges.

— Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Singapore Ministerial Declaration, 13 December 1996



◀ Left

Director-General Renato Ruggiero and Conference Chair Yeo Cheow Tong, Singapore's Minister for Trade and Industry.

Second Ministerial Conference

Geneva, Switzerland
18-20 May 1998

The WTO's Second Ministerial Conference, held in Geneva, also marked the 50th anniversary of the multilateral trading system, as embodied by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The event was attended by many world leaders, including US President Bill Clinton, South African President Nelson Mandela, Cuban President Fidel Castro and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair. The Conference was chaired by Switzerland's Economic Minister, Pascal Couchepin.



We have a responsibility - as well as an opportunity - to lift our sights beyond this Meeting and beyond this century, to set a new course for the trading system in the years ahead. We are not here to promote liberalization for liberalization's sake. Rather we share a commitment to freer multilateral trade, not as an end in itself, but as an essential means to far more important ends. Behind each line of the 20,000 pages of the

WTO agreements are millions of workers and farmers, entrepreneurs and professionals who want greater health and security for their families, freedom from the shadow of unemployment, and a better future for their children. Behind each accession negotiation are millions of citizens who want to share in what all of us now enjoy - a system dedicated to openness, mutual exchange, and freedom of choice.

— Conference Chair Pascal Couchepin, Switzerland's Economic Minister



Globalization is not a policy choice - it is a fact. But all of us face a choice. We can work to shape these powerful forces of change to the benefit of our people. Or we can retreat behind walls of protection - and get left behind in the global economy. At a moment when, for the first time in human history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing ... when the argument over which is better - free enterprise or state socialism - has been won ... when people on every continent seek to join the free market system, those of us who have benefited from that system and led it cannot turn our backs.

— US President Bill Clinton



▲ Above Director-General Renato Ruggiero (left) and Conference Chair Pascal Couchepin (centre), Swiss Economic Minister.



Everywhere, on all fronts of human existence, all people face the challenge of change. Technology transforms their workplaces. Globalization alters the structures in which they work. Financial markets that with the push of a button move sums of money beyond contemplation across international frontiers with stunning rapidity, can move whole economies. ... Our choice is clear. To resist change, let it happen or act

— UK Prime Minister Tony Blair

together to manage its consequences so that our people are equipped for change and given the chances and security they need. Resistance is easy to demand, but won't work and will spoil the good that globalization can bring. Laissez-faire will leave us divided and bitter. Working together to maximize the good and minimize the bad is the only realistic option. Nowhere is that clearer than in the way we trade with each other.



Fifty years ago, when the founders of the GATT evoked the link between trade, growth and a better life, few could have foreseen such poverty, homelessness and unemployment as the world now knows. Few would have imagined that the exploitation of the world's abundant resources and a prodigious growth in world trade would have seen the gap between rich and poor widening. And few could have anticipated the burden of debt on many poor nations. As we celebrate what has been achieved in shaping the world trading system, let us resolve to leave no stone unturned in working together to ensure that our shared principles are everywhere translated into reality. As we enter the new millennium, let us forge a partnership for development through trade and investment.

— South African President Nelson Mandela



Since our last Ministerial Meeting in Singapore, the multilateral trading system has achieved many successes. We have concluded agreements on basic telecommunications and on financial services, and implemented the agreement on information technology. Their combined value equates to a new Round - the finance and technology Round for the 21st century. We have a dispute settlement system which is functioning well, and increasingly used by a wide range of the Membership. ... This is a record of success in any terms, but we should not let it blind us to the fact that we live in challenging times where there is still an unacceptable level of poverty and inequality. The turmoil in Asian economies has reminded us how interdependent our world is. This means that the single most important message we can send out from this Meeting is a message of unity. More than ever, the multilateral trading system offers a force for stability and cooperation.

— Director-General Renato Ruggiero

Geneva Ministerial Declaration, 20 May 1998



The fiftieth anniversary [of the multilateral trading system started under GATT] comes at a time when the economies of a number of WTO Members are experiencing difficulties as a result of disturbances in financial markets. We take this opportunity to underline that keeping all markets open must be a key element in a durable solution to these difficulties. With this in mind, we reject the use of any protectionist measures and agree to work together in the WTO as in the IMF and the World Bank to improve the coherence of international economic policy-making with a view to maximizing the contribution that an open, rule-based trading system can make to fostering stable growth for economies at all levels of development.

— Paragraph 3 of the Geneva Ministerial Declaration



Third Ministerial Conference

Seattle, United States

30 November – 3 December 1999

Delegates arriving in Seattle were met by massive anti-globalization protests. Combined with the difficulties leading up to the Conference, this led to the suspension of the meeting following chaotic scenes. In a press statement issued at the end of the Conference, Director-General Mike Moore said: “The suspension of talks is not unprecedented in the history of the multilateral trading system. But what is vital is that we maintain and consolidate what has already been achieved. The progress made must not be lost.” The Conference was chaired by Charlene Barshefsky, United States Trade Representative.



Today, the debate is no longer whether or not we want the development of trade and economic globalization. These are already facts. Twenty years ago, the world economy only comprised the rich countries and a handful of emerging countries. Nowadays, it covers almost the whole planet, except for a few inward-looking dictatorships. There is no reason to regret this process. ... However, we should not have any illusions. Globalization has also been accompanied by a worrying growth in inequalities. The least-developed countries have been left behind. Criminal gangs or corruption have come to fill the gap sometimes left by states. France and Europe do not accept that these are some of the obviously harmful, but inevitable effects of globalization. They want the World Trade Organization to be one of the instruments of a collective strategy of shared growth based on fair rules of the game. In a word, a charter for globalization, drawn up by all and in the interests of all.

— Christian Sautter, France's Minister of the Economy, Finance and Industry



I have some empathy with some of these protestors outside. Not all are bad or mad. They are right when they say they want a safer, cleaner more healthy planet. They are correct when they call for an end to poverty, more social justice, better living standards. They are wrong to blame the WTO for all the world's problems. They are especially wrong when they say this is not a democratic house. Ministers are here because their people decided so. Our agreements must be agreed by Parliaments. This is a Ministerial Conference.

— Director-General Mike Moore



► **Right** Opening day of the Seattle Ministerial Conference.

Fourth Ministerial Conference

Doha, Qatar
9-13 November 2001

The Fourth Ministerial Conference, held in Doha, saw the launch of the Doha Round of trade negotiations, also known as the Doha Development Agenda (see pages 50-51) as a fundamental objective is to improve the trading prospects of developing countries. The Conference also welcomed China into the WTO. The Chair of the Conference, which was held in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the United States, was Youssef Hussain Kamal, Qatar's Minister of Finance, Economy and Commerce.

The Conference ended with the publication of the Doha Ministerial Declaration, spelling out the topics to be covered by the Doha Round work programme, and a separate declaration on intellectual property and public health.

► **Right**
Conference Chair
Youssef Hussain Kamal,
Qatar's Minister of
Finance, Economy
and Commerce.



This conference has been a remarkable experience for all of us. It has been difficult because we have been dealing with some of the most sensitive issues in international trade policy, and many governments have had to move towards the positions of their partners to make this agreement possible. I have been impressed by the readiness which so many ministers have shown to understand and accommodate the needs of others, and by the strength of the common determination to make the conference a success — not just for the sake of national interests, but very much because everybody appreciated the need to give a signal of confidence in this very difficult time of international uncertainty.

— Director-General Mike Moore, speaking at the end of the Conference



The success of our conference at this difficult time is ... especially important as a reaffirmation of the determination of the international community to work together to respond to these challenges for a better future.

— Conference Chair Youssef Hussain Kamal, Qatar's Minister of Finance, Economy and Commerce





This is an historic moment for the WTO, for China and for international economic cooperation.

— Director-General Mike Moore, speaking after the signing of China's Accession Protocol

▲ **Above** China's Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Shi Guangshen celebrates with Director-General Mike Moore and Conference Chair Youssef Hussain Kamal after signing China's Accession Protocol.

Doha Ministerial Declaration, 14 November 2001



Recognizing the challenges posed by an expanding WTO membership, we confirm our collective responsibility to ensure internal transparency and the effective participation of all members. While emphasizing the intergovernmental character of the organization, we are committed to making the WTO's operations more transparent, including through more effective and prompt dissemination of information, and to improve dialogue with the public. We shall therefore at the national and multilateral levels continue to promote a better public understanding of the WTO and to communicate the benefits of a liberal, rules-based multilateral trading system.

In view of these considerations, we hereby agree to undertake the broad and balanced Work Programme set out below. This incorporates both an expanded negotiating agenda and other important decisions and activities necessary to address the challenges facing the multilateral trading system.

— Paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Doha Ministerial Declaration

Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and public health, 14 November 2001



We recognize the gravity of the public health problems afflicting many developing and least-developed countries, especially those resulting from HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and other epidemics.

... We agree that the TRIPS Agreement does not and should not prevent members from taking measures to protect public health. Accordingly, while reiterating our commitment to the TRIPS Agreement, we affirm that the 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.

— Paragraphs 1 and 4 of the Declaration on the TRIPS (Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) Agreement and public health

Fifth Ministerial Conference

Cancún, Mexico
10-14 September 2003

At the WTO's Fifth Ministerial Conference, held in Cancún in September 2003, ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the Doha Development Agenda. However, five days of talks ultimately ended in deadlock, with WTO members unable to achieve consensus on the way forward. The Conference was chaired by Luis Ernesto Derbez, Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs.



This Conference is significant not just for the WTO and international trade. We should see the Doha work programme in its broader context. The UN Millennium Development Goals seek to halve the number of people living in extreme poverty and hunger by 2015. We can make a significant contribution towards achieving these vital goals by removing the shackles on world trade. A few days ago, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said that the decisions which Ministers will take here have the potential to make a real difference to the lives of millions of people in poor countries. Much improved market access, for instance, could help developing countries to increase their exports by many billions of dollars per year.

— Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi



As members of the WTO, we have placed development issues at the forefront of our negotiations. The Doha Round incorporates the interests and needs of developing countries in an ambitious and extensive work programme. Our success will define the terms for international trade relations in this new century and what we decide in this Organization could therefore have a major impact on the future of millions and millions of human beings. We must reaffirm our commitment with a revitalized system of multilateral cooperation that underlines the joint responsibility of countries to deal with the problems of poverty, unemployment and the misuse of natural resources.

— Vicente Fox, President of Mexico



► **Right** Vicente Fox,
President of Mexico.



Trade is the most visible manifestation of globalization. It has proved its ability to deliver jobs and wealth for some. Yet there is widespread unease, and even distrust, about the new economic and technological spaces we inhabit. So many people have yet to benefit, and in the developing world there has been great dislocation without a safety net. You, the world's trade ministers, must show those people that you have heard their cries for fairness. You must give them confidence that, from now on, your negotiations and decisions will really meet their needs and reflect their aspirations. You have an awesome responsibility, and a great opportunity. Your decisions can make the difference between poverty and prosperity, and even between life and death, for millions upon millions of people.

— Message from UN Secretary-General
Kofi Annan



In November 2001, at Doha, the Ministers of all the Members of the WTO undertook to launch a broad round of negotiations with a view to consolidating and deepening trade liberalization worldwide, with special emphasis on promoting the development of the world's poorest regions. Nearly two years have gone by, and to me the commitment we entered into in Doha appears more important than ever. ... Our Doha Development Agenda offers viable solutions to the development problem, tangible benefits for the world's poorest regions, a way to positive participation by all the world's inhabitants in the prosperity that trade has shown itself able to generate. The Doha Round's potential for stimulating development goes beyond what we usually refer to as development matters. The most important benefits are in fact associated with the central concerns of the WTO: market access and clear rules allowing the developing countries to be effectively integrated in trade and investment flows, rather than isolating them from the opportunities they offer.

— Conference Chair Luis Ernesto Derbez,
Mexico's Minister of Foreign Affairs

◀ Left Luis Ernesto Derbez, Mexico's Minister of Foreign Affairs (right), receiving the chair's gavel from Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi.

Ministerial Statement, 14 September 2003



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.

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 take the action necessary ... 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.

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.

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

— Paragraphs 3 to 6 of the concluding Ministerial Statement

Sixth Ministerial Conference

Hong Kong, China
13-18 December 2005

The WTO's Sixth Ministerial Conference, held in Hong Kong, China in December 2005, saw the launch of the Aid for Trade initiative aimed at helping developing countries benefit from the opportunities offered by the multilateral trading system. The Ministerial Declaration issued at the end of the Conference reaffirmed "the central importance of the development dimension in every aspect of the Doha Work Programme". A number of delegations underlined the positive results on development issues.

The Conference was chaired by John C. Tsang, Hong Kong's Commerce, Industry and Technology Secretary. It was attended by some 6,000 delegates, 2,000 NGO representatives and nearly 4,000 journalists.



The WTO is a powerful force in countering the currents of protectionism and discrimination which are responsible to a large extent for the economic hardship suffered by less wealthy and less well-endowed economies. And, ultimately, the WTO is a key component in the global effort to attain the United Nations' Millennium Goal of Development in tackling the scourge of poverty and hunger.

— Donald Tsang, Chief Executive of Hong Kong, China



The WTO decision-making process, as you all know is, let us say, difficult. The difficulty stems from the fact that all stakeholders — all of you — have decided that you have exactly the same right, no matter how big or small, no matter how powerful or weak, no matter how rich or poor you are: you all have the right to speak, the right to agree, the right to disagree. In sum, in spite of all criticism, the WTO decision-making process is democratic. If it were different, taking decisions on the negotiations would probably be easier. But it would not be as legitimate. Reaching agreement in the WTO is difficult because it is done bottom-up — and it is good this is so. It takes more time, it is more burdensome and cumbersome, but I am convinced it remains the best way to take decisions that impact directly the lives of billions of people.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy



► **Right** Donald Tsang,
Chief Executive of
Hong Kong, China.



The middle name of DDA is Development. It is there as a matter of deliberate choice. At Doha we chose development as the guiding philosophy of this ninth round of multilateral negotiations because we believe that trade is an engine of growth, and that it must work for development. What we are seeking to do is to help developing economies better integrate into the global system so that they too can reap the benefits of free and open trade.

— Conference Chair John C. Tsang, Hong Kong's Secretary for Commerce, Industry and Technology

► **Right** Director-General Pascal Lamy and Conference Chair John C. Tsang, Hong Kong's Commerce, Industry and Technology Secretary.

▼ **Below** Oxfam presented a petition to the Ministerial Conference: "Trade Ministers, 17.8 million people are calling on you to make trade fair in Hong Kong."



Ministerial Declaration, 18 December 2005

We emphasize the central importance of the development dimension in every aspect of the Doha Work Programme and recommit ourselves to making it a meaningful reality, in terms both of the results of the negotiations on market access and rule-making and of the specific development-related issues set out below.

Aid for Trade should aim to help developing countries, particularly LDCs [least-developed countries], to build the supply-side capacity and trade-related infrastructure that they need to assist them to implement and benefit from WTO Agreements and more broadly to expand their trade. Aid for Trade cannot be a substitute for the development benefits that will result from a successful conclusion to the DDA [Doha Development Agenda], particularly on market access. However, it can be a valuable complement to the DDA.

— Paragraphs 2 and 57 of the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration



Seventh Ministerial Conference

Geneva, Switzerland
30 November - 2 December 2009

The Seventh Ministerial Conference took place in Geneva, Switzerland, in the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 2008. Under the theme of “The WTO, the multilateral trading system and the current global economic environment”, the Conference was chaired by Andrés Velasco, Chile’s Minister of Finance. It was the first ministerial conference held since 2005 as there had been no consensus among WTO members since the Hong Kong Conference on the timing and location of the next conference.

In the run-up to the Conference, Director-General Pascal Lamy said that it would not be a negotiating session but rather an occasion “to send a number of strong signals to the world with respect to the entire WTO waterfront of issues — from monitoring and surveillance to disputes, accessions, Aid for Trade, technical assistance and international governance”.



This Ministerial Meeting is different to those we have held in the recent past. Its purpose is to undertake a political review of the WTO’s work and to provide guidelines for how we want to conduct our work in the future. We are going to evaluate the performance of our Organization in order to ensure that its work is even more effective in the future. We have the opportunity for an open and transparent discussion of the contribution which the Organization must continue to make to the global community, particularly in view of the current economic and financial situation. This exchange of ideas and outlooks will, in the end, not only help us to keep the WTO up-to-date but will maintain it at the centre of the international trading system of the future. We must have such debates on a regular and continuous basis.

— Conference Chair Andrés Velasco,
Chile’s Minister of Finance



▲ Above Conference Chair Andrés Velasco,
Chile’s Minister of Finance.



Despite some criticism, the WTO has been in fact a good example of global international cooperation with tangible, enforceable results and concrete economic benefits. Particularly in view of the present efforts to find ways out of the crisis and to try to get the economy back on track, the rapid conclusion of the Doha Round would provide an urgently-needed, overdue stimulus.

— Reinhold Mitterlehner, Austria’s Federal
Minister of Economy, Family and Youth



Our goal is not freer trade for trade's sake. It is about better living standards for our people, better healthcare and education, less poverty and a cleaner environment.

— Fátima Fialho, Cabo Verde's Minister of Economy, Growth and Competitiveness



Norway – my country – is a living example of how GATT and the WTO have been key guarantors of economic growth, development and prosperity. Our challenge today is to make that opportunity and those benefits of trade available to all.

— Jonas Gahr Støre, Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs



▲ Above Director-General Pascal Lamy.

◀ Left Opening session of the Seventh Ministerial Conference.



The WTO is more than a forum for agreeing on market opening and rules. It is also about ensuring that our existing rules and agreements work properly. It is about settling our disputes peacefully. It is about furthering coherence with other policy priorities, starting with climate change. It is about making the case for more open trade. It is about capacity building. These are all part of the insurance policy to which you have collectively subscribed in the WTO.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy



Eighth Ministerial Conference

Geneva, Switzerland
15-17 December 2011

The WTO's Eighth Ministerial Conference, held in Geneva in December 2011, approved the accessions of Russia, Samoa and Montenegro. In a statement issued at the end of the Conference, ministers committed to advance negotiations "where progress can be achieved". The Conference was chaired by Nigeria's Trade and Investment Minister, Olusegun Olutoyin Aganga. In his closing statement, he said that at a challenging time for the world's economy the Conference had "sent a strong collective message that the WTO is more than ever important to the world".



Our Ministerial meeting once again takes place against the backdrop of a challenging global economic climate, which has worsened in recent months. ... It is usually in a challenging economic environment like this that there is greater political pressure to halt or even reverse the process of economic reform and trade liberalization. As it did over the last two years, the WTO system with its rules and commitments continues to help us avoid a protectionist spiral similar to the one experienced as a result of the crisis in the 1930s. This is an important message to send to the world. But what is even more important is that you, Ministers responsible for trade, send out a message that trade openness is particularly important during such challenging economic times. We must remain aware of the fact that in a globalized economy, all of us are impacted more rapidly by events elsewhere, and that our shared interests must prevail over economic nationalism.

— Conference Chair Olusegun Olutoyin Aganga, Nigeria's Minister of Trade and Investment



My call today is for all of us to stand up for the values of multilateralism. For major players to exercise leadership and to muster political courage to act together for greater trade opening and reform. To place the interests and needs of developing countries and, in particular, those of the poorest, at its heart. And to start thinking seriously about the dire consequences of not doing so in the midst of a worsening crisis. To act now in favour of a stronger multilateral trading system tomorrow.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy



► **Right** Conference Chair Olusegun Olutoyin Aganga, Nigeria's Minister of Trade and Investment.



The WTO is the backbone of international trade. Its rules and disciplines, its dispute settlement mechanism and its role in monitoring Members' compliance with the Agreements have been crucial to ensure the correct functioning of the System. They have contributed to increased trade flows and to keeping protectionism at bay. It is therefore in the interest of all Members to strengthen the Organization and keep it up to date, so that it continues fulfilling its important role while the world evolves.

— Anabel Gonzalez, Costa Rica's
Minister of Foreign Trade



This is a historic moment for the Russian Federation and the rules-based multilateral trading system. After an 18-year marathon, the finish line has been crossed. This is a double win for Russia and the WTO. The package we have just adopted is the result of hard technical work, led by modernizing political leadership.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy,
speaking at the signing of Russia's
Accession Protocol



▲ Above Russia's Economic Development Minister Elvira Nabiullina with Director-General Pascal Lamy after signing Russia's Accession Protocol, which consists of 16,000 pages of legal texts and supporting documentation.

◀ Left Opening session of the Eighth Ministerial Conference.

Ninth Ministerial Conference

Bali, Indonesia
3-6 December 2013

The WTO's Ninth Ministerial Conference, held in Bali in December 2013, resulted in the adoption of the Bali Package, a set of ten decisions, including steps on agriculture, measures for least-developed countries, and the Trade Facilitation Agreement – the first multilateral agreement to be concluded since the WTO was created. The Conference was chaired by Indonesia's Minister of Trade, Gita Wirjawan.

► **Right** Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and Conference Chair Gita Wirjawan, Indonesia's Minister of Trade.



I am delighted to say that, for the first time in our history: the WTO has truly delivered. I challenged you all, here in Bali, to show the political will we needed to take us across the finish line. You did that. And I thank you for it. ... I would like to echo the words of Ambassador Omar Hilale of Morocco, who said yesterday, 'this package is not an end — it is a beginning'. As a consequence of our progress here we will now be able to move forward on the other areas of our work, which have been stalled for so long. With the Bali Package you have reaffirmed not just

your commitment to the WTO — but also to the delivery of the Doha Development Agenda. The decisions we have taken here are an important stepping stone towards the completion of the Doha Round. ... In closing, I would like to recall some of Nelson Mandela's words which are, I think, particularly appropriate today. He once said: 'It always seems impossible, until it's done.' The Bali Package may have frequently seemed impossible, but now it is done. And we all really did deliver here and now.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo





Through our actions here in Bali, we have reaffirmed the WTO's role as the pre-eminent forum for multilateral trade negotiations. It is only through multilateral agreements that many of the poorest and most vulnerable countries can truly benefit from international trade. So what we do in the WTO is vital. We have achieved all we set out to achieve this week.

— Conference Chair Gita Wirjawan,
Indonesia's Minister of Trade



In recent weeks the WTO has come alive. We have seen this organization the way it should be. Negotiating. Dynamic. Working hard to get an agreement. Working through weekends (and through the weeks!). Working through the night. Seeking common ground, finding innovative solutions, making compromises. We have not seen such effort and engagement for a long, long time. And in recent weeks we have lived up to our name. Instead of a non-inclusive and non-transparent process, this time the entire membership came together to negotiate. Every delegation had a chance to participate in the negotiating process. We have put the "World" back into the "World Trade Organization".

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo



► **Right and below**
Discussions during the
Ministerial Conference.



Bali Ministerial Declaration, 7 December 2013



We reaffirm our commitment to the WTO as the pre-eminent global forum for trade, including negotiating and implementing trade rules, settling disputes and supporting development through the integration of developing countries into the global trading system. In this regard, we reaffirm our commitment to the Doha Development Agenda, as well as to the regular work of the WTO.

We take note of the progress that has been made towards carrying out the Doha Work Programme, including the decisions we have taken on the Bali Package during this Ministerial Conference. These decisions are an important stepping stone towards the completion of the Doha Round.

— Part III of the Bali Ministerial Declaration

Tenth Ministerial Conference

Nairobi, Kenya
15-18 December 2015

The WTO's Tenth Ministerial Conference, to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, in December 2015, is the first Ministerial Conference to be held in Africa. In the run-up to the Conference, Director-General Roberto Azevêdo said that "many people in Africa, and all over the world, are counting on us to deliver substantive outcomes in Nairobi which will support much-needed global growth and development."



MC10
NAIROBI
2015



You will recall that when we agreed Nairobi as the venue for MC10 in December last year, our good friend Minister Amina Mohamed was with us. In her remarks she emphasized that she was accepting this honour not just on behalf of Kenya but on behalf of Africa as a whole. We developed the logo in close cooperation with our Kenyan colleagues, and so, as you can see, it reflects this important dimension. It is my hope that each time we see this logo it will remind us of the many people in Africa, and all over the world, who are counting on us to deliver substantive outcomes in Nairobi which will support much-needed global growth and development. I think this is appropriate for the first WTO Ministerial Conference held in Africa — and for a Ministerial Conference which must deliver for Africa.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, 5 May 2015, speaking at the launch of the MC10 logo



▲ Above Director-General Roberto Azevêdo speaking about MC10 at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade on 1 July 2015.



The hosting of the 10th Ministerial Conference in Africa is a manifestation of the commitment by the WTO membership and the international community at large to integrate the African continent into the multilateral trading system. The integration of Africa ... will augment and complement Africa's regional and continental efforts towards increased intra Africa trade that will culminate in the realization of the dream of the Continental Free Trade Area. ... We are confident that the 10th WTO Ministerial Conference ... will provide an opportunity for Members and relevant stakeholders to exchange views on how to optimally exploit diverse global resources for the welfare of mankind in a predictable rule based environment. The positive outcome from this Conference will boost trade and investment, create employment and ultimately contribute to poverty eradication.

— Uhuru Kenyatta, President of Kenya, www.mc10nairobi.org



▲ Above Uhuru Kenyatta, President of Kenya.



This ministerial conference will be our first opportunity since our successful meeting in Bali in 2013 to show that the multilateral trading system can deliver negotiated outcomes — particularly for the poorest and the most marginalised. ... Nairobi is a very critical landmark, we have to deliver something credible.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo,
1 July 2015



We must deliver a pragmatic package on development. In this 20th year of the WTO we should seek to strengthen trade multilateralism; it has promoted an inclusive, rules-based and non-discriminatory trading system and contributed to rapid economic growth

— Amina Mohamed, Kenya's Secretary
for Foreign Affairs and International
Trade, 1 July 2015



▲ Above Kenyatta International Conference Centre, venue for the Tenth Ministerial Conference.



◀ Left Amina Mohamed, Kenya's Secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Trade, speaking on a session on the Ministerial Conference at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 1 July 2015.

General Council

The General Council carries out the day-to-day functions of the WTO. It is the most important decision-making body outside of the Ministerial Conference and consists of all WTO members. General Council chairs are appointed for a one-year term. The first meeting of the General Council was held on 31 January 1995. Since then, it has met 157 times as of 1 July 2015. Over this period, it has overseen the selection of five directors-general and has welcomed 33 new members to the WTO.



Krishnasamy Kesavapany
Singapore
1995-96



William Rossier
Switzerland
1996-97



Celso Lafer
Brazil
1997-98



John Weekes
Canada
1998-99



Stuart Harbinson
Hong Kong, China
2001-02



Kåre Bryn
Norway
2000-01



Ali Said Mchumo
Tanzania
1999-2000



Sergio Marchi
Canada
2002-03



Carlos Pérez del Castillo
Uruguay
2003-04



Shotaro Oshima
Japan
2004-05



Amina Mohamed
Kenya
2005-06



John Gero
Canada
2010-11



Mario Matus
Chile
2009-10



Bruce Gosper
Australia
2008-09



Eirik Glenne
Norway
2006-07



Muhamad Noor
Malaysia
2007-08



Yonov Frederick Agah
Nigeria
2011-12



Shahid Bashir
Pakistan
2013-14



Jonathan T. Fried
Canada
2014-15



Fernando de Mateo
Mexico
2015-16



Elin Johansen
Norway
2012-13

Trade negotiations: Doha Round

The Doha Round is the latest round of trade negotiations among the WTO membership. Its aim is to achieve major reform of the international trading system through the introduction of lower trade barriers and revised trade rules. The work programme covers about 20 areas of trade.



▲ Above Conference Chair Youssef Hussain Kamal at the closing session of the Doha Ministerial Conference, 14 November 2001.



▲ Above Opening session of the Doha Ministerial Conference, 9 November 2001.



▲ Above Meeting of the Trade Negotiations Committee, 7 April 2014.

Launch of the Doha Round

The Doha Round was formally launched at the Doha Ministerial Conference in November 2001. The Round is also known as the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) as a fundamental objective is to place the needs of developing countries at the heart of the negotiations. The Doha Round work programme covers approximately 20 trade topics.

Negotiations take place in the Trade Negotiations Committee (TNC), which comprises the entire WTO membership, and in specific negotiating groups which report to the TNC.

► **Right** Swiss Economy Minister Pascal Couchepin (third from left) hugs Canadian Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew, while Qatari Trade Minister and WTO Ministerial Conference Chair Youssef Hussain Kamal (front far right) shakes hands with WTO General Council Chair Stuart Harbinson during the closing ceremony of the Doha Ministerial Conference, 14 November 2001.



This Conference will initiate the next stage in the development of the trading system, whose focus must be the fuller integration of the developing world. Capacity problems, not trade barriers, are the major obstacles to growth in developing countries. ... We have a responsibility, as WTO members and as a Secretariat, to help build capacity in another sense — that is, the capacity to participate fully in the work of the WTO and to derive maximum benefit from it.

The vast majority of the 50 new Members which have joined the Organization since the start of the Uruguay Round, and of those now negotiating their accession, are small developing countries with severe institutional and resource constraints. Trade rules offer only the gift of opportunity. That has to be backed up by an effective civil service infrastructure, to negotiate, implement and benefit from the rules.

— Director-General Mike Moore, speaking at the inaugural session of the Fourth Ministerial Conference, 9 November 2001



We learned some hard lessons in Seattle, and were resolved not to repeat them in preparing for Doha. As a result the consultations which produced the draft texts sent to Ministers were undoubtedly the most transparent and inclusive that we have ever seen, as was the process in Doha. There is no doubt that improved working methods contributed enormously to the spirit of the meeting and to the outcome.

— Director-General Mike Moore, speech to the 14th general meeting of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, 28 November 2001





▲ Above Trade Negotiations Committee, 21 January 2015.

Discussions also take place within the “green room”. These negotiations are limited to a smaller number of parties with specific interests in a particular area. Any negotiations taking place within this format are subsequently widened to include the entire WTO membership.

The term “green room” is believed to derive from English theatrical tradition, where it refers to an area where actors can prepare themselves before a performance.



▲ Above The WTO “green room”.

Doha Round work programme

(as listed in the Doha Ministerial Declaration)

- Implementation-related issues and concerns (concerning the implementation of existing WTO agreements)
- Agriculture
- Services
- Market access for non-agricultural products
- Trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights
- Trade and investment
- 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 the transfer of technology
- Technical cooperation and capacity building
- Least-developed countries
- Special and differential treatment

The Ministerial Declaration was accompanied by a separate declaration on intellectual property and public health.

Doha Round so far

1997-2000

Talks start in agriculture, services and intellectual property as mandated by the Uruguay Round agreements.

November 2001

Doha Development Agenda is officially launched at the Doha Ministerial Conference.

September 2003

Cancún Ministerial Conference was supposed to produce a mid-term review but broke down due to issues such as investment and trade facilitation.

July 2004

“Framework” is agreed for future negotiations.

December 2005

Further agreements on developing country issues are concluded at the Hong Kong Ministerial Conference.

July 2008

“July Package” comes close to resolving differences at a ministerial meeting in Geneva.

December 2008

Revised draft blueprints (“modalities”) for agriculture and non-agricultural products are issued.

December 2013

Bali Ministerial Conference approves the “Bali Package”, the first elements of the Doha Round to be agreed.

July 2008 Ministerial meeting

In July 2008, Director-General Pascal Lamy – in his capacity as Chair of the Trade Negotiations Committee – convened a ministerial meeting at the WTO with the aim of taking a big step towards concluding the Doha Round. The ministers hoped to settle their differences on blueprint agreements, known as “modalities”, in agriculture and industrial products and to make progress in the other areas of the Doha Development Agenda. Lasting nine days, the talks came close to a successful conclusion but ultimately ended in deadlock.

The aim of the modalities was to determine the scale of reductions in tariffs on thousands of industrial and agricultural products and future levels of farm subsidies in the WTO’s member countries. Other issues on the menu during the talks included services and WTO rules in areas such as anti-dumping.

Discussions continued for nine days but ultimately collapsed when ministers were unable to bridge their differences.

At a concluding press conference, Director-General Pascal Lamy said that out of a “to-do list” of 20 topics, 18 had seen positions converge but the gaps could not narrow on the 19th — the special safeguard mechanism for developing countries, a system that allows these countries to raise tariffs temporarily to deal with import surges and price falls. The meeting marks the closest the WTO has come to concluding the Doha Round.



The attempt to reach a consensus through a mini Ministerial Meeting, even though it was a high-risk operation, it should now be depicted as a necessary step in the negotiation process rather than a failure. It is true that substantial progress was made across the range of issues leading us close to finalizing the agreement. However, differences in opinions and in defining the “development round” concept and also the sensitive balance between the “commercial interests” and the livelihood of the farmers have not been attained. ... Mr Chair [Director-General Pascal Lamy], let me refer to the analogy of a soccer team made yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Brazil H.E. Mr Amorim which I totally share. We may have lost a game but the tournament is not over. The way you led the team was outstanding. Team played well. What you needed was a last minute striker.

— Bozkurt Aran, Turkey’s Permanent Representative to the WTO, statement to the Trade Negotiations Committee on 30 July 2008



▲ Above Turkey’s Ambassador to the WTO, Bozkurt Aran, Day Six of the talks, 26 July 2008.



Much has been achieved this week. We were very close to finalizing modalities in Agriculture and NAMA [non-agricultural market access]. Across a wide range of problems which had remained intractable for years we have found solutions. Negotiators have been prepared to reach out beyond their entrenched positions and to seek compromise. However, we have not been able to find convergence in the area of the Special Safeguard Mechanism. And we did not even get around to discuss cotton. As a result we will not be able to establish the Agriculture and NAMA modalities this week.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy, speech to the Trade Negotiations Committee following the collapse of the talks, 29 July 2008



▲ Above Director-General Pascal Lamy following the collapse of the talks, 29 July 2008.



◀ **Far left** WTO spokesperson Keith Rockwell surrounded by the media, Day Five of the talks, 25 July 2008.



◀ **Left** Japan's Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry, Akira Amari.



▲ **Above** WTO members engaged in lively discussion at a meeting of the Trade Negotiations Committee on the first day of the talks.



For the last eleven days, we engaged in intense negotiations, including several late night and early morning sessions. I myself have been in close contacts and consultations with my fellow trade ministers day and night in order to act as a bridge between developed and developing countries, and explore a

negotiated outcome by which all of us can bring home some net gains. There have been moments when we almost had a negotiated agreement in our sight. It is very regrettable that, despite these moments of hope, we were not able to make the last few steps towards final convergence.

— Akira Amari, Japan's Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry, statement to the Trade Negotiations Committee on 30 July 2008

Bali Package

The Bali Ministerial Conference in December 2013 concluded with the adoption of the “Bali Package”, a range of issues covering trade facilitation, agriculture and development. They are the first elements of the Doha Round to be concluded since the Round got under way in November 2001.



What we have done here in Bali is truly extraordinary. We have negotiated a package that will bring food security to billions of the world's poorest. We have delivered an Agreement on Trade Facilitation that will inject up to a trillion dollars into the world economy. And we have agreed to a ground-breaking suite of initiatives to help Least Developed

— Gita Wirjawan, Chair of the Bali Ministerial Conference, closing statement, 7 December 2013

Countries benefit more from the multilateral trading system. ... Through our actions here in Bali, we have reaffirmed the WTO's role as the pre-eminent forum for multilateral trade negotiations. It is only through multilateral agreements that many of the poorest and most vulnerable countries can truly benefit from international trade. So what we do in the WTO is vital.



With these measures on trade facilitation, agriculture and development, we have achieved something very significant. People all around the world will benefit from the package you have delivered here today: the businesses community; the unemployed and the underemployed; the poor; those who rely on food security schemes; developing country farmers; developing country cotton growers;

and the least-developed economies as a whole. But beyond that: we have reinforced our ability to support growth and development; we have strengthened this organization; and we have bolstered the cause of multilateralism itself. ... With the Bali Package you have reaffirmed not just your commitment to the WTO — but also to the delivery of the Doha Development Agenda.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, concluding remarks at the Bali Ministerial Conference, 7 December 2013

▼ Below Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and Gita Wirjawan, Chair of the Bali Conference, on the final day of the Conference, 7 December 2013.





▲ Above The closing session of the Bali Ministerial Conference.

Bali Package, December 2013

The Bali Package consists of ten ministerial decisions:

- a **Trade Facilitation Agreement** to ease the flow of goods across borders, the first multilateral trade agreement to be concluded since the WTO was established (see pages 74-75)
 - four decisions on **agriculture**, covering public stockholding for food security purposes, export competition (including forms of export subsidy), tariff rate quotas on agricultural products, and expanding the list of general services (such as land rehabilitation) that may be allowed without limit because they cause little trade distortion
 - a decision on **cotton**, which seeks a rapid solution to addressing cotton in the agriculture negotiations
 - four decisions on **development** issues, including establishing a monitoring mechanism to analyse the implementation of special provisions for developing countries in WTO agreements, expanding duty-free quota-free market access for least-developed countries (LDCs), providing services exports from LDCs with preferential treatment, and identifying ways to facilitate market access for LDC products through better use of the WTO's "rules of origin".
- A Ministerial Declaration reaffirmed WTO members' commitment to the Doha Development Agenda.

General Council decisions, November 2014

A General Council meeting in November 2014 took a number of important decisions on trade facilitation, public stockholding for food security purposes and the post Bali work programme – bringing trade negotiations and the Bali Package back on track after a mid-year setback.



This is a very important moment for the WTO. By agreeing these three decisions we have put ourselves back in the game. We have put our negotiating work back on track — that means all the Bali decisions: trade facilitation, public stockholding, the LDC [least-developed country] issues, the decisions on agriculture, development,

and all of the other elements. And we have given ourselves the chance to prepare the post-Bali work programme. But, crucially, during this process we have seen a renewed commitment to the multilateral system. ... We have delivered today on a promise we made in Bali. Now let's make it count.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, statement to the General Council, 27 November 2014.



▲ Above The General Council meeting on 27 November 2014.

Implementing WTO agreements

WTO councils and committees oversee the implementation of WTO agreements and act as a forum for the discussion of issues of concern to WTO members. The councils and committees meet at regular intervals and are open to all WTO members.

Since 1999, the WTO has hosted over 100,000 meetings to help the multilateral trading system run smoothly, including meetings of the Trade Negotiations Committee, other WTO committees dealing with specific aspects of trade, and the dispute settlement body.



▲ Above A meeting of the Council for Trade in Services, 15 November 1996. From left to right: Patrick Low, later WTO Chief Economist; David Hartridge, Director of the Trade in Services Division; Neil McMillan, Council Chair; and Lee Tuthill, Counsellor.



▲ Above A meeting of the Council for TRIPS, 10 June 2015. Far left at podium, Intellectual Property Division Director Antony Taubman. Third from right, Council Chair Abdolazeez Al-Otaibi.



▲ Above A meeting of the General Council, 28 July 2015. Fourth from left at podium, Director-General Roberto Azevêdo. To his left, Council Chair Fernando de Mateo.

WTO councils and committees

The WTO agreements need to be monitored to ensure that WTO members are abiding by the rules, and respecting their specific commitments. Monitoring the implementation of these agreements is carried out by WTO councils, committees, working groups and working parties consisting, for the most part, of all WTO members.

WTO councils and committees provide a place for WTO members to share information and to discuss trade concerns. WTO members typically provide information in the form of “notifications”. Since the WTO was established, over 23,000 notifications have been provided by WTO members on technical barriers to trade alone.



The two WTO committees under discussion here [the Services Council and its subsidiary bodies, and the Committee on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures] perform important functions which are largely hidden from view. In particular, we have pointed to the role that these committees play in generating and disseminating information, and as facilitators of technical assistance and regulatory learning.

— Andrew Lang and Joanne Scott, “The Hidden World of WTO Governance”, *European Journal of International Law* 20, no. 3 (2009).



▲ Above Meeting of the Committee on Anti-dumping Practices, chaired by Kajit Sukhum (Thailand), 1 October 1997.

18,000

Nearly 18,000 notifications about food safety and plant and animal health measures were submitted by WTO members to the Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Measures Committee between 1995 and 2014.



If you have that role, as head of a working group [in Geneva] your role is on a personal basis. You are not representing your country. Your delegation will be representing your country at the table there, and you have to hear your delegation like any other delegation. But sometimes that is a role that is not clearly perceived or clearly understood by capitals, and you have to send clear signals.

— Eduardo Pérez Motta on the role of the chairman, in Craig VanGrasstek, “The History and Future of the World Trade Organization”, p. 513.

◀ **Left** Maria Albarece (Philippines) chaired the Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS) Committee from 2012 to 2014.

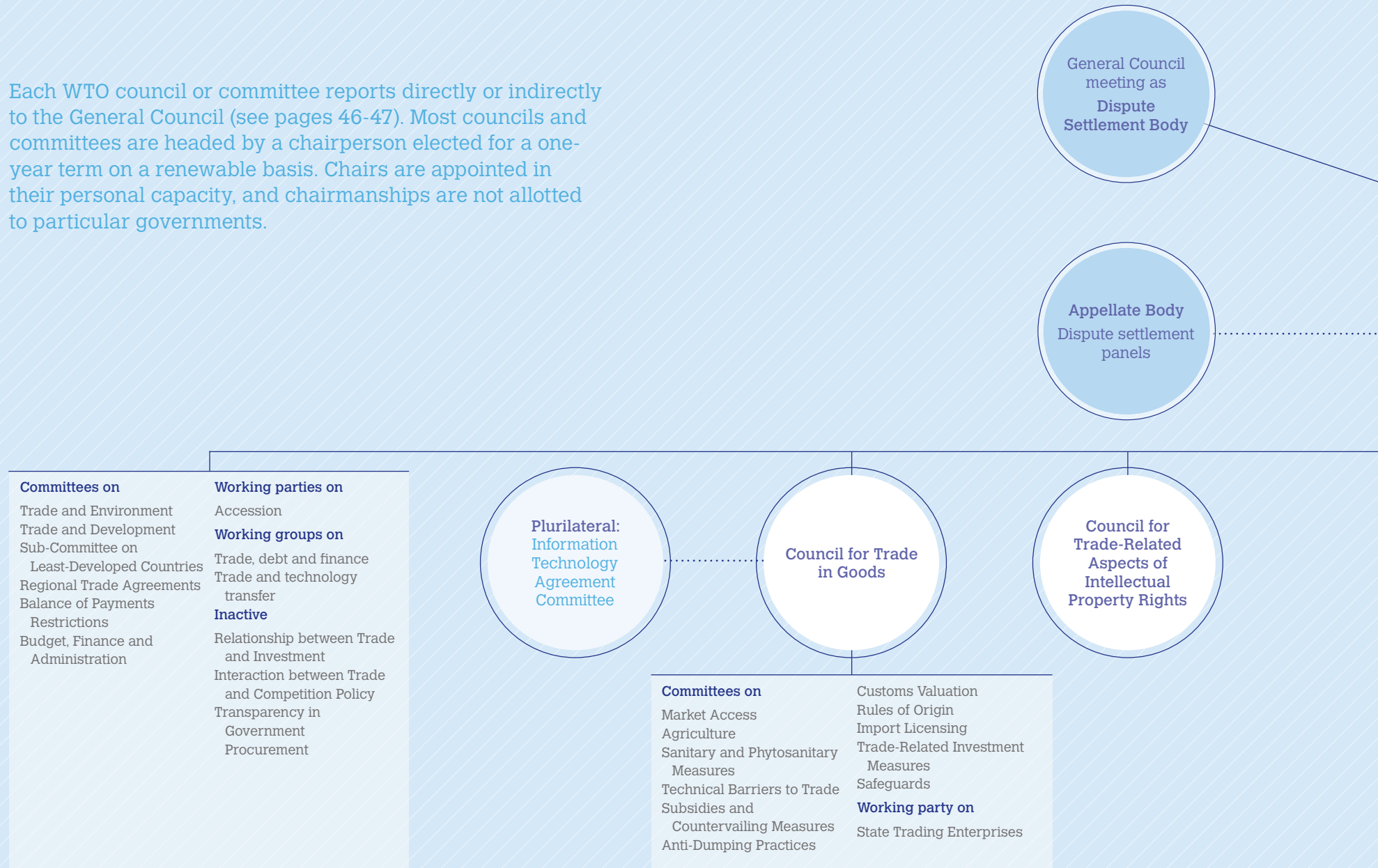


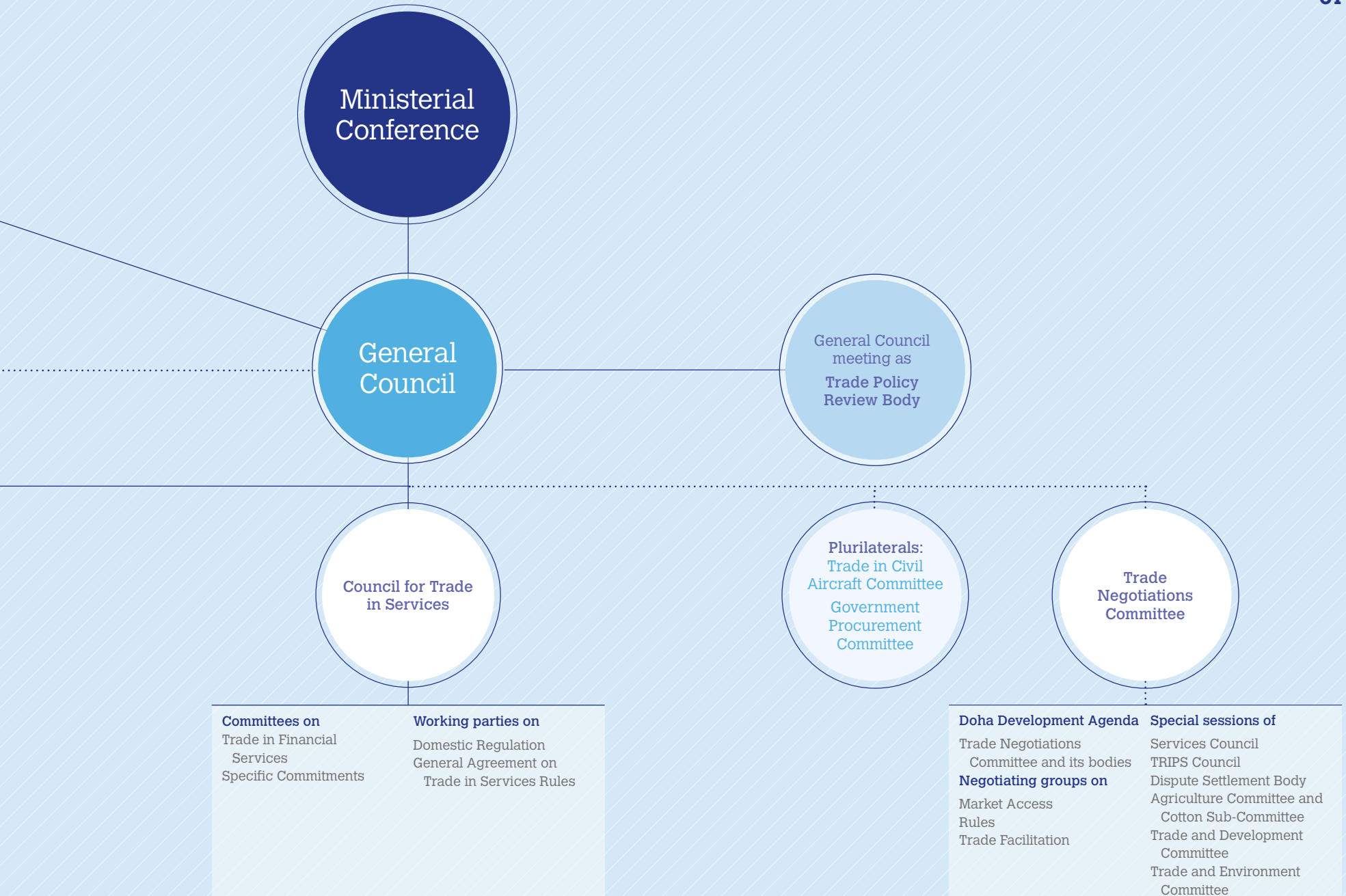
◀ **Left** Zorica Maric-Djordjevic, Montenegro's Ambassador to the WTO, addressing the Government Procurement Committee, 29 October 2014.



Implementing WTO agreements

Each WTO council or committee reports directly or indirectly to the General Council (see pages 46-47). Most councils and committees are headed by a chairperson elected for a one-year term on a renewable basis. Chairs are appointed in their personal capacity, and chairmanships are not allotted to particular governments.





Ministerial Conference

General Council

General Council meeting as Trade Policy Review Body

Council for Trade in Services

Plurilaterals:
Trade in Civil Aircraft Committee
Government Procurement Committee

Trade Negotiations Committee

Committees on
Trade in Financial Services
Specific Commitments

Working parties on
Domestic Regulation
General Agreement on Trade in Services Rules

Doha Development Agenda
Trade Negotiations Committee and its bodies
Negotiating groups on
Market Access Rules
Trade Facilitation

Special sessions of
Services Council
TRIPS Council
Dispute Settlement Body
Agriculture Committee and Cotton Sub-Committee
Trade and Development Committee
Trade and Environment Committee

Forging new agreements

The WTO's agreements on goods, services and intellectual property mostly date back to the conclusion of the Uruguay Round in 1994. But since then, the WTO has also sought to forge new agreements. These have included the Information Technology Agreement, which has eliminated tariffs on a broad range of IT products, and new agreements on telecommunications and financial services that have led to significant growth in these sectors.

Other agreements have sought to improve access to medicines and to expand trading opportunities in public spending on infrastructure and other services. The WTO's most recent multilateral accord is the Trade Facilitation Agreement approved in 2014. Once it enters into force, it is expected to reduce trade costs by up to 15 per cent by streamlining the movement of goods across borders.



▲
Information Technology Agreement
64

Telecommunications Agreement
66



Financial Services Agreement
68

Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health
70



Government Procurement Agreement
72



Trade Facilitation Agreement
74



Information Technology Agreement

The WTO's Information Technology Agreement (ITA) came into force on 1 July 1997, committing its signatories to completely eliminate import duties on a wide range of information technology products. Eighty-one WTO members comprising 97 per cent of world trade in IT products are currently party to the Agreement. Since its entry into force, exports of IT products have increased threefold.

An agreement to expand the ITA was reached in July 2015. The expanded agreement, covering an additional 201 products worth US\$ 1.3 trillion of annual trade, is scheduled to be concluded at the Tenth Ministerial Conference in Nairobi in December 2015. While the agreement was reached by a group of WTO members, the benefits will be open to all.



Our original estimate of the impact in the 1990s of the benefits of the ITA were criticized at the time as too forward-leaning. But what we learned, in the years after, was that we were far too conservative. We ourselves at the time did not realize the growth potential that this Agreement would unleash. Two-way trade in IT products that are covered by the agreement now account for US\$ 4 trillion in trade, three times what it was in 1996. But the ITA's actual payoff has been through a multiplier effect on the rest of the global economy. ... Eighty per cent of the benefits to our economies come from technology adoption and diffusion. You see this in all of the devices you carry today, all of which were enabled by the ITA.

— Charlene Barshefsky, former US Trade Representative, speaking at the 2012 ITA Symposium



Today's agreement is a landmark. Annual trade in these 201 products is valued at over \$1.3 trillion per year, and accounts for approximately 7% of total global trade today. This is larger than global trade in automotive products — or trade in textiles, clothing, iron and steel combined. Eliminating tariffs on trade of this magnitude will have a huge impact. It will support lower prices — including in many other sectors that use IT products as inputs. It will create jobs and it will help to boost GDP growth around the world. It is the first major tariff-cutting deal at the WTO in 18 years.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, announcing the conclusion of the negotiations for an expansion of the ITA, 24 July 2015



▲ Above Meeting of delegations participating in the ITA expansion negotiations, 24 July 2015.

\$1.5

trillion (US)

Exports of IT products totalled US\$ 1.5 trillion in 2013, a threefold increase since 1996.

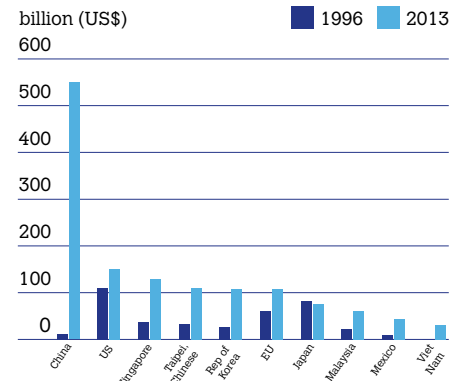
(Source: UN Comtrade database)

\$1.3

trillion (US)

Annual trade in the 201 products covered by the expanded ITA is valued at over US\$ 1.3 trillion a year.

Top 10 leading exporters of products covered by the ITA, 1996-2013



(Source: UN Comtrade database)

Telecommunications Agreement

The WTO Agreement on Basic Telecommunications Services came into force on 5 February 1998. It committed 69 governments representing 90 per cent of global telecoms revenue to liberalize trade in their telecoms market, including fixed and mobile telephony, worth over US\$ 600 billion per year.

The Agreement entered into the WTO rulebook as the Fourth Protocol to the General Agreement on Trade in Services – the GATS. This protocol became the template for all future telecoms commitments under the GATS, which today covers 113 WTO members. Since the entry into force of the Agreement, global revenue from telecoms services has more than doubled, to US\$ 1.5 trillion.



The WTO [telecommunications] agreement has accelerated the growth of new global carriers for communications services and new forms of cross-border information services using innovative technology. This ... shows how a new international regime changes options for domestic markets. The WTO agreement's strong coverage of both industrial and industrializing countries makes it easier to conceive and execute new ways of providing services on a global basis. The result is a surge of new entrants with innovative business models and new technological approaches.

— Peter Cowhey and Mikhail M. Klimenko, “The WTO Agreement and Telecommunication Policy Reforms”, *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, 2001



▲ Above Joun Yung Sun, Chair of the Services Council in 1997 when the WTO Agreement on Basic Telecommunications was concluded.



Telecommunications are emblematic of the highly integrated nature of modern economies: while the sector's own economic momentum depends on the existence of dynamic user industries, world-class communication links are today a sine qua non for a wide range of economic activities within services and

beyond. Open and competitive markets are clearly decisive in this integrated environment. Indeed, sectors such as computer services and mobile telephony are thought to have experienced remarkable growth precisely because they were introduced in an environment relatively free of trade restrictions.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy, speaking at a 2008 symposium on the 10th anniversary of the Agreement

\$1.5

trillion (US)

Global telecoms services revenue totalled US\$ 1.5 trillion in 2010, up from US\$ 724 billion in 1998.

(Source: ITU 1999 and ITU 2012)

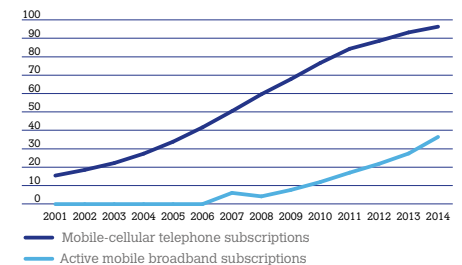
60%

WTO commitments under the Telecoms Agreement have led to substantial reductions in the price of international calls. The cost of a three-minute call from Mauritius to London fell by over 60 per cent between 2000 and 2006.

(Source: WTO)

Growth in mobile services, 2001-14

subscriptions per 100 inhabitants



(Source: ITU 2014)



Financial Services Agreement

A new agreement on financial services entered into force on 1 March 1999, committing 70 WTO members representing 95 per cent of world trade in financial services to expand domestic market access to foreign financial suppliers. The areas covered by the Financial Services Agreement include banking, securities, insurance and other financial services. The Agreement entered into the WTO legal framework as the Fifth Protocol to the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Since the Agreement's entry into force, the global banking industry has more than trebled in value, reaching US\$ 101.6 trillion in 2011.



One could ask why ... during one of the most serious financial crises of the past fifty years [in 1997], 102 Member Governments made binding commitments to liberalize their financial services trade under the Financial Services Agreement ... No country threatened to withdraw from the negotiations because of the crisis. And none withdrew the offers which had already been tabled. Even the Asian countries most seriously shaken by the crisis made commitments to improve access to their markets for foreign financial institutions. They did so in the belief that stronger competition and greater openness will make their national infrastructures stronger, not weaker. They are absolutely right. The reason why liberalization under the Services Agreement will be so important is that the Agreement is really about providing the tools to build a stronger financial system for all economies – developing and developed alike. It will do this by introducing greater competition and choice in the financial service market.

— Director-General Renato Ruggiero, speaking at a 1998 conference organized by the Italian Chamber of Commerce



The world needs not only stable and sound financial sectors but also open and competitive ones. It was through an open and competitive financial sector that the world saw the highest growth rates in the past. It is not trade per se that is at the genesis of the present crisis, but the way trade was conducted, and the way market participants were allowed to operate. More than ever before, the crisis has shown that financial services liberalization must be underpinned by adequate prudential regulation and supervision, enhanced transparency and corporate governance, and proper legal and accounting systems. And there is certainly no better framework of rules and disciplines than the GATS to ensure that trade in financial services flourishes in a sound environment.

— WTO Deputy Director-General Harsha Singh, speaking at a 2009 workshop on the tenth anniversary of the Fifth Protocol to the GATS

\$101.6

trillion (US)

The global banking industry was valued at US\$ 101.6 trillion in 2011, measured by the worldwide assets of the largest 1,000 banks, up from US\$ 32 trillion in 1995.

(Source: The Banker and The City UK)

\$4.6

trillion (US)

Global insurance premium income totalled US\$ 4.6 trillion in 2011, up from US\$ 2.3 trillion in 1999.

(Source: SwissRe)

\$225

trillion (US)

The world's financial assets were valued at US\$ 225 trillion as of 2012.

(Source: McKinsey)



Intellectual property and access to medicine

The importance of access to medicine is recognised in the 2001 Doha Declaration on TRIPS (the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) and Public Health. This states that the 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”. In 2003, WTO members agreed to introduce a new flexibility into the TRIPS Agreement, with the aim of enhancing access to medicines by removing a potential barrier for countries that need to import medicines.

Under the so-called Paragraph 6 system, essential medicines may be produced under a special type of compulsory licence (that is, granted without the patent holder’s consent) exclusively for export to countries which cannot produce the medicines themselves, without fear of action over intellectual property rights.

In 2005, the General Council decided to transform this temporary waiver into a permanent amendment to the TRIPS Agreement. The amendment will enter into force once two-thirds of WTO members confirm their acceptance by ratifying it. Over half of the WTO membership has now done so.



The first major success of the [Doha] conference was the completion of the Ministerial Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health. This had been a very difficult question, impossible to settle in Geneva, which raised economic and humanitarian issues of the highest importance. A delicate balance had to be struck between every member government’s right to act to protect public health and confront health crises and the need to avoid undermining the TRIPS Agreement, which could easily lead to the drying up of the investment funds needed for research into the drugs of the future. The job was well done, making it clear that there are important elements of flexibility in the TRIPS Agreement which can be used to respond to health emergencies. They include the right to grant compulsory licenses and to determine the grounds upon which they should be granted, and the right to establish national regimes for the exhaustion of intellectual property rights. The declaration removed a critical point of discord between developed and developing countries, and it has been welcomed by governments, by public health lobbies and by the pharmaceutical industry.

— Director-General Mike Moore at the 14th general meeting of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, 28 November 2001



In the Doha Declaration on TRIPS and Public Health of 2001, Ministers tried to remove the barriers that some developing countries were having in gaining access to all-important medicines. They provided at that time a waiver so that essential medicines could be produced elsewhere and subsequently exported into the countries that could not produce the medicines themselves. Supported by the UN General Assembly, the World Health Organization, UNAIDS and many others, WTO members subsequently took the steps to grant full and irrefutable legal protection from any action over intellectual property rights in the situations I just mentioned. So now we need to bring this important change into force. And, as with the Trade Facilitation Agreement, two-thirds of WTO members have to confirm their acceptance before this can happen.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at an information sharing session in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on 19 May 2015



Public health is undoubtedly the TRIPS-related policy issue that has attracted the most attention over the past two decades. As the world enters another international health crisis [Ebola], we are reminded of the urgent need to encourage and enable health innovation, while also ensuring access to medical technologies for those that need it most. In addressing this issue at the Doha Ministerial Conference in 2001, the Doha Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health was a landmark for several reasons:

- The world's trade ministers put on record their shared concern about the global burden of diseases, and the need for international action to address this matter.
- They also underscored that the IP system, and TRIPS in particular, formed part of the solution.
- They identified a number of ways in which TRIPS rules can support public health outcomes.
- And the Declaration itself mandated negotiations on a new flexibility, a new pathway for access to medicines for countries confronted with limited or no production capacity whatsoever.

And as a result members were able to achieve an agreement on the first amendment to the entire package of WTO trade law, with the goal of promoting public health outcomes.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at a 2014 conference to the U.S. Federal Circuit Bar Association



2/3

Two-thirds of WTO members have to ratify the amendment to the TRIPS Agreement before it can enter into force. Over half have done so.

6

In 2003, WTO members agreed to introduce a new flexibility into the TRIPS Agreement. The flexibility, known as the Paragraph 6 system, is designed to enhance access to medicines by removing a potential barrier for countries that need to import medicines.

15

million

Nearly 15 million anti-retroviral tablets were shipped from Canada to Rwanda in 2008 and 2009 under the first compulsory licence issued under the Paragraph 6 system.

(Source: WTO-WIPO-WHO, "Promoting Access to Medical Technologies and Innovation", 2012)

Government Procurement Agreement

A revised Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) entered into force on 6 April 2014, adding new services and other areas of public procurement worth an estimated US\$ 80-100 billion per year to the coverage of the GPA.

The GPA covers the procurement of goods, services and capital infrastructure by public authorities. It is a plurilateral agreement, meaning that not all WTO members are parties to the Agreement. As at 15 August 2015, 45 WTO members (including the European Union and its 28 member states) were party to the GPA. A further ten countries have begun the process of acceding to the GPA.

Membership of the GPA grants parties access to public procurement markets valued worldwide at as much as US\$ 1.7 trillion annually.

The revised GPA extends the coverage of the original agreement and modernizes it by encouraging the use of electronic tools while adding obligations to combat corrupt practices.



By concluding the renegotiation, and now by adopting the rectified results, parties have struck a powerful blow for open markets, good governance and the efficient and effective management of public resources. The usefulness of this in the context of the lingering economic and fiscal crisis cannot be overstated.

— Nicholas Niggli, GPA Chair, addressing the Government Procurement Committee in 2012



Without doubt, the Agreement on Government Procurement is becoming more and more important over time. This is a consequence not only of the Agreement's increasing membership, its role as a bulwark of market access in the modern global economy, and its recent successful renegotiation, but also of its growing role as an instrument of good governance and its significance for related internal reforms that are being pursued by many countries.

— John Newham, Chair of the GPA Committee, 3 June 2015



By promoting the efficient provision of infrastructure and public services such as health and education, government procurement has a direct impact not only on the state of national treasuries but also on the well-being of citizens. Its significance as an element of international trade is also increasing, due in part to the impact of the GPA and related bilateral and regional arrangements.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at the WTO's Bali Ministerial Conference in 2013

20%

Government procurement represents 15-20 per cent of the total share of GDP in developed and developing countries.

(Source: WTO)

\$1.7

trillion (US)

Public procurement markets under the revised GPA are worth some US\$ 1.7 trillion (as at 2014).

(Source: WTO)

45

members

The Government Procurement Agreement currently covers 45 WTO members (status at 1 September 2015).

(Source: WTO)



Trade Facilitation Agreement

The Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA), agreed at the Bali Ministerial Conference in December 2013, is the first multilateral trade agreement to be concluded since the WTO was established 20 years ago. Once it enters into force, the Agreement is expected to reduce total trade costs by up to 15 per cent in developing countries. The TFA was originally approved at the Bali Ministerial Conference as part of the Bali Package.

The Agreement sets out procedures for expediting the movement of goods across borders inspired by the best practices from around the world. The TFA is ground-breaking in that, for the first time in WTO history, the commitments of developing and least-developed countries are linked to their capacity to implement the Agreement. In addition, the TFA states that assistance should be provided to help them achieve that capacity. To this end, a Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility has been established by

Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, working with representatives of developing and least-developed countries, to assist developing countries in securing assistance and support.

The TFA will enter into force when ratified by two-thirds of the WTO membership. It is expected to be of benefit to all WTO members because the costs of implementing the Agreement are likely to be far less than the expected benefits from improving the flow of goods across borders.



▲ Above Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and Gita Wirjawan, Chair of the Bali Conference, on the final day of the Conference, 7 December 2013.



What we have done here in Bali is truly extraordinary. ... The trade facilitation agreement is the first ever multilateral agreement negotiated in the WTO. It will reduce the cost of trading, smooth the flow of goods across borders and provide more certainty for business. It will benefit all members, but particularly developing countries, which will have access to assistance to improve their systems and procedures. Most of the economic benefit from trade facilitation will flow to developing countries.

— Gita Wirjawan, Conference Chair, Bali Ministerial Conference, 2013



The Trade Facilitation Agreement broke new ground for developing countries in the way it will be implemented. For the first time in WTO history, implementation of an agreement is directly linked to the capacity of the country to do so. Previously it was mostly about giving a certain number of years — so developed countries implement an agreement immediately and least-developed and developing countries just get a few more years. Nobody ever talked about whether, when the deadline came, those countries would have the capacity to implement the provisions that were agreed. So now, and for the first time, we have more than that — we are taking a more dynamic approach. Under the TFA, not only does a country have to have the capacity before being required to implement the provisions, but assistance and support should be provided to help them achieve that capacity. Those two things have to be there for the obligation to click into place.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at a 2014 workshop on trade facilitation

15%

The TFA is expected to reduce total trade costs by up to 15 per cent for low-income countries once it enters into force.

(Source: OECD Trade Policy Paper no. 144, 2013)

4.2%

Taking the step to harmonize and simplify trade documents could alone generate cost savings of up to 4.2% for low-income countries.

(Source: 2015 OECD Trade Facilitation Indicators)

3.9

Countries which fully implement the TFA will reduce their total trade costs by up to 3.9 percentage points more than those that only apply the minimum requirements.

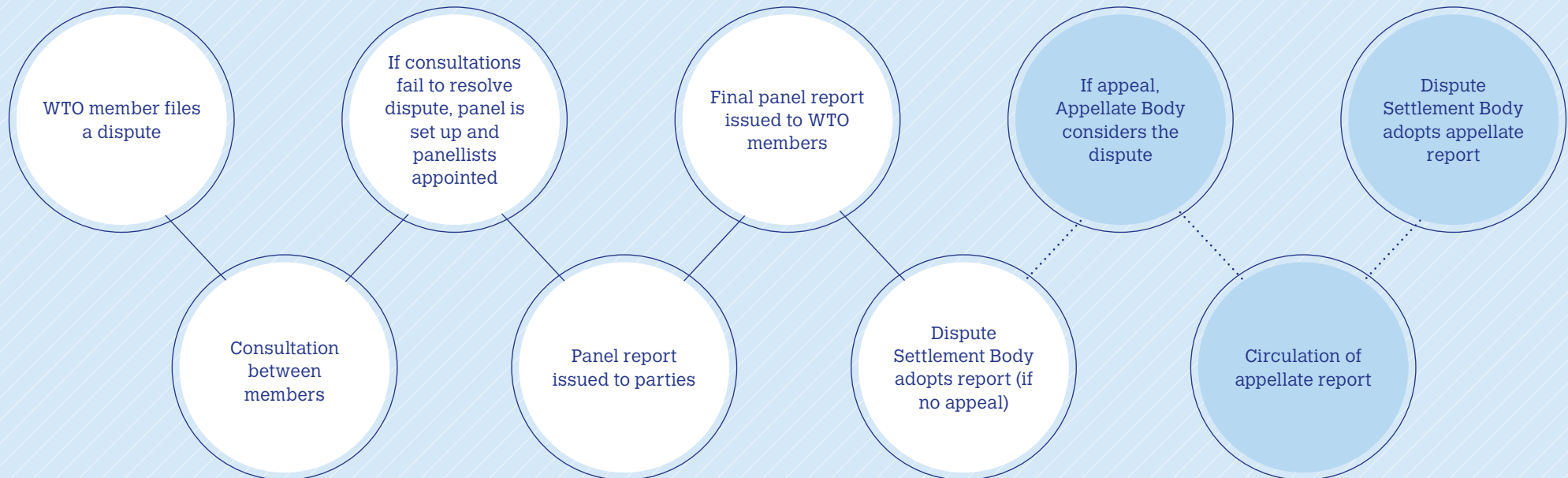
(Source: 2015 OECD Trade Facilitation Indicators)



Resolving disputes

Over the past 20 years, nearly 500 disputes have been brought to the WTO. About half of these were resolved during bilateral discussions while the other half proceeded to a panel process, which in recent years generally takes about 14 months. Appeals are considered by the WTO's Appellate Body and – excluding exceptionally busy periods – are completed within three months. This makes the WTO's dispute system one of the fastest in the world.

How disputes are settled in the WTO



Only governments and separate customs territories that are members of the WTO can participate directly in dispute settlement as parties to the case or as third parties. A formal complaint by any member automatically begins the dispute settlement process.

Dispute settlement

The Dispute Settlement Body (DSB), consisting of representatives of all WTO members, administers the dispute settlement rules and procedures. Under those rules, the DSB must adopt the findings of the panels and the Appellate Body unless the WTO members agree unanimously at the DSB meeting not to do so. This is known as the “reverse consensus” rule and ensures that the political weight of parties does not affect the outcome of the disputes. As of 1 July 2015, 496 cases had been brought to the WTO.

The regular use of the WTO’s dispute settlement system by both developing and developed countries is a clear indication that the system is working and that WTO members continue to have trust in it. To date, around half of the complaints brought before the WTO have been initiated by developing countries. The system plays a crucial role in ensuring that WTO agreements are respected. This in turn leads to more harmonious trade relations between members and promotes economic growth.



The WTO’s unique system of settling disputes continues to show how even the most intractable international issues can be resolved successfully under a multilaterally-agreed system. A few headline-grabbing disputes belie the fact that a large number of cases brought to the WTO are settled without litigation. However, where litigation is necessary, the WTO offers an efficient, impartial, and highly credible system within which members can present their arguments and receive rulings to help them to resolve their differences.

— Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi on passing the 300 dispute milestone in the WTO. This is the same number of cases brought to the GATT over 47 years.



Indeed, I was fortunate to litigate for Brazil for several years. I also served as a panelist a few times. Therefore I have huge respect for the system – and for all those who work so hard to sustain it. The rule of law and the dispute settlement system are at the heart of everything we do here at the WTO.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speech at the launch of “A History of Law and Lawyers in the GATT/WTO”, 1 June 2015

▼ **Below** The ‘Lacarte Group’ (named after Uruguayan Ambassador Julio Lacarte-Muró, centre, seated, the first chairperson of the Appellate Body) was instrumental in negotiating the Uruguay Round Dispute Settlement Understanding in October 1993.





WTO dispute settlement is remarkably efficient. On average, WTO disputes run significantly faster than cases in other international or regional fora, such as the ICJ [International Court of Justice], the ECJ [European Court of Justice] and NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement].

— Yonov Frederick Agah, 2010 DSB Chairperson and currently Deputy Director-General, speaking on 25 March 2011

The average timeframe for WTO panel proceedings is 10 months, excluding the time it takes to compose a panel and translate reports. Compare this to the ICJ's four years, the ECJ's two years and NAFTA's Chapter 20 and 11 proceedings of three years and five years, respectively.



“The current system is unique. And what's more, it is the best one that has been invented so far in the world”, according to Alan Yanovich, a lawyer with Akin Gump and a former legal officer for the WTO Appellate Body. “I always advise my clients to go to the WTO rather than to another international court.”

— Dejan Nikolic, “The WTO houses a factory for trade complaints”, *L'Hebdo*, 11 June 2015



Another unique provision of the DSU is that it rules out all unilateral measures. Only the WTO can decide whether members' measures or actions are consistent with WTO rules. In that sense, the WTO is a rare system that has managed to regulate counter-measures from powerful states by subjecting such action to prior approval by the collective membership.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy speaking to the UN Audiovisual Library of International Law on “The Place of the WTO in the International Legal Order”, 15 June 2008

▲ Above Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and Gabrielle Marceau (centre), WTO Counsellor, at the launch of “A History of Law and Lawyers in the GATT/WTO”, 1 June 2015.

Compliance with rulings

WTO disputes have grown in complexity in the last few years. Dispute panels and the Appellate Body have to deal with an expanding body of case law and an increasing volume of complex technical evidence. In 2000, nearly 100 exhibits were submitted as part of each complaint; for the most recent period (2009-14), that number increased threefold.

WTO members comply with the rulings of the dispute settlement system in about 90 per cent of cases. If the member does not bring its measures into conformity with the relevant WTO agreements within the allotted time for compliance, the complainant may request the DSB to authorize retaliation in the form of trade sanctions, such as restrictions on imports, for an amount equivalent to the level of trade affected by the offending measure.

The WTO dispute settlement system is regularly solicited, with nearly 500 complaints in two decades of existence. This is very high in comparison to other international tribunals.



The benefits of our disputes work are wide-ranging, and not always immediately apparent. For example, in addition to the direct impact that it has on disputes on the parties involved, I think the strength of the dispute settlement function was also a crucial factor in the response to the financial crisis. Having the rules in place is not enough. These rules must be enforced,

and it was the existence of our efficient and effective dispute settlement mechanism that helped us to curb potentially disastrous protectionist forces during a dangerous period for the global economy. In this way, and many others, WTO lawyers and practitioners have provided a great public service over the years to the global community.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speech at the launch of “A History of Law and Lawyers in the GATT/WTO”, 1 June 2015



▲ Above Deputy Director-General Yi Xiaozhun during the launch of “A History of Law and Lawyers in the GATT/WTO”, 1 June 2015.



▲ Above The European Union and ten Latin American countries signed an agreement on 8 November 2012 ending 20 years of EU-Latin American banana disputes.



[The DSB] retains the confidence of members – both developed and developing – who continue to have recourse to it to resolve all manner of trade differences. That these members continue to use the system even in the face of increasing complexity – and presumably cost – suggests that this

— Jonathan T. Fried, 2013 DSB Chairperson, 26 March 2014



It is my belief that the DSB, and the dispute settlement system more generally, are at least partly responsible for the fact that the financial crisis of 2007-2011 did not lead to the sort of world witnessed in the 1930s. In the face of

— Fernando De Mateo, 2014 DSB Chairperson, 24 March 2015

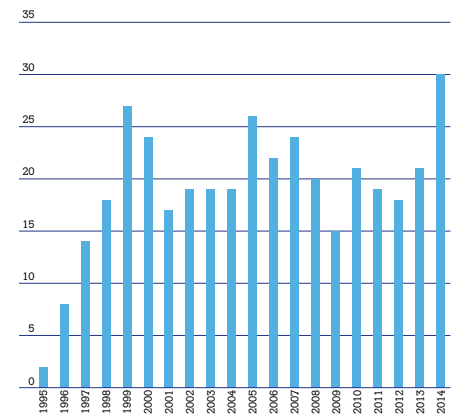
system – long regarded as the “jewel in the crown” of the WTO – is entering a new stage of maturity. It is therefore incumbent upon us – the members, the practitioners and the analysts – to make this next stage in the development of the system as productive and effective as the last.

creeping protectionism, the DSB and the dispute settlement system have performed superbly to ensure that international trade remains free and fair, while also respecting the sovereign rights of members.

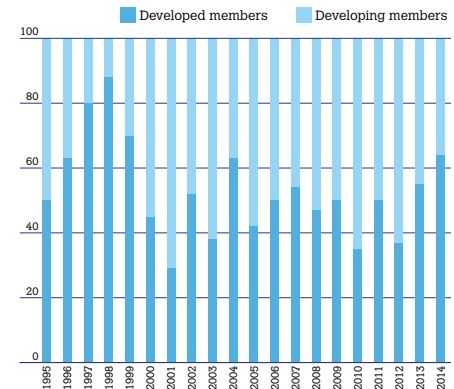
30

In 2014, there were 30 active disputes in the WTO, the highest number since the WTO was established.

Total active disputes per year



Use of dispute settlement mechanism



Appellate Body

Twenty-five individuals have served on the Appellate Body since it was established in 1995. Its role is to hear appeals filed by the parties to a dispute after a panel report has been circulated. The seven members of the Appellate Body are appointed for a term of four years, and have the possibility of being reappointed for a further four-year term.

Between January 1995 and January 2015 the Appellate Body issued reports in 115 appellate proceedings. In 2014, WTO members filed 13 notices of appeal, equalling the highest number filed in a single year.



▲ Above Appellate Body hearing in 2002 for "Canada – Measures Affecting the Importation of Milk and the Exportation of Dairy Products."



The Appellate Body is a central part of the adjudicative voice of the WTO membership. It does not represent the membership, but it must reflect the diversity that makes up the membership. It has always been a strength of the Appellate Body that its members come from very different legal traditions,

and very different societies. These perspectives are brought to bear upon a common purpose: the resolution of disputes under the discipline of WTO law. The decisions of the Appellate Body yield singular answers. The decision-makers are diverse. The result is the richer for it.

— David Unterhalter, former Appellate Body member, 22 January 2014



▲ Above Swearing-in ceremony of Peter Van den Bossche as an Appellate Body member in 2009, accompanied by David Unterhalter (left), Appellate Body chairperson.



▲ Above Swearing-in ceremony of A.V. Ganesan (right) as an Appellate Body member in 2000, accompanied by Florentino Feliciano, Appellate Body chairperson.



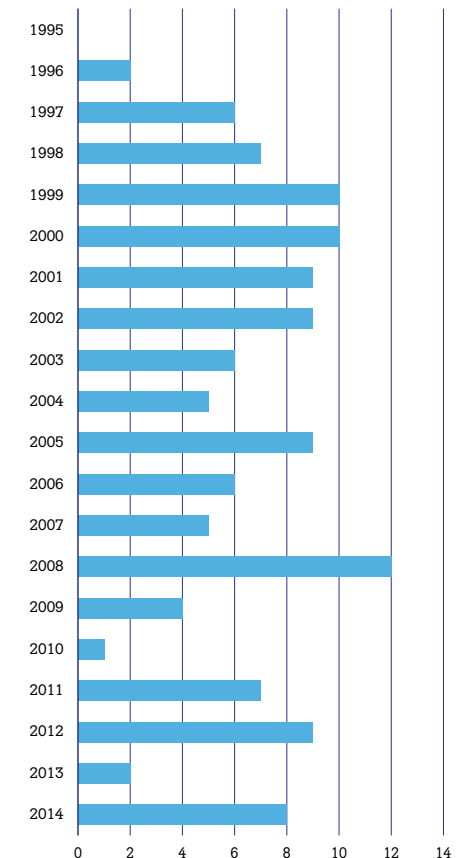
The Uruguay Round negotiators (of whom I was one) ... of the Dispute Settlement Understanding, did not intend to create a court. ... There was no lengthy negotiation, there was no statute creating the Appellate Body like there is for the International Court of Justice, for the International Criminal Court, or other international tribunals. Why did we create the Appellate Body and the DSU? Because with automaticity in the adoption of panel reports there was a concern among the major players in particular that there may be that occasional – occasional – bad panel report. We thought – incorrectly it turned out – that appeals would be rare. Well, much to my surprise as the first Director of the Appellate Body Secretariat, that turned out not to be the case. In the early years, 100% of the panel reports were appealed, and we were off to the races very very quickly.

— Debra Steger, first Director of the Appellate Body Secretariat, speaking at the launch of "A History of Law and Lawyers in the GATT/WTO", 1 June 2015

115

As of January 2015, the Appellate Body had issued reports in 115 appellate proceedings.

Number of Appellate Body reports circulated, 1995-2014



Members of the Appellate Body



1995

Front row, from left to right (terms of office indicated in brackets): Christopher Beeby (New Zealand, 1995-2000), Mitsuo Matsushita (Japan, 1995-2000), Florentino Feliciano (Philippines, 1995-2001) and Julio Lacarte-Muró (Uruguay, 1995-2001). Back row, from left to right: James Bacchus (United States, 1995-2003), Claus-Dieter Ehlermann (Germany, 1995-2001) and Said El-Naggar (Egypt, 1995-2000). Also in the back row is Debra Steger, the first Director of the Appellate Body Division, 1995-2001.



2000

From left to right: Georges Michel Abi-Saab (Egypt, 2000-08), Yasuhei Taniguchi (Japan, 2000-07), A.V. Ganesan (India, 2000-08), Florentino Feliciano (Philippines, 1995-2001), Julio Lacarte-Muró (Uruguay, 1995-2001), Claus-Dieter Ehlermann (Germany, 1995-2001) and James Bacchus (United States, 1995-2003).



2003

From left to right: Yasuhei Taniguchi (Japan, 2000-07), Giorgio Sacerdoti (Italy, 2001-09), A.V. Ganesan (India, 2000-08), James Bacchus (United States, 1995-2003), Georges Michel Abi-Saab (Egypt, 2000-08), Luiz Olavo Baptista (Brazil, 2001-09) and John Lockhart (Australia, 2001-06).



2006

From left to right: John Lockhart (Australia, 2001-06), Yasuhei Taniguchi (Japan, 2000-07), Luiz Olavo Baptista (Brazil, 2001-09), Merit E. Janow (United States, 2003-07), Georges Michel Abi-Saab (Egypt, 2000-08), Giorgio Sacerdoti (Italy, 2001-09) and A.V. Ganesan (India, 2000-08).



2014

From left to right: Ujal Singh Bhatia (India, 2011-15), Peter Van den Bossche (Belgium, 2009-17), Shree B.C. Servansing (Mauritius, 2014-18), Thomas R. Graham (United States, 2011-15), Yuejiao Zhang (China, 2008-16), Seung Wha Chang (Korea, 2012-16) and Ricardo Ramírez-Hernández (Mexico, 2009-17).



2009

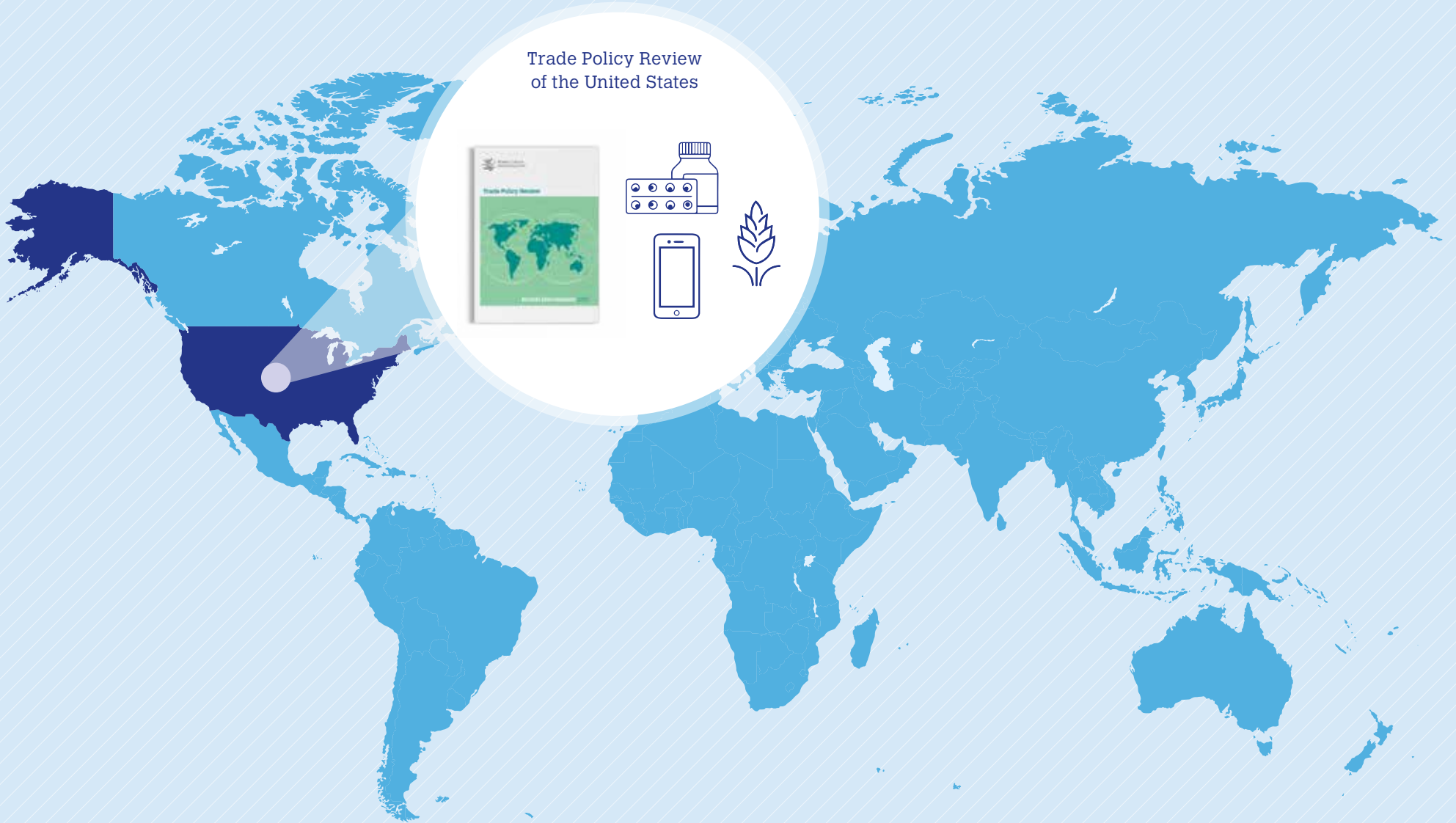
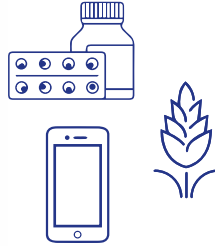
From left to right: Ricardo Ramírez-Hernández (Mexico, 2009-17), Yuejiao Zhang (China, 2008-16), Peter Van den Bossche (Belgium, 2009-17), Jennifer Hillman (United States, 2007-11), David Unterhalter (South Africa, 2006-13), Lilia R. Bautista (Philippines, 2007-11) and Shotaro Oshima (Japan, 2008-12).

Monitoring world trade

The WTO's monitoring of world trade is conducted through trade policy reviews of individual members and global reviews of the entire membership. Over 400 trade policy reviews have been undertaken since the WTO was established. These reviews allow an open exchange of information between trading partners, helping to guard against protectionism and to encourage members to adhere to WTO rules.

Since the start of the economic crisis in 2008, the WTO has issued 27 reports on trade measures taken by the entire WTO membership or by G20 countries (as of July 2015). These reports have found that over 2,000 trade-restrictive measures have been introduced by WTO members over this period, with only about one-quarter of these measures being removed. Despite this, the response to the crisis has been more muted than might have been expected, showing that the multilateral trading system has acted as an effective backstop against protectionism.

Trade Policy Review
of the United States



Trade Policy Reviews

Trade policy reviews (TPRs) are conducted through the Trade Policy Review Body, consisting of the entire WTO membership. The frequency of the reviews depends on the size of the countries, with the largest members being reviewed every two years. The smaller countries are reviewed every six years, with a longer cycle for least-developed countries. By the end of 2014, 405 TPRs had been conducted, covering a total of 149 WTO members. In 2012, a total of 20 TPRs were undertaken, the highest number for a single year.

The TPRs consist of a report by the WTO Secretariat, covering the economic environment and the trade policies and practices of the member under review, and a report by the government covering all domestic policies related to trade.



Unlike many WTO activities which focus on the conformity of Members' actions with specific aspects of WTO rules, the reviews look at the full range of the trade policies of individual Members. They are to be seen as an exercise in transparency, founded in the public choice literature, rather than as assessments of how well individual Members are adhering to particular WTO rules.

— Sam Laird, "The WTO's Trade Policy Review Mechanism – From Through the Looking Glass," *The World Economy* 22, no. 6 (August 1999): 741.



I was in my robe at ten o'clock in the evening and I was called down to the front desk and went down in flip flops. Two soldiers were waiting for me at the door of the lift. I stepped out of the lift and these soldiers took me by the arm and said, 'Come with us.' They took me to a car and there was the president, and he said, 'Explain to me what the TPR is.' And I did. Thereafter we got all the information we needed for the Secretariat's report.

— Recollection of a senior official about his experience of conducting one of the first TPRs in a developing country. Recounted in Craig VanGrasstek, "The History and Future of the World Trade Organization", pp. 287-288.



◀ Left The fourth review of the trade policies and practices of Pakistan took place on 24 and 26 March 2015.

Uruguay Round Agreement, Trade Policy Review Mechanism



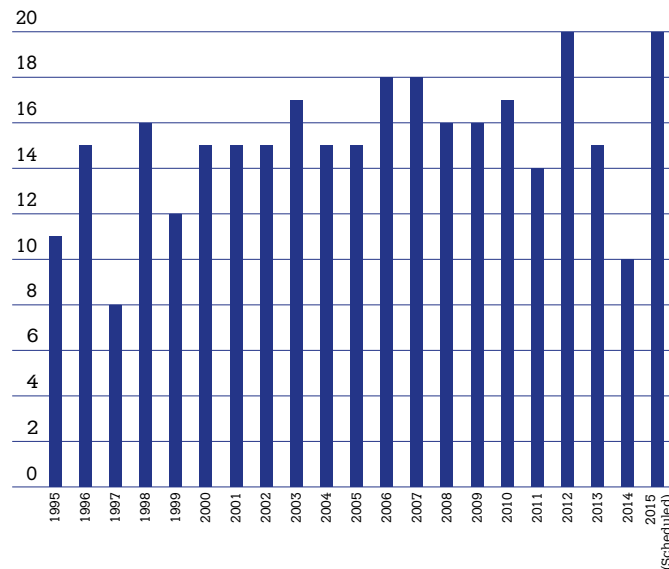
The purpose of the Trade Policy Review Mechanism (“TPRM”) is to contribute to improved adherence by all Members to rules, disciplines and commitments made under the Multilateral Trade Agreements and, where applicable, the Plurilateral Trade Agreements, and hence to the smoother functioning of the multilateral trading system, by achieving greater transparency in, and understanding of, the trade policies and practices of Members.

— Part A: Objectives

Members recognize the inherent value of domestic transparency of government decision-making on trade policy matters for both Members' economies and the multilateral trading system, and agree to encourage and promote greater transparency within their own systems, acknowledging that the implementation of domestic transparency must be on a voluntary basis and take account of each Member's legal and political systems.

— Part B: Domestic Transparency

Trade policy reviews conducted, 1995-2015



The WTO, through its trade policy review procedures, is among the most important sources of information on global trade and trade protection in the world. It is largely due to the WTO that the world trading system has been resilient during the Great Recession, something that was most definitely not true during the Great Depression.

— Charles Hankla, “Why the WTO still matters”, www.theconversation.com, 9 December 2014

Note: Data shown are for the number of TPRs rather than the number of members covered by them.

Trade monitoring reports

Trade monitoring reports of the entire WTO membership were launched in 2008 in response to the global economic crisis. The main objective is to monitor developments in world trade and to highlight examples of both trade-restrictive and trade-liberalizing practices, with the aim of discouraging any protectionist tendencies among WTO members. From February 2009 up to August 2015, the WTO had issued 27 of these reports.

All data collected by the WTO Secretariat since the beginning of the trade monitoring exercise is available online through the dedicated Trade Monitoring Database.

As well as publishing reports on the entire WTO membership, the WTO works in conjunction with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) to monitor activities in the G20 countries.

At mid-May 2015, the monitoring reports revealed that WTO members had introduced 2,416 measures since the start of the crisis and had removed less than a quarter of these. The reports have stressed the need for countries to show restraint in imposing new measures and to eliminate more of the existing stockpile in view of continuing uncertainties in the global economy.



While the stock of trade-restrictive measures has risen, the overall response to the 2008 crisis has been muted when compared with previous crises. The multilateral trading system has thus proved an effective backstop against protectionism, and the system must do more to drive economic growth, sustainable recovery and development. The role of the multilateral trading system in providing a stable, predictable and transparent trading environment should be kept in mind as members prepare for the WTO's MC10 in Nairobi in December [2015]. Decisive progress in eliminating remaining trade-restrictive measures combined with further multilateral trade liberalization would be a powerful policy response.

— Report on G20 Trade Measures, 12 June 2015



[The monitoring report] reflects the responsibility of the WTO to play an active and constructive role in helping to manage the current, very difficult, global economic situation and to promote an early end to the recession and the restoration of strong, sustainable growth in world trade.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy's speech at the presentation of the first monitoring report on trade and investment measures, 9 February 2009



There is some evidence that ... the application of trade-restrictive measures is leading to heightened friction between members on trade issues. Aside from the increase in the number of dispute settlement panels, members have increasingly voiced concerns regarding specific measures taken by other members

in WTO subsidiary bodies, such as the Council for Trade in Goods. In this context, members should strive to show greater restraint in the imposition of new trade-restrictive measures, eliminate existing trade restrictions, and contribute to enhancing transparency on behind-the-border measures.

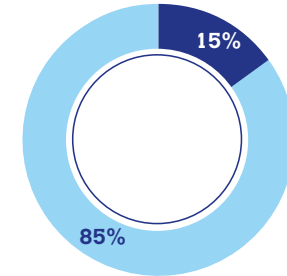
— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo’s speech to the Trade Policy Review Body, 8 December 2014



Stockpile of trade-restrictive measures

Mid-October 2010

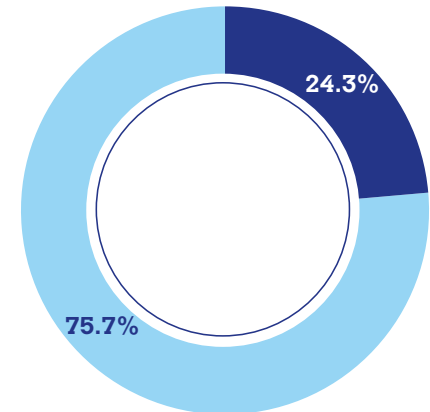
546 measures



82 effectively eliminated measures

Mid-May 2015

2,416 measures



588 effectively eliminated measures

◀ Left Director-General Azevêdo presenting his trade monitoring report to the Trade Policy Review Body, chaired by Malaysian Ambassador Mariam MD Salleh, on 8 December 2014.

Helping developing countries trade

The WTO's rules of trade take special account of the needs of developing countries. WTO agreements contain numerous provisions giving developing countries special rights or extra leniency, including longer periods to implement the agreements. Most recently, further support was provided to developing countries through decisions taken at the Bali Ministerial Conference in 2013. The WTO also seeks to ensure that developing countries are equipped with the necessary know-how to participate fully in the multilateral trading system.

Through its technical assistance programme, the WTO undertakes over 300 training activities a year, ranging from national workshops to regional training courses, and carries out an extensive e-learning programme. Some 180,000 people have benefitted from this assistance. The WTO has also established the Aid for Trade initiative to help developing countries benefit as much as possible from the opportunities provided by the multilateral trading system.



New assistance for developing countries

At the 2013 Bali Ministerial Conference, ministers extended the support provided to developing countries by adopting a number of important decisions. These included creating a monitoring mechanism to analyse the implementation of special treatment provisions in WTO agreements and establishing guidelines to make it easier for exporters from least-developed countries (LDCs) to qualify for preferential market access through transparent “rules of origin”.

Ministers also called on WTO members to improve the coverage of their duty-free quota-free market access for imports from LDCs. Another decision sought to enhance LDCs’ participation in services trade by allowing WTO members to grant preferential market access to LDC exporters of services.



It is vital that we implement all the elements of the Bali Package without delay — and particularly the decisions on LDC issues. The decision on Operationalising the LDC Services Waiver is one of these, and is extremely important. Services exports from LDCs are increasing rapidly, though of course they are starting from a very low base. We have a duty to support the growth of this sector. I urge potential preference-granting members to indicate where they intend to provide preferential treatment to LDC services and service suppliers.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at a meeting of the WTO Services Council, 5 February 2015



▲ Above The closing session of the Bali Ministerial Conference, 7 December 2015.



Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility

The Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility was established in 2014 to help LDCs reap the full benefits of the newly approved Trade Facilitation Agreement (see pages 74-75). Under the facility, the WTO helps developing countries assess their specific needs and identify possible development partners to help them meet those needs. To ensure the best possible conditions for the flow of information between donors and recipients, the WTO has created an information-sharing platform for the demand and supply of TFA-related technical assistance. In exceptional cases, the

WTO will provide funds if countries have attempted to find assistance but have failed to receive the support they need. The Trade Facilitation Agreement is groundbreaking in that for the first time in WTO history, the commitments of developing countries are linked to their capacity to implement the Agreement. The TFA states that assistance and support should be provided to help countries achieve that capacity.



www.tfafacility.org



The Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility has gotten off to an excellent start and is beginning to fulfil its mission which is to help members to get the support they need in this area — and, where necessary, to provide funds. ... It is very encouraging that no request for help from members has so far gone unmet. Nevertheless I have asked the WTO Secretariat to redouble its efforts to reach out to developing and least-developed members to discuss their short and long-term needs, and to ensure that they are being met. I am very optimistic about the future of the Facility and the support that it can help members to access.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at a meeting of Ambassadors on 1 June 2015



▲ Above Director-General Roberto Azevêdo with the coordinators of the African, LDC and African, Caribbean and Pacific Groups at the launch of the TFAF, 22 July 2014.

Technical assistance

The WTO has developed an extensive training programme to help developing countries increase their capacity to trade. Through its Institute for Training and Technical Cooperation, the WTO trains officials from developing countries, helping them to gain a better understanding of the WTO agreements and to participate more actively in trade negotiations. Training is provided through seminars and workshops as well as longer trade policy courses held at the WTO and around the world. Since it was established, the WTO has provided training activities to approximately 180,000 participants.



The WTO is a member-driven organization. Its members have to be prepared to articulate and defend their interests and legitimate expectations. But they can do so only when their trade policy officials are knowledgeable about multilateral trade agreements and well versed in trade policy matters. I am convinced that the regional Trade Policy Course we are launching today will provide an invaluable tool to ... trade policy officials to promote and defend their interests at the WTO.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy, speaking at the opening of the WTO Regional Trade Policy Course for Asia-Pacific in New Delhi, India, 5 September 2011



[O]ur ability to move the whole of the WTO agenda forward hinges on our ability to fulfil those promises to provide timely and effective technical assistance for developing and least-developed countries.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking to the European Parliament Committee on International Trade and the Steering Committee of the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO in Brussels, Belgium, 12 February 2014



▲ Above Advanced Trade Policy Course, held at the WTO, 25 June 2015.



◀ Left Regional Trade Policy Course for French-speaking African countries, organized in partnership with the Université de la Manouba, Tunis, in May 2013.

300

Over 300 training activities are organized by the WTO each year for officials from developing countries.

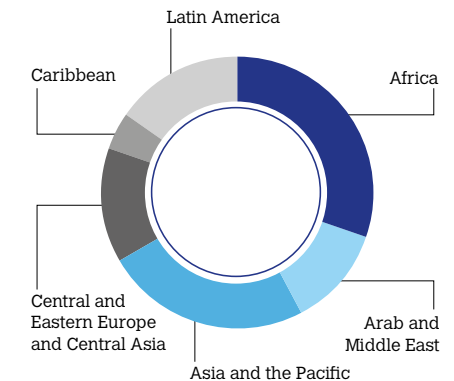
15,000

Over 15,000 people benefitted from WTO technical assistance activities in 2014.

30%

Africa received 30% of all regional technical assistance provided by the WTO in 2014.

Regional distribution of technical assistance in 2014*



*This chart excludes "global" technical assistance that is not targeted at a specific region.



WTO technical assistance is a key contribution in strengthening the human and institutional capacity of the members to take full advantage of the rules-based multilateral trading system, to deal with emerging challenges and to enforce members' rights and obligations. It is as much a confidence-boosting mechanism

as it is a capacity-building one. Increasing knowledge increases confidence. Increased confidence increases identification of priorities and participation. Increased participation of developing countries on trade issues, including on multilateral rule making, is good for the system and good for global governance.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy speaking to the Committee on Trade and Development, 17 July 2013

Funding for technical assistance

Funding for the WTO's training courses is made available through WTO members' contributions to trust funds, such as the Doha Development Agenda Global Trust Fund. Up to the beginning of June 2015, WTO members had contributed over CHF 322 million to these trust funds.



These contributions [SEK 25 million] underline Sweden's continued and strong commitment to support developing countries in their efforts to become fully integrated in the global market place and use the potential of trade to achieve sustained economic growth and poverty reduction.

— Joakim Reiter, Ambassador of Sweden, 27 November 2013



The WTO's trade-related technical assistance activities play an important role in ensuring that developing and least-developed members are at ease with the WTO rulebook and can fully engage in the negotiations. The EU's donation [EUR 1 million] to the DDAGTF contributes to assisting these members make the best use of trade as a tool for development.

— Angelos Pangratis, Ambassador of the European Union, 6 November 2013



This contribution [US\$ 1 million] reflects the long-standing U.S. commitment to work with developing countries as partners in the WTO. The WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement promises reduced costs and greater efficiencies, particularly to developing countries, in moving their exports across borders. We want to ensure that they have the means to fully take advantage of this historic agreement. The WTO Global Trust Fund is key in helping developing countries to participate effectively in all WTO activities and to meet their WTO obligations. It also furthers their development goals and creates meaningful opportunities for their farmers, manufacturers and service providers.

— U.S. Ambassador Michael Punke, 5 February 2015

322

million (CHF)

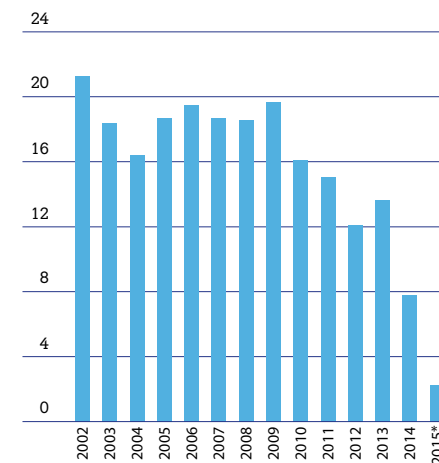
WTO members contributed CHF 322 million to trust funds from January 2000 to June 2015 to fund technical assistance activities.

153.6

million (CHF)

The Doha Development Agenda Global Trust Fund funded technical assistance activities totalling CHF 153.6 million from January 2005 to April 2015.

WTO members' contributions to the Doha Development Agenda Global Trust Fund, 2002-14 (million CHF)



*2015 up to 2 June only

Advisory Centre for WTO Law

The Advisory Centre for WTO Law (ACWL) provides low-cost legal advice and training on WTO law to developing countries, and supports them in dispute settlement proceedings at discounted rates. It was established at the 1999 Ministerial Conference in Seattle and opened for business in 2001. The Centre enables developing countries to fully understand their rights and obligations under WTO law and to have an equal opportunity to defend their interests in WTO dispute settlement cases. In 2014, the ACWL provided 204 legal opinions to developing countries. The Centre is primarily funded by developed and developing country members of the WTO.



Today, and within the framework of the WTO dispute settlement system, the Advisory Centre for WTO Law takes another, almost revolutionary, step forward in international

adjudication, by establishing itself as the first true centre for legal aid within the international legal system.

— Director-General Mike Moore, speaking at the opening of the Advisory Centre for WTO Law, 5 October 2001



As we have seen over the last ten years, the Centre has not only provided developing countries with bushels of fish; but more importantly, the Centre has taught developing countries, and continues to teach them, how to fish. That is the key to the future.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Advisory Centre for WTO Law, 4 October 2011

45

The ACWL has provided legal support to developing and least-developed countries in 45 separate WTO dispute settlement proceedings.

204

The ACWL provided 204 legal opinions to developing countries in 2014.



▲ Above Director-General Mike Moore (right) with Dutch Minister for Foreign Trade Gerrit Ybema at the signing ceremony of the agreement establishing the Advisory Centre for WTO Law, 30 November 1999, in Seattle, Washington, U.S.

Aid for Trade

The WTO launched the Aid for Trade initiative at its Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong in 2005 to help developing countries increase their trade capacity and improve their trading infrastructure. US\$ 332.2 billion has been committed by WTO members and other donors to the initiative since its establishment. The largest amount of funding has been committed to Asia (40 per cent) and Africa (37 per cent).

Every two years the WTO undertakes a Global Review of the Aid for Trade initiative, bringing together participants from around the world to assess the effectiveness of the initiative and the way forward.



No grand plan to expand trade capacity will ever work unless developing countries want it, unless they “own” it, and unless it advances their national interests. The only successful trade-led development strategy is one which is created and executed by countries themselves — and which is mainstreamed in national plans.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy, speaking at the First Global Review of Aid for Trade, 20 November 2007



For some, the argument that trade helps the poor has been controversial. Yet, it's clear to me that our best evidence suggests that when countries are effectively integrated into regional and global markets, their poorest citizens reap substantial benefits.

— World Bank President Jim Kim, speaking at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 30 June 2015



◀ **Left** Heads of multilateral agencies at the First Global Review of Aid for Trade, 20 November 2007.

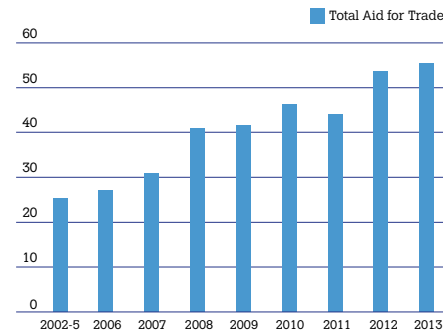
▼ **Below** A high-level session during the Second Global Review of Aid for Trade, 6-7 July 2009.





▲ Above Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General, delivering the keynote address, Third Global Review of Aid for Trade, 19 July 2011.

Aid for Trade commitments (US\$ billion, 2013 constant prices)



Source: *Aid for Trade at a Glance*, 2015



There is abundant evidence that aid for trade is having a big impact. It is lowering trade costs and improving trade performance. More specifically, OECD analysis found that US\$ 1 in aid for trade is associated with an increase in developing countries' exports by US\$ 8. For the poorest countries, the return is US\$ 20. The impact is higher still for exports of parts and components, underscoring the benefits that value chains can offer to developing countries.

— Ángel Gurría, OECD Secretary-General, speaking at the Fourth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 8 July 2013



We can achieve a great deal through the Aid for Trade initiative. Aid for Trade makes a big difference on the ground, which is what we are all about. In more than 15 African countries, disbursements through this initiative are worth more than 2 per cent of their GDP. It is vital therefore that we maximise the results that Aid for Trade can deliver. I'm pleased to say that the evidence harvested in the Global Review shows that this is happening. Aid for Trade is helping to link people into the trading system – and therefore it is improving lives.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 2 July 2015



▲ Above Ángel Gurría, OECD Secretary-General, speaking at the Fourth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 8 July 2013.

◀ Left World Bank President Jim Kim, WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and OECD Secretary-General Ángel Gurría at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 30 June 2015.

The China Programme

In 2011, the Chinese Government launched the China Programme under the Aid for Trade initiative. The Programme aims to help least-developed countries better integrate into the global economy by strengthening their participation in WTO activities and helping those not yet members to join the Organization.



The [China] Programme has played a positive and effective role in facilitating LDCs' integration into the multilateral trading system. Today, we renewed our commitment to the Programme with expanded forms of cooperation. This once again demonstrates our strong support for the development of LDCs within the South-South cooperation framework.

— China's Ambassador Jianhua Yu, speaking at China's renewal of support for the China Programme, 6 May 2015



Through this programme, China facilitates the accession of least-developed countries to the WTO and supports their integration into the global economy. I welcome this new donation [US\$ 500,000].

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at China's renewal of support for the China Programme, 6 May 2015

Enhanced Integrated Framework

The Enhanced Integrated Framework (EIF) provides trade-related technical assistance to least-developed countries (LDCs) to support their participation in the multilateral trading system. As of 31 December 2014, the EIF had received donor contributions of approximately US\$ 202 million. The second phase of the EIF, covering 2016 to 2022, was officially launched at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade in 2015. The EIF is a collaborative initiative among six multinational agencies.



In just five years it [the EIF] has reached out to over 50 beneficiary countries around the world; it has supported over 40 analytical studies to help LDCs identify and address their main constraints to trade, and it has supported 95 projects to build trade policy

capacity. There is no doubt that the EIF has delivered. The EIF's new phase incorporates some key reform measures to ensure that it will be even more results-driven, and represent real value for money.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking at the Fifth Global Review of Aid for Trade, 1 July 2015



The EIF is unique. It is the only global trade and development partnership for the LDCs which brings together all LDCs, donors and international organizations. There is no other programme which is as comprehensive as the EIF in supporting LDCs to address all aspects of their trade capacity — and which, significantly, puts the LDCs themselves in the driver's seat. The support that the EIF provides helps to create job and income opportunities for millions of people in the poorest countries in the world.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, speaking to the EIF board, 30 October 2014

▼ Below Dorothy Tembo, the first Executive Director of the EIF from 2008 to 2013.



The performance of the EIF programme will be measured by the outputs of the programme and the time it takes for us to deliver these outputs. It is not an option to fail as, by failing to deliver, we will put the development clock back many years, which will have real and adverse effects on the populations of countries that are already marginalized and most vulnerable.

— Dorothy Tembo, Executive Director of the EIF Executive Secretariat, speaking at the Seventh Ministerial Conference in 2009





◀ **Left** Director-General Roberto Azevêdo addressing the EIF Steering Committee, 18 December 2014.

▼ **Below** The EIF has provided craft skill training to women in Benin.



Let us recall that the Integrated Framework — today covering 45 out of the 50 LDCs — was born out of a realisation that for the Least Developed Countries to be able to address some of these complex development and trade related challenges, they require a coordinated and integrated program in order to tap the resources and expertise of the donor community. ... We are here today because we want to make sure that the new opportunities that hopefully will result from the Doha Development Agenda ... translate into trade realities for the Least Developed Countries.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy, speaking at a pledging conference for the new EIF in Stockholm, 25 September 2007

\$202

million (USD)

The EIF Multi-Donor Trust Fund had received contributions from donors totalling US\$ 202.39 million as of end of May 2015.

46

A total of 46 least-developed countries receive assistance through the Enhanced Integrated Framework.

1997

The Integrated Framework was established in 1997. Recommendations in 2005-06 led to the establishment of the Enhanced Integrated Framework in 2007.

Fostering dialogue

The WTO regularly engages in dialogue with non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, other international organizations, the media and the general public. This dialogue allows for regular exchanges of information and helps to increase awareness of the work of the WTO.

Since 2001, the WTO has held an annual event – known initially as the Public Symposium – to bring together representatives from civil society, business and other areas to discuss various aspects of world trade. Approximately 1,000 participants attend what is now known as the Public Forum each year.



▲ Above A tour during Open Day 2015.

Public Forum

The annual Public Forum provides the opportunity for non-governmental organizations, parliamentarians, intergovernmental organizations and the business community to communicate with the WTO. Launched in 2001 under the name of the “Public Symposium”, it was relaunched as the Public Forum in 2006.

The event regularly brings together over 1,000 participants from around the world. In 2014, people from more than 120 countries attended the Forum, and took part in over 90 sessions. The vast majority of these sessions are organized by the participants themselves.

► **Right** High-level debate on “Global problems, global solutions: Towards better global governance” at the Public Forum, 28 September 2009.



This event has long been an opportunity to throw open the doors of the WTO for broader discussion. And it reflects how far the multilateral system has come since the creation of the GATT. Then, this was a relatively small club with a few nations who spoke for the many. Today we live in a world in which new players are at the table and where new voices are given an ear.

— Michael Froman, U.S. Trade Representative, Public Forum: “Expanding Trade through Innovation and the Digital Economy”, 1 October 2013



The realities of trade ... have to be experienced. WTO's Public Symposia provide for these reality checks by bringing together the various stakeholders and actors of the multilateral trading system, stimulating open debate.

— Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi, Public Symposium: “Multilateralism at a crossroads”, 25 May 2004





“Why trade matters to everyone” is a most appropriate theme because it introduces the people and their interests right into the heart of the global discourse on trade. It means that the World Trade Organization can no longer be seen as just a forum for arbitration of competitors’ interests. It is a proper place for global leadership to consider the legitimate aspirations of all people, regardless of their origin. Ladies and gentlemen, this theme therefore suggests that the world has drawn important lessons from history on the need to incorporate the human element into this discussion. Trade is as old as human society. Indeed, trade was defined – and is defined – by human activity.

— William Ruto, Deputy President of Kenya, Public Forum: “Why trade matters to everyone”, 1 October 2014



This Public Forum is an opportunity to explore what our work really means, by telling the stories of how trade and the multilateral trading system affect people’s lives.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, Public Forum: “Why trade matters to everyone”, 1 October 2014



▲ Above Deputy President of Kenya William Ruto at the 2014 Public Forum.

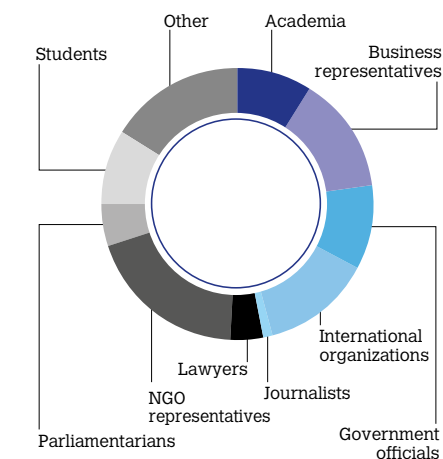


▲ Above A working session at the 2013 Public Forum.

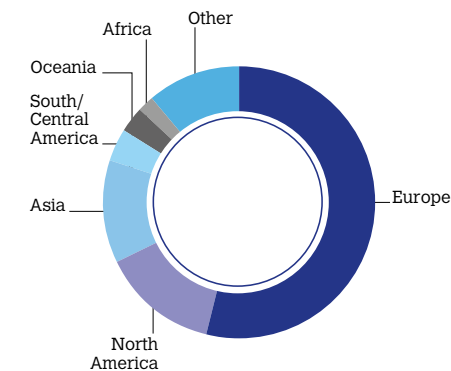


▲ Above Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon at the opening session of the 2014 Public Forum.

Public Forum participation by sector in 2014



Public Forum participation by continent in 2014



Non-governmental organizations

The WTO maintains regular contact with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to increase awareness of WTO activities and encourage dialogue. The WTO's founding agreement establishes a legal basis for consultation and cooperation with NGOs, and the General Council recognized the role of NGOs in raising awareness about the WTO in a decision in 1996.

The WTO provides regular briefings for NGOs and welcomes the submission of “position papers”, which are published on the WTO's website. The WTO has organized nearly 230 NGO briefings since 2000 and NGOs have submitted nearly 575 position papers since 1998. The WTO also holds regional workshops for NGOs.



The General Council may make appropriate arrangements for consultation and cooperation with nongovernmental organizations concerned with matters related to those of the WTO.

— Article V.2 of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO



In deciding on these guidelines for arrangements on relations with non-governmental organizations, Members recognize the rôle NGOs can play to increase the awareness of the public in respect of WTO activities and agree in this regard to improve transparency and develop communication with NGOs.

— Paragraph 2 of the General Council decision of 18 July 1996



▲ Above An NGO briefing on the July 2008 package, 24 July 2008.



The WTO should focus on those issues where there is scope for trade policies to be used to promote sustainable development - beginning with the most pressing concerns of developing-country members. There are clearly issues of environmental concern which can be addressed, to a greater or lesser degree, through careful use of the economic instruments in the WTO's toolbox. For example, the WTO can contribute importantly to the alleviation of the fisheries crisis through disciplines on harmful fishing subsidies.

— World Wildlife Fund Brief "Stick to Rules for Sustainable Trade", 2003



The multilateral trading system has witnessed radical transformations. What was once a members-only club has its doors open to all, not least the non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

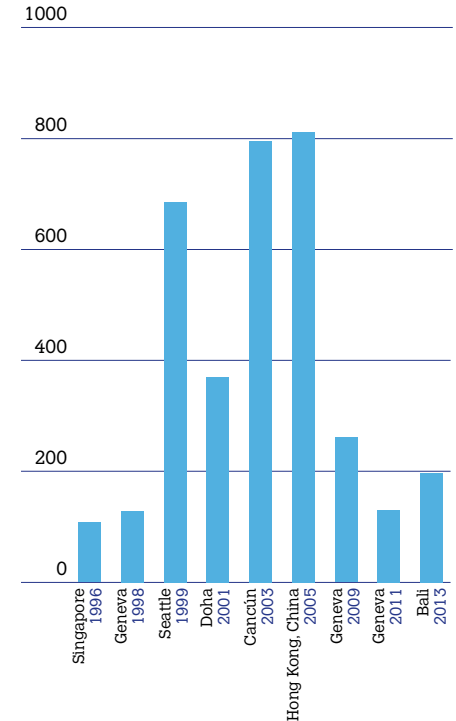
— Director-General Pascal Lamy, Consumer Unity & Trust Society (CUTS) International 30th Anniversary Lecture, 9 July 2013



◀ Left Lori Wallach, of the NGO Global Trade Watch, at the Seventh Ministerial Conference, 30 November 2009.

Participation of NGOs in WTO Ministerial Conferences

NGOs have attended every Ministerial Conference since the WTO was established.



Parliamentarians

The WTO seeks to maintain open dialogue with parliamentarians and to help them gain a deeper understanding of the organization. Due to their constitutional role, parliamentarians play an important part in the work of the WTO as in most cases they are required to ratify the WTO agreements negotiated by their governments. The WTO participates in parliamentary meetings and organizes workshops for parliamentarians at national and regional levels.

Twelve parliamentary conferences on the WTO have been held since 1995 in cooperation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament. Nearly 400 parliamentarians participated in the 2015 Parliamentary Conference on the WTO.

► **Right** The 2012 Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, an annual conference held in conjunction with the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the European Union, 16 November 2012.



For the second year in a row, the annual session of the Conference is taking place at the Centre William Rappard, dubbed in Geneva as the “House of Trade”. A bridge has thus been erected between the House of Parliaments – the name commonly used for IPU Headquarters – and the House of Trade. The political symbolism of this link is hard to overlook. Following years of doubts and hesitation, the WTO has finally opened itself up to elected representatives of the people. External transparency of the WTO is a reality. This is a step in the right direction.

— Donald Oliver, Canadian Member of Parliament and member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Executive Committee, 2012 Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, 15 November 2012



As elected representatives, parliamentarians’ role is not simply limited to ratifying trade agreements once they are concluded, but is much more far reaching. We act as a vital link between citizens and decision makers on the one hand, conveying the views of our electorates to those charged with negotiating deals and on the other hand by holding our governments to account and ensuring our concerns are heard and taken into account.

— Olli Rehn, Vice-President of the European Parliament, 2015 Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, 16 February 2015



Intergovernmental organizations

The WTO works closely with other intergovernmental organizations to ensure a coordinated approach to international trade issues. Examples of this cooperation include the publication of joint reports, working in partnership on initiatives such as Aid for Trade, and co-organizing workshops and conferences on key trade issues. Seventy-six intergovernmental organizations have observer or ad hoc observer status at the WTO, and the WTO participates as observer in 34 intergovernmental organizations.



It is surely a shared goal of the ILO and the WTO to realise the potential of trade openness for employment to provide more jobs – and more productive and decent jobs – to more people. If so that is an

argument that we must together help to develop, and an argument for deepening of the cooperation you got started. I hope that can take place in our future work.

— Guy Ryder, International Labour Organization Director-General, *Fourth Global Review of Aid for Trade*, 9 July 2013



International trade governance is evolving quickly. We need to assure that new structures do not come at the cost of the environment, but are drivers of an inclusive Green Economy. UNEP looks forward to continuing collaboration with the WTO as it prepares for its Ministerial Conference in Nairobi and for the decades to come.

— Achim Steiner, United Nations Environment Programme Executive Director, “20 Years of Building Pathways to Sustainable Development”, 28 April 2015



Advances we make this year to reduce global trade barriers and strengthen the global trading system would add significant momentum to our efforts to end poverty. ... *The Role of Trade in Ending Poverty* sets out a framework for action on these issues. Closer coordination between the World Bank Group and the WTO, as well as partnerships with others in the international community, will be critical to our success. Although our two organizations have different mandates and memberships, they are united in a common purpose to contribute to economic development and improve people’s lives around the world.

— Foreword by WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo and World Bank President Jim Kim, *The Role of Trade in Ending Poverty*, 2015



▲ Above World Bank President Jim Kim and WTO Director-General Roberto Azevêdo at the launch of *The Role of Trade in Ending Poverty*, co-published by the WTO and the World Bank, 30 June 2015.

Business

Business and the WTO have always been closely connected. The private sector is a major beneficiary of transparent and predictable trade rules and obligations and actively participates in WTO events such as the Public Forum. Nearly 150 representatives from the business community attended the 2014 Public Forum, representing 14% of total attendance. At the Bali Ministerial Conference, nearly 30% of all non-governmental organizations were business organizations.



Business can expect the WTO to provide a multilateral system that fixes global rules on the world market. We would like to get lower tariffs, lower non-tariff barriers, lower unfair subsidies. We would like to allow market entry to products and services from non-domestic actors, i.e. for a company in trade, nationality should not count. A worldwide international treaty that provides

legal security for trade and investment is what we want, and that is what the WTO can deliver by providing the conclusion of the round of negotiations: this will bring new rules, new commitments by the countries. What we really also are looking at at the WTO is about the dispute settlement, really crucial for this organization's success.

— Pascal Kerneis, Managing Director of the European Services Forum, Public Forum: "Forces shaping world trade", 15 September 2010



The real challenge of today's international governance is to create the conditions where a multiplicity of actors, public and private, work together, notwithstanding their different constituencies, objectives, cultures and expertise.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy's Geneva Lecture on Global Economic Governance, 6 February 2008



ICC had played a significant role since the first ministerial conference of the WTO in 1996 in Singapore to put trade on the WTO agenda and then to negotiate a multilateral agreement on trade facilitation. There was much to celebrate with this first major multilateral agreement to have been reached since the creation of the WTO. ... We at ICC remain dedicated to ensuring that global business plays an active and constructive role in working with WTO members to help strengthen WTO rules and to adapt them to the current needs of global trade.

— John Danilovich, International Chamber of Commerce Secretary General, "The Future of Global Trade" symposium, 7 October 2014

▼ Below The Bali Business Forum held on 5 December 2013 during the Ninth Ministerial Conference.



Opening our doors to the public

In 2009, the WTO hosted its first Open Day at its Geneva Headquarters, attracting over 5,000 visitors who came to learn more about the work of the WTO and to discover the works of art within the WTO building. The WTO's most recent Open Day was held on 14 June 2015. Held as part of the WTO's 20th anniversary activities, the event was an opportunity for the WTO to thank Geneva and its people for generously hosting the organization over the past 20 years.

The WTO regularly organizes guided tours of the building throughout the year and annually welcomes over 200 visiting groups who are interested in learning more about the activities of the WTO.

► **Right** The WTO's first Open Day, 6 September 2009.

► **Far right** The WTO's fourth Open Day, 14 June 2015.



I am pleased that the WTO is opening its doors to the Genevan public. Open days, which I know you organize on a regular basis, are an excellent way of bringing together the international community and Genevans, who often cross paths but seldom get the chance to meet.

— Johann N. Schneider-Ammann, Member of the Swiss Federal Council, at the Public Opening of the new WTO site, 30 June 2013



We are organizing this event in order to send a strong signal that we are part of the Genevan community, a community to which we have been inextricably linked for 60 years.

— Director-General Pascal Lamy announcing the first Open Day, 31 August 2009



I was curious about the extension project. I wanted to get a clear idea of what it involved, to find out for myself. I think that I've accepted it now. The presence of the WTO, of the UN and all these organizations makes Geneva an important place for peace and global balance, and gives our city a distinctive aura.

— Martine Keller, a local resident commenting on Open Day, cited in the *Tribune de Genève*, 7 September 2009



Directors-General

Six directors-general have been appointed since the establishment of the WTO. The WTO's first director-general was Peter Sutherland, who served from January to April 1995. He was succeeded by Renato Ruggiero (1995-99), Mike Moore (1999-2002) and Supachai Panitchpakdi (2002-05). Pascal Lamy, the longest-serving director-general, held office from 2005 to 2013. The current director-general is Roberto Azevêdo who took office on 1 September 2013.



Peter Sutherland
1995



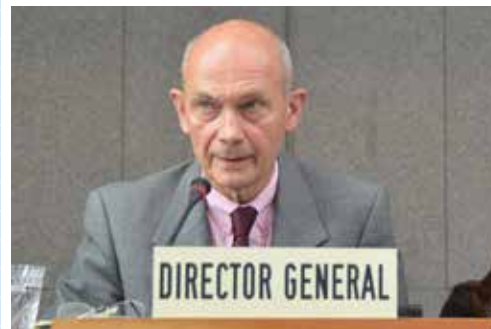
Renato Ruggiero
1995-99



Mike Moore
1999-2002



Supachai Panitchpakdi
2002-05



Pascal Lamy
2005-13



Roberto Azevêdo
Since 2013

Peter Sutherland

First WTO Director-General
January 1995 to April 1995



DG Sutherland addressing the General Council on 31 January 1995.

Peter Sutherland became director-general of the WTO at the age of 48, making him the youngest director-general in the history of the WTO. He oversaw the transition from the GATT to the WTO, having been director-general of the GATT since 1993. He presided over the signing of the Marrakesh Agreement in April 1994, which brought about the birth of the WTO and the creation of the present-day dispute settlement system.

After leaving the WTO, Mr Sutherland became Chair of financial services multinational Goldman Sachs International from 1995 to 2010 and Chair of oil and gas multinational BP plc from 1997 to 2010. In 2008, he became Chair of the Council of the London School of Economics and Political Science. Since 2006 he has been United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General for International Migration.

Born in 1946 in Dublin, Ireland.

- Practising lawyer in Ireland, England and the United States.
- Attorney General of Ireland from 1981 to 1984.
- European Commissioner for Competition Policy from 1985 to 1989.



The agreements signed today have brought into being the World Trade Organization, a new energy source for the world economy, one which will charge the economic and political links among nations with a new vitality and a new hope. More than just a trade agreement, this is an agreement for global cooperation, based on the recognition that our common human interests transcend our diversity.

— [Speech at the Marrakesh Ministerial Meeting, 15 April 1994](#)



I always believed like Jean Monnet, who was one of my great heroes, that creating an institutionalized legal system was key to creating an institution that would survive. I think that the dispute settlement mechanism was that key element and is the key element, it is the great advance that was made through the creation of the WTO.

— [Interview for ITV, 7 February 2011](#)

Renato Ruggiero

Second WTO Director-General
May 1995 to April 1999



DG Ruggiero giving a Press Conference on 3 May 1995.

Renato Ruggiero oversaw the approval of new WTO agreements to liberalize trade in telecommunications, information technology and financial services. He sought to integrate developing countries into the multilateral trading system by calling for the elimination of tariffs and non-tariff barriers faced by exports from the world's poorest countries. As DG, he organized the WTO's first Ministerial Conference in Singapore in 1996, and oversaw the second Ministerial Conference celebrating a half-century of the multilateral trading system in Geneva, Switzerland in 1998.

On leaving the WTO, Mr Ruggiero became Chairman of oil and gas multinational ENI, and Vice Chairman of asset management multinational Schroder Salomon Smith Barney International. In 2001 he served as Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in 2003 he took up the post of Chairman of Citigroup in Switzerland.

Born in 1930 in Naples, Italy; passed away in 2013.

- Lawyer who spent his early career in the Italian Diplomatic Service.
- Aide to European Commission presidents Franco Malfatti, Sicco Mansholt and Roy Jenkins.
- Italian Minister for Foreign Trade from 1987 to 1991.



The reason why trade has such a vital part to play in building peace is because it means lowering barriers – not only to goods and services but among nations and peoples. The elimination of barriers creates interdependence and interdependence creates solidarity.

— Speech at the MENA III Conference in Cairo, Egypt, 12 November 1996



This is an organization based on consensus, a consensus which is negotiated here and approved and ratified by governments. This operating principle of ours is at the heart of the WTO's strength. Unlike a voting situation, all the combined negotiating energy is directed towards finding an agreement based on inclusiveness, not on one side dominating the other.

— Departure speech, 14 April 1999

Mike Moore

Third WTO Director-General
September 1999 to August 2002



DG Moore addressing the General Council on 31 July 2002.

Born in 1949 in Whakatane, New Zealand.

- Trade unionist who became, at the age of 23, the youngest member of the New Zealand Parliament.
- New Zealand Minister of External Relations and Trade and Deputy Minister of Finance from 1988 to 1990.
- Prime Minister in 1990.
- Opposition Spokesperson on Foreign Affairs and Overseas Trade from 1993 to 1999.

Mike Moore steered the WTO through the turbulent third Ministerial Conference held in Seattle, Washington, United States in 1999, which was marked by anti-globalization protests. Under his watch, the first round of trade negotiations under the WTO, the Doha Round, was launched during the WTO's Fourth Ministerial Conference in Doha, Qatar, in November 2001. A major event in his tenure was the accession of China in December 2001 after 15 years of negotiations.

Shortly after leaving the WTO, Mr Moore was named senior counsellor on trade and global strategy for New Zealand-based dairy multinational Fonterra. In 2003, he served as a commissioner on the United Nations Global Commission on International Migration. In the mid-to-late 2000s, he served at the United Nations Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor. He has been Ambassador of New Zealand to the United States since 2010.



For me it's always been more than trade – it's about peace, security and development. But trade is an important part of that. Trade in itself will not solve all the world's problems, yet the absence of trade and commerce will make the world's problems worse. Imagine how much worse the economic problems of our region would be if the markets of the wealthy nations were not open to products from developing countries.

— [Speech to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1 July 1999](#)



I'm proud to represent an institution that is owned and driven by its member states. I am the Director-General. I'm not really a Director, even less am I a General. I am, I guess, a navigator, a facilitator and a public servant.

— [Speech to the Legislators Assembly at the Seattle Ministerial Conference, 2 December 1999](#)

Supachai Panitchpakdi

Fourth WTO Director-General
September 2002 to August 2005



DG Supachai answering questions from the press in 2002.

Supachai Panitchpakdi was the first director-general to hail from a developing country. While DG he launched the World Trade Report, the WTO's flagship annual publication on multilateral trade. In 2003, he participated in the Enlarged Dialogue group meeting at the G8 Summit in Evian, France, which sought to bring developing countries and economic powerhouses together to tackle common challenges. He oversaw the Cancún Ministerial Conference in late 2003.

After leaving the WTO, Dr Supachai became Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, serving for two terms (2005-13). Since leaving UNCTAD, he has served as honorary adviser to the Asia New Zealand Foundation, which aims to increase New Zealand's knowledge and understanding of Asia, and has served on a UN High-Level Panel of Experts on institutional financing.

Born in 1946 in Bangkok, Thailand.

- Doctor of Economic Planning and Development who spent his early career at the Bank of Thailand.
- Thai Deputy Minister of Finance in 1986.
- Director and Advisor, and later President, of the Thai Military Bank in 1988.
- Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Policies and Minister of Commerce in 1997.



The factors driving globalisation are numerous and complex. The WTO is not the problem but rather part of the solution. There is no escaping the fact that global problems require multilateral solutions. Absent global rules which address the problems that stem from an often unpredictable and sometimes unsettling phenomenon, we are left with uncertainty, heightened international tensions and possibly chaos. Absent the rule of law, we have the law of the jungle.

— [Speech to the Council on Foreign Relations, 10 March 2005](#)



Let us remember the urgency of the work we are engaged in. More than one billion people still live below the extreme poverty line of one dollar per day and, according to the UN Secretary-General, 20,000 people die from poverty each day. Trade is not the answer to all the world's problems, but it can make a powerful contribution to international efforts for development. We must ensure this contribution is realised and that the enormous potential of globalisation is harnessed for the benefit of people the world over.

— [Speech to the Public Symposium, 20 April 2005](#)

Pascal Lamy

Fifth WTO Director-General
September 2005 to August 2013



DG Lamy speaking to the General Council on 11 December 2012.

Born in 1947 in Levallois-Perret, France.

- Director of European Commission President Jacques Delors' Cabinet from 1985 to 1994.
- Director General of Credit Lyonnais from 1994 to 1999.
- European Commissioner for Trade from 1999 to 2005.

Pascal Lamy instituted the global reviews of the Aid for Trade initiative in 2007, fostered outreach with the local community through the WTO's first Open Day in 2009 and oversaw the accession of Russia to the WTO in 2012. He oversaw the sixth Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong, China in 2005, and chaired the ministerial meeting in Geneva in July 2008 which came close to concluding the Doha Round before ending in deadlock. Subsequently he oversaw the seventh and eighth Ministerial Conferences held in Geneva, Switzerland in 2009 and 2011.

Upon leaving the WTO, Mr Lamy became Chair of the Oxford Martin Commission for Future Generations, a group seeking to foster long-term thinking in international politics and business. He also became Honorary President of "Notre Europe – Institut Jacques Delors". He authored "The Geneva Consensus: Making Trade Work for All" in 2013, and "Quand la France s'éveillera" in 2014.



We live today in a society that is changing perhaps more rapidly than any which preceded it. Such rapid change can instil an enormous range of emotions from fear to hope to confidence. We may not know what the future holds for us as nations, companies or individuals but what we do know for sure is that things will be different tomorrow. We will have to adapt to change and we will have to manage it as best we can, and in a global economy that means ensuring our rules and practices fit our circumstances. This is why the WTO and other multilateral organizations are so important.

— Speech to the Minnesota Economic Club, 17 April 2012



Beyond the benefits that it provides to its members, the WTO, as an institution, is an asset in itself, a global public good that each and every one of its members must nurture.

— Departure speech, 24 July 2013

Roberto Azevêdo

Sixth WTO Director-General
From September 2013



DG Azevêdo speaking at a G20 press conference in Brisbane on 14 November 2014.

Born in 1957 in Salvador, Brazil.

- Member of the Brazilian Foreign Service from 1984.
- Vice-Minister for Economic and Technological Affairs at the Brazilian Foreign Ministry from 2006 to 2008.
- Brazil's Ambassador to the WTO from 2008 to 2013.

Roberto Azevêdo took office on 1 September 2013. He immediately oversaw preparations for the WTO's Ninth Ministerial Conference in Bali in December 2013, where the Bali Package was successfully adopted (see pages 54-55). Other significant events in his tenure have included the conclusion of negotiations to expand the Information Technology Agreement (see page 64) and the establishment of the Trade Facilitation Agreement Facility, which aims to help developing countries implement the TFA (see page 74).

In the run-up to the WTO's Tenth Ministerial Conference, which will be held in Nairobi in December 2015, Mr Azevêdo has sought to increase the transparency and openness of the WTO's work by presiding over fully inclusive negotiations involving the entire WTO membership.



We know that trade is a major contributor to global growth. And that open economies tend to grow more rapidly than closed ones. But, important as this is, the trade agenda of opening markets and promoting an interconnected global economy is not just about dollars and cents – or rand, rupees, renminbi, or pesos. Rather, it is about the quality of our lives. Trade matters to everyone because every day, for good or ill, it affects us all. It affects the goods we can buy and the prices we pay for them. It affects our jobs – and whether they'll be there next year – or whether they'll still be there for the next generation. And it affects the poorest the most. By boosting development, trade has helped to cut poverty around the world. For many, trade has meant better opportunities, better healthcare, better conditions in which to raise a family and greater opportunities to lead healthy, productive lives.

— [Speech to the Public Forum, 1 October 2014](#)



The WTO's Bali deal provided momentum to our broader global trade talks. Our next major negotiating meeting is in December in Nairobi, the first such meeting ever held in Africa. Instead of talking about trade's capacity to leverage growth as mere observers, we should recognize that we can take control, and that this may be the policy option for which we have long been searching.

— ["Use Trade as the Next Stimulus", opinion piece in *The Wall Street Journal*, 31 March 2015](#)

Home of the WTO

The home of the World Trade Organization is the Centre William Rappard in Geneva, Switzerland. Named after William Rappard, a Swiss diplomat who played a leading role in bringing the League of Nations to Geneva, the building is endowed with a diverse range of artworks, donated by WTO members and members of the International Labour Organization, the previous occupant of the building.

In 2007, many of the building's "hidden" artworks were uncovered and restored at the same time the Centre William Rappard was renovated and extended. Today, the WTO continues to receive donations from its members, such as the Chinese garden which was integrated into the WTO grounds in 2013.



1926

Inauguration of what is now the WTO's headquarters. Its first occupant is the International Labour Organization (ILO).



1995

The WTO becomes the main occupant of the Centre William Rappard.



2007

Hidden artworks are rediscovered and their restoration begins.



2013

An adjoining building is inaugurated, bringing all the WTO staff under the same roof.

1977

The building is named in honour of William Rappard. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the precursor of the WTO, takes up residence along with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Library of the Graduate Institute of International Studies.



1998

Construction is completed of the Council Room (William Rappard Room), a large meeting room next to the main building.



2010

Renovation of the building begins, including the creation of an atrium.



2015

The WTO marks its 20th anniversary.



Expansion of the WTO

In 1998, the WTO's headquarters were expanded by the completion of the Council Room, also known as the William Rappard Room, located next to the entrance of the Centre William Rappard.

The building acts as the main meeting room for the members of the WTO. It was designed by Swiss-born architect Ugo Brunoni and was funded by the Fondation des Immeubles pour les Organisations Internationales (FIPOI), a private foundation created by the Swiss Confederation and the Canton of Geneva in 1964 to help international organizations manage their property.



"The plans for this 'ancient theatre of trade negotiations of the future' were developed in 1988 as part of an international competition", recalled Mr Brunoni. "The period between the design and the actual construction was very long, due to the trials and tribulations of the Uruguay Round, which lasted seven years". ... "The handing over of the building will be very symbolic because it will coincide with the 50th anniversary of the Havana Charter, which laid the foundations for the GATT and the WTO", said a spokesperson for the Organization.

— Isabel Garcia-Gill, "A nice present for the WTO", *Journal de Genève*, 6 June 1996

▼ Below Exterior view of the Council Room.



▼ Below Interior view of the Council Room, which can accommodate 700 participants.



Rediscovering “lost” works of art

On 31 March 2007, a group of WTO staff members and art experts cautiously removed protective panels in the Salle des Pas-Perdus of the Centre William Rappard, uncovering in the process three paintings by Gustave-Louis Jaulmes (1940) that had been hidden for over 30 years. These murals were restored and are now on display alongside other unearthed works of art, such as the Delft Panel, previously on display when the ILO had occupied the building. Thanks to painstaking restoration work, the artwork has all been returned to its former glory.



The Delft Panel was installed in January 1927 in the entrance hall of the Centre William Rappard. As the building expanded and with the arrival of other occupants, some works of art were relocated while others were covered, lost or destroyed. ... In 1975, the GATT Director-General Olivier Long requested that the panel be covered up.

As it represents the ILO's founding statement of peace and social justice, he felt that “the presence of this panel was inappropriate in a building which [is] now to be the headquarters of the GATT”. It was not until April 2007 that the wooden boards concealing the tiles were removed and the Delft Panel was once again put on public display.

—Edmundo Murray, “Centre William Rappard: Home of the World Trade Organization” (2011), pp. 31-32.



▲ Above Uncovering the Delft Panel (Albert Hahn Jr., 1926) after 30 years, 26 April 2007.

▶ Right The Delft Panel is located in the main entrance hall of the WTO.





▲ Above "Pygmalion" (Eduardo Chicharro y Agüera, 1925) is located in Room Y of the Centre William Rappard.

► Right Detail of "Work in Abundance" (Gustave-Louis Jaulmes, 1940) located in the Salle des Perdus in the Centre William Rappard.



◀ Left Detail of the Labour Murals (Dean Cornwell, 1955) before restoration. They are located in Room A of the Centre William Rappard.

▼ Below "Irish Industrial Development" (Seán Keating, 1961) is located in the main stairway of the Centre William Rappard.



Renovating the Centre William Rappard

In August 2008, the WTO began the process of renovating the Centre William Rappard, with the aim of maximising the workspace and modernising the building.

The renovation work was completed in mid-2013. This included transforming the inner courtyard of the Centre William Rappard into a glass-roofed atrium which now acts as an informal meeting area. Gilbert Bayes' "Blue Robed Bambino" – the fountain that had originally been in the courtyard – was restored and repositioned on the new lakeside terrace.



Some time ago, the WTO realized that its need for additional workspaces and conference rooms was increasing, and decided to renovate, refurbish and extend the Centre William Rappard building. ... We put forward a project that involved both renovation and restoration. The historical CWR building contained some very interesting features which had to be restored.

It was also renovated, refurbished ... and extended through the creation of a new conference centre ... and the conversion of the central outdoor courtyard into a covered atrium, which is now the hub of the WTO campus. The project drew extensively on the existing features of the building, in particular the use of colours and materials, which were reinterpreted in a contemporary way.

—Francois de Marignac, part of the architectural firm group8 in charge of the renovation of the existing Centre William Rappard, "Urban Lecture", Léman Bleu, 5 November 2014

Before



After



▲ **Top left** The inner courtyard in 2007. The "Blue Robed Bambino" is visible in the centre.

▲ **Top right** The atrium in 2014. The ficus tree planted in the centre is a reminder of the original courtyard.

▲ **Above** The "Blue Robed Bambino" on the lakeside terrace.

In 2013, the WTO inaugurated the Chinese Gusu Garden, a joint gift of the Ministry of Commerce of China and the Municipal Government of Suzhou, reflecting China's strong commitment to the multilateral trading system. Over 100 tons of materials were imported from China for the construction of the garden, which was undertaken by Chinese craftsmen.

Also in 2013, the National Confederation of Industries of Brazil assisted in the restoration of the Brazil Room, providing replicas of the furniture originally provided by the Government of Brazil in 1949. The renovated room was inaugurated in autumn 2013.



This donation represents the enduring commitment of China to the WTO and the multilateral system. The Gusu Garden, which assimilates harmoniously with the architecture of the Centre William Rappard, will provide delegations and the Secretariat a good place for repose and meditation.

— Ambassador Yi Xiaozhun, China's Permanent Representative to the WTO and currently Deputy Director-General, speaking at the inauguration of the Gusu Garden, 7 February 2013



It is the view of the Brazilian diplomacy that multilateral organizations are an essential instrument for the promotion of the interests and aspirations of the international community. Thus it is appropriate that this Brazil Room remains as a signpost of our longstanding commitment to multilateralism.

— Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado, Brazilian Foreign Minister, at the reinauguration of the Brazil Room, 9 September 2013



▲ Above The Brazil Room, 2013.

◀ Left The Chinese Gusu Garden, 2014.

Constructing a new building

A new WTO building was inaugurated in 2013 to bring all WTO staff under the same roof for the first time. Designed by the German architect firm Wittfoht Architekten, the new building establishes a modern energy-efficient working space for some 300 staff. The construction of the building was approved by a cantonal referendum in 2009 which resulted in a clear majority in favour of the development.



Rather than compete with the old building, we tried to create a dialogue between old and new. That was the aim of the project. Our idea was to create a modern design that was in keeping with the old building. It was an exciting project. In Switzerland, we have a stringent energy standard called Minergie-P, and this was the first time that it was applied to a major project for an international organization.

— Jens Wittfoht, architect of the Centre William Rappard extension, “Urban Lecture”, Léman Bleu, 5 November 2014



▲ **Above-right** A poster in the 2009 referendum supporting the extension of the WTO campus.

► **Right** The new WTO building at dusk.

Looking forward

At a time when the global economy is more interconnected than ever, it is difficult to imagine a world without the WTO. By establishing global trade rules, monitoring adherence to those rules and helping to resolve disputes between nations, the WTO plays a crucial role in global governance. Moreover, the WTO has an important role to play in helping developing countries integrate into the global trading system. In the coming years, this will remain a priority for the WTO.



Looking forward

Over the past 20 years, the WTO has clearly achieved a great deal. But there is much more to do. Developing countries need to play a bigger part in global trade and the WTO needs to accelerate its negotiating work. The Nairobi Ministerial Conference at the end of 2015 offers the WTO the opportunity to show that the multilateral trading system can still produce results.

► **Right** Amina Mohamed, Kenya's Secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Trade, speaking about preparations for the Tenth Ministerial Conference at the WTO's headquarters, 27 July 2015.



Over the years the WTO has helped to boost trade growth, resolve numerous trade disputes and support developing countries to integrate into the trading system. It has also provided a bulwark against protectionism, the value of which was made plain in the trade policy response to the 2008 crisis, which was very calm and restrained in contrast to the protectionist panic that followed previous crises.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo,
1 January 2015





We believe that a positive outcome in the MC10 will shape the global trade and investment framework in the post 2015 development agenda, a successor global blueprint to the Millennium Development Goals. It will provide the necessary impetus to stimulate the global economy and enhance trade and investment. Trade and investment provide a solid platform on which countries can lay a firm foundation for employment and wealth creation, improve food security, livelihoods and substantially reduce poverty.

— Amina Mohamed, Kenya's Secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Trade, www.mc10nairobi.org



Success in Nairobi remains the ultimate target of our work [in 2015]. Nairobi is about showing real and definite progress in implementing the Bali decisions, delivering for developing and least developed countries, and delivering outcomes that allow us to conclude the DDA.

— Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, statement to a meeting of the heads of WTO delegations, 8 July 2015

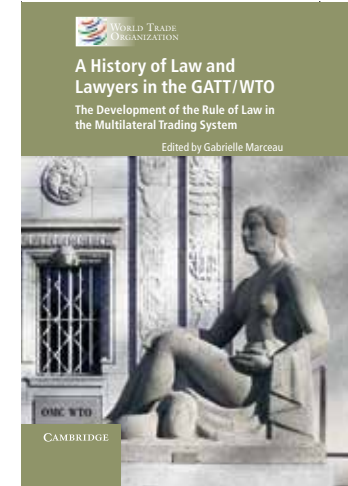
▼ Below Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, WTO Spokesperson Keith Rockwell and Kenya's Secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Trade Amina Mohamed discussing the Nairobi Ministerial Conference during the Fifth Global Review of Trade, 1 July 2015.



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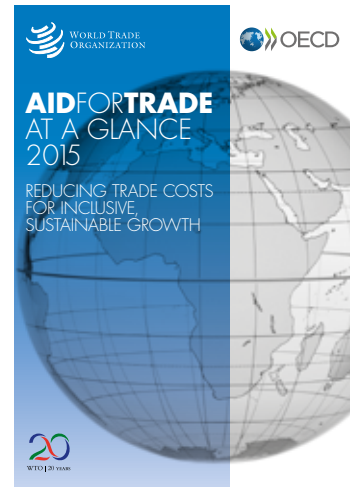
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Art and Architecture at the Centre William Rappard



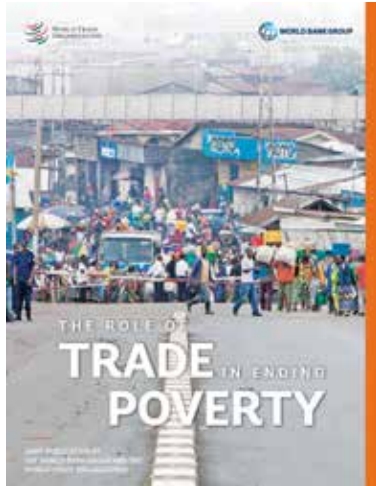
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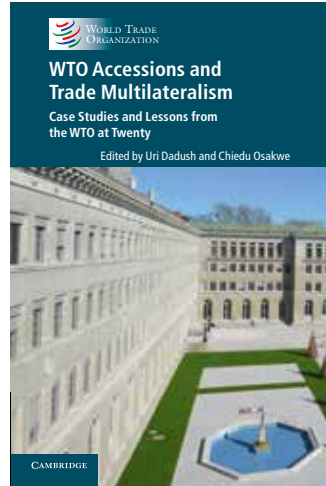
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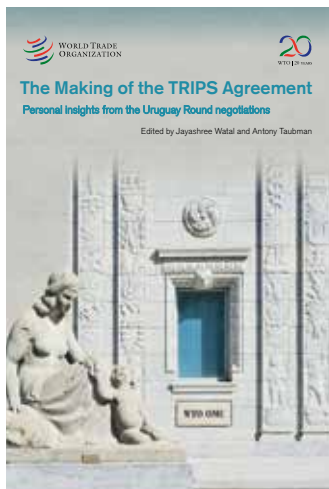
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20 years of the WTO

A retrospective

20 years of the WTO: A retrospective provides an overview of the first two decades of the arbiter of the multilateral trading system. A selection of compelling images and excerpts guides the reader through the history of the organization. Readers will uncover the origins, mission, composition, functioning and key figures of the organization, all the while exploring the challenges it has faced, and how it has worked to meet these challenges.

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