

## 杜哈回合：對台灣的啓發

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關鍵字：台灣、杜哈回合、坎昆部長級會議、WTO

### 中文摘要

台灣與荷蘭的經濟貿易關係可以追溯至一百年前。雙方關係緊密：荷蘭是台灣第十大貿易夥伴，二〇〇二年雙邊貿易總額達五十二億美元。在所有歐洲國家中，荷蘭也是台灣最大的投資者。迄二〇〇二年年底，荷蘭在台投資總額累計至二十四億美元。不過，至二〇〇二年止，此一緊密關係大抵僅構築在雙邊的基礎之上。直到二〇〇二年台灣成爲世界貿易組織（WTO）會員國之後，台灣與荷蘭之經貿關係料將更進一步發展與強化。

入會之時，台灣立即明確地表示未來將在 WTO 裡扮演積極與建設性角色的強烈意願。但是由於五十多年來台灣都在此一多邊貿易體系裡缺席，我們不確定是否能達到自己的期許。就開放國內市場而言，並非我們所有的產業都能及時調整因應新現實，並在已與日俱增的競爭中存活。再者，我國的企業與廠商應準備好善加利用全球市場自由化下所產生的市場機會。

此外，台灣所面臨的考驗之一當然是杜哈發展議程。世貿組織各會員國之貿易相關部長於二〇〇一年在杜哈集會探討如何採取集體行動因應九一一恐怖攻擊事件後所造成的全球經濟蕭條。

此次會議達成展開新一回合貿易談判的宣言。新一回合貿易談判將涵蓋農業、服務業、非農業市場的開放、規則、與貿易有關之智慧財產權協定、爭端解決、貿易與環境以及貿易與發展等多項議題。但是，此一宣言存在著模糊之處，尤其是有關何時與如何展開所謂的新加坡議題的談判：貿易與投資、貿易與競爭政策、貿易便捷化以及政府採購的透明化。新加坡議題的歧見是導致今年（二〇〇三年）九月在墨西哥坎昆舉行的第五屆部長會議失敗的主要原因之一。

至於杜哈回合對台灣的意義，身為 WTO 的新入會會員，台灣必須清楚地掌握自身優勢與弱點。在此一回合談判，除了農業議題外，台灣幾乎在所有主要議題上都是積極倡議者。在農業議題的談判，部長們在杜哈同意以「實質改進市場開放、減少所有形式的補貼與實質減少造成貿易扭曲的國內補助」為目標。儘管我們需盡力在二〇〇五年達到這些目標，但是我們亦需謹記杜哈宣言同時也強調非貿易關切的重要性，這些概念對包括台灣在內的 WTO 會員國言非常重要。因此，我們的目標應該是達成一個足以促進務實而公平農業改革的新貿易體制。台灣歡迎有關開放非農業產品市場的更積極協商結果。我們已準備考慮任何進一步貿易自由化的建議。

經過此一回合的談判，我們學習到正在談判中的不同問題可用來聯繫在一起以強化談判籌碼。我們也學習到盡可能地加入許多非正式團體來增進共同的利益。但是，令我們驚訝的是，我們發現在坎昆會議的一個議題上，最強烈要求者能在一夜之間改變他們的立場，讓他們的核心友邦自行辯護。



## **The Doha Round: Implication for Taiwan**

**Steve Ruey-Long Chen**

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Key words : Taiwan, the Doha Round, Cancun Ministerial Conference, WTO

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is my great pleasure to take part today in this Conference on Taiwan-Netherlands Relations in the WTO Context hosted by National Chengchi University and co-sponsored by Netherlands Trade & Investment Office. The economic and trade relationship between Taiwan and the Netherlands can be traced back to hundreds of years ago. Now the Netherlands is Taiwan's tenth largest trading partner with two-way trade volume at US\$5.2 billions in 2002. The Netherlands is also Taiwan's largest investor among all European countries with total investment of about to US\$2.4 billions at the end of 2002. The relation is strong and yet until 2002 it is mainly on a bilateral basis. It is only after 2002, when Taiwan became a Member of the WTO, that this relation finds more possibilities for further development. I am therefore very interested in all the subjects to be explored in this Conference. There must be ways within the context of the WTO that can further strengthen the already close bilateral relation between Taiwan and the Netherlands.

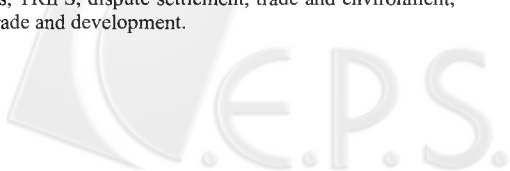


### Taiwan as a new WTO Member

Upon our accession, we made it very clear that it is the strong intention of Taiwan to play an active and constructive role in the WTO. But, after an absence from the multilateral trading system of more than fifty years, we are not sure whether we are ready to live up to our own expectations. As a market economy, Taiwan's trade and economic regime is basically consistent with the rules and principles of the WTO. Yet in terms of opening up domestic market, not all our industries can make the needed adjustment to the new reality and survive the increased competition. In addition, and looking outward, our companies need to be prepared to effectively take advantage of all the market opportunities created by the liberalization of the global market.

### The Doha Round

One of the tests for Taiwan is certainly the Work Programme set out in the current round of multilateral trade negotiations, the Doha Development Agenda. To take collective action to address the global economic slowdown following the terrorist actions of September 11<sup>th</sup>, trade ministers from all WTO Members gathered in Doha, Qatar, in November 2001. There, they adopted a Ministerial Declaration to launch a new trade round. According to the Declaration, the conduct, conclusion and entry into force of the outcome of the negotiations shall be treated as parts of a single undertaking. The issues to be negotiated include agriculture, services, non-agriculture market access, rules, TRIPS, dispute settlement, trade and environment, as well as trade and development.



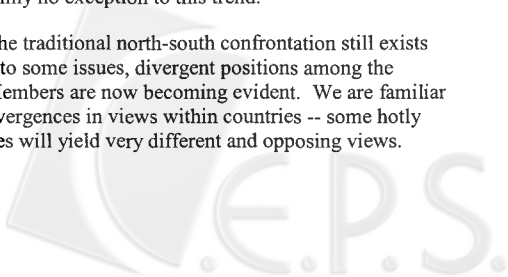
This round of negotiations is set to be wrapped up by January 1, 2005. However, ambiguities exist in the Declaration, especially in relation to when and how to launch the negotiations on the four so-called Singapore issues – trade and investment, trade and competition policy, trade facilitation and transparency in government procurement. The disagreement on the Singapore issue is one of the major factors contributing eventually to the failure of the Fifth Ministerial Conference held in Cancun, Mexico in September this year.

#### The Cancun Ministerial Conference

In fact, the setback in Cancun is certainly not a totally unexpected development. We all know it took almost eight years, instead of the originally scheduled four years, for participants to conclude the Uruguay Round negotiations.

For some WTO Members, so much has already been done over the past fifty years in the area of market access that it is now very difficult to liberalize further. For still other Members, given the intensification of globalization, the conflict of economic interests and the problem of interdependence have become much more difficult to address both domestically and internationally. The world today is ever more complex, and trade is certainly no exception to this trend.

While the traditional north-south confrontation still exists with respect to some issues, divergent positions among the developed Members are now becoming evident. We are familiar with such divergences in views within countries -- some hotly debated issues will yield very different and opposing views.



### Implication for Taiwan

What then is in all these for Taiwan? What is the implication of the Doha Round for a newly acceded WTO Member, such as Taiwan? More specifically, How should Taiwan approach this round of negotiations so that it can show the world that it remains one of the staunch supporters of free trade while minimize also the impact that the results of negotiations might bring to the weakest sectors of its economy? I believe this is a very fundamental question that all WTO members have to address one way or the other.

In substance, Taiwan has to be very clear about its strength, as well as its weakness. Among the major negotiating issues, Taiwan is a strong advocate for all but one issue, which is agriculture. For the negotiations on agriculture, Ministers agreed in Doha to aim at “substantial improvements in market access, reductions of all forms of subsidies and substantial reduction in trade-distorting domestic support”. While we should try our best to attain these goals by the deadline of 2005, we should also bear in mind that the Doha Declaration emphasized the importance of non-trade concerns, concepts important to many Members, including Taiwan. Therefore, our aim should be to work out a new trade regime that facilitates pragmatic and equitable agricultural reform.

Taiwan welcomes a more aggressive outcome of negotiations on the issue of market access for non-agricultural products. We are ready to consider any proposal that will target a much higher level of trade liberalization. While we support the idea of “less than full reciprocity in reduction commitments” from developing and least developed Members, we nevertheless

are of the opinion that all market access concessions must still be meaningful and substantial.

On the Singapore issues, we support the launch of negotiations on all four issues. We believe that work in all these four areas will improve the trade regime. Progress in these areas would help to eliminate many distortions in international trade if we can properly regulate in these areas. We will all be better off if we permit the invisible hand to operate more freely.

As to Taiwan's approach to the negotiations, there are rooms for improvement. We are new to this multilateral negotiating game. We need a game plan that includes the overall and issue-specific strategies to make our voices heard and our concerns addressed.

In this round of negotiations, we have learned that different negotiating issues can be linked to enhance their leverage. We have also leaned to join as many informal groups as possible to work with like-minded members to advance common interests. To our surprise, however, on one issue in Cancun, we found out that the strongest demander can change their position overnight and left fellow "core friends" to defend for themselves. There are a lot more that we have to learn.

A much more difficult task in this round of negotiations is how to ensure that the developing Members, and especially the least developed ones, can secure a fair share of the growth in world trade. Taiwan is fully aware of and is prepared to act on the economic needs of the LDCs. For example, my government donated US\$ 300,000 to the Doha Development Agenda Global Trust Fund during our first year as a Member, and we are

arranging a second donation of US\$ 250,000 this year. In addition, my government is offering duty-free treatment to over 98% of our imports from the least-developed countries.

### What's Next?

After in Cancun, what's next? In our view, maintaining a strong rules-based multilateral trading system should always be a priority for all WTO Members. We don't think the road Members planned at Doha hit a dead end at Cancun. On the contrary, due to the setback at Cancun, we can now see more clearly how different the positions between different groups really are. There is definitely a lot of work to do in order to put the negotiations back on track. The mending process is under way in Geneva now. It is not an easy job to remove the aftertaste left by in Cancun. We should all show our patience and good will. It is my strong belief that the negotiations will restart and be completed, maybe not on January 1, 2005, but definitely not out of sight either.

The Doha Round is important not only to Taiwan, but also to the WTO as an institution. To keep Members from pursuing trade policies bilaterally and regionally, which in essence are deviations from the most treasured non-discrimination principle of the WTO, Members should do their best to revive the Doha Round and successfully conclude it without any unnecessary delay.

Thank you very much for your attention.

