

and developing countries reducing their own price distortions through reciprocal liberalization (if only as far as to adopt flat tariffs, following the Chilean model). The Doha Round has unfortunately shifted the developing country focus away from their own liberalization, some thought. These considerations raise an obvious conundrum when it comes to measuring “success” in the Round on this score.

*The question of direction of change in the system*

In contrast to the singular clarity of purpose of the GATT-era rounds (at least those that preceded the Uruguay Round), the context today prompts some to ask: “Where are we taking the trade system? What is the purpose of the Doha Round?”

While some would counter by wondering, given that the die is cast, whether these musings really matter, the implicit warning of the Uruguay Round's “unintended consequences” is that it is important to have some degree of clarity of purpose. While the Uruguay Round started out similarly to other rounds, motivated in part by rising protectionism, it ended up very differently. In part, this reflected a powerful push from particular sectoral interests (most notably pharmaceuticals) to deal with intellectual property and services. However, introducing these elements into the trade rules implied systemic transformation, the understanding and implications of which, it was argued, was lacking (in part, because of the weak state of economic analysis and poor data on services and insufficiently advanced thinking about the relationship of trade to intellectual property). But, as well, a new institution was formed with no executive, a very weak legislative arm and a powerful judicial branch, in fact the strongest in the international domain—and lacking even a forum in which it could discuss systemic issues (apropos which, the emergence of the informal mini-Ministerials appears to be compensating in some fashion for the lapsing of the Consultative Group of 18, which had previously served as such a ginger group). Nor was it understood how the new institution would work in the context of a much larger active membership; no