

However, for the developing countries that have bought into the program of trade-led development, the key issue is market access. From this perspective, it was argued, the complex agenda that emerged from Doha is taking the WTO away from trade; it needs to get back to this issue front and centre, if the Doha Round is to be a development round as advertised.

The European Union helped build momentum on market access in the period leading up to the Doha meetings with its "Everything But Arms" initiative, which promised quota and duty free access to all developing country products (although, as some have put it, to many developing countries the initiative would have better been titled "Everything but Farms" since the European Union's farm support programs, including its agricultural export subsidies, were not included).

The United States, for its part, greatly facilitated a launch by moving, as noted above, on some of the major elements of concern to developing countries: showing flexibility on TRIPS against the urging of various domestic interests, including notably the pharmaceutical industry, and taking a chance on opening up negotiations on anti-dumping in the round. At the same time, there was no evident thaw on textiles and clothing, one of the key market access issues.

The dynamic observed at the Doha meetings, with the industrialized countries emphasizing technical assistance and capacity building and the most trade-oriented developing countries emphasizing market opening, poses an important question about how the Doha Round is to be concluded. As was observed, after a good number of years of experience in the WTO, developing countries now "have the trade textbook" and are cognizant of the significance of their vote in a consensus

---

countries would interpret the meaning of capacity building even more broadly to include the development of physical infrastructure to support trade (e.g., ports facilities etc.). Within the civil society, on the other hand, the term capacity building would be held to include support for developing participatory mechanisms to increase the democratic legitimacy of developing country participation in negotiations.