The Collapse in the Doha Round – Who's to Blame?

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VERY MUCH WORK IN PROGRESS – DO NOT QUOTE

Abstract: In late July 2006, it became clear that the Doha Round negotiations had finally collapsed. All member states officially lamented the collapse but also rapidly engaged in a blame game, accusing other countries of setting unrealistic demands and adopting inflexible negotiation positions while painting a picture of themselves as honest, flexible and entirely without responsibility for the failure. It is the aim of this paper to contribute to the discussion of why the Doha Round collapsed in order to inform the public as well as giving hints to policy makers in future rounds of how to sustain negotiations over time. The paper first provides a theoretically informed discussion of the dynamics of international trade negotiations within the WTO. In an empirical section, the paper relies on a large dataset of single countries' negotiation positions in the WTO, collected from October 2001 and updated throughout the Doha Round negotiations. Two 'blame indices', measuring how far from the median negotiation position single member countries were, indicate that although many WTO members must share some of the blame for the collapse of the Doha Round, the EU is the single players with the most isolated negotiation positions.

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1. Introduction

In Doha on the 25th of November 2001, the member states of the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreed on initializing a new round of negotiations on how to reform the international trading system. Since then, the 149 members of the organization engaged in intense negotiations with the stated intention of liberalizing world trade. From theoutset, it was clear that the negotiations were to be difficult, not due to two factors: 1) the negotiation agenda came to consist of a large number of topics, and 2) agriculture, which had proved to be a highly disputed topic in previous negotiation rounds, was to be a central area of discussion.

In February 2003, the chairman of the agricultural negotiations produced a comprehensive draft proposal that was to bear his name – the Harbinson draft – in order to provide a common basis of member states and thereby further the negotiations. A modalities agreement outlining what was to be negotiated and within which framework was reached in July 2004 after which the member states continued the negotiations on what was now supposed to be common ground. However, despite ministerial meetings in Cancun and Hong Kong where the official hopes were set high, in stark contrast to how the internal disagreement in the WTO was aired in public, very little actually happened in the negotiations despite official optimism. And in late July 2006, it became clear that the negotiations had finally collapsed. Since then, the members of the WTO have continued talks on a more informal basis and without making much progress.

Very rapidly after the official collapse, EU chief negotiator Peter Mandelson went in the media, accusing the United States of having engineered the failure. The US, of course, almost as promptly blamed the protectionist stance of the EU, and developing countries all over the world have pointed their fingers at both single countries as well as the entire developed world. While all member states officially lament the collapse – not least developing countries as the Doha Round was intended to be a 'Development Round' to their specific benefits– it is therefore also clear that

all members rapidly engaged in a blame game, accusing other countries of setting unrealistic demands and adopting inflexible negotiation positions while painting a picture of themselves as honest, flexible and entirely without responsibility for the failure.

For a public without real knowledge of trade negotiations – and even for most well-informed academics - it is therefore virtually impossible to see through the haze of mutual accusations in order to identify the culprits. It is our aim in this paper to contribute to the discussion of why the Doha Round collapsed and who the main culprits are – if any can indeed be identified – in order to inform the public as well as giving hints to policy makers in future rounds of how to sustain negotiations over time. To attain this goal, we first discuss the theoretical problems associated with negotiations among countries with both veto power as well as concerns associated with their international reputation. In an empirical section, we rely on a large dataset of single countries' negotiation positions in the WTO, collected from October 2001 and updated throughout the Doha Round negotiations. We use these data to form two 'blame indices', measuring how far from the median negotiation position single member countries were, and in which direction their deviations occurred. These indices form the basis for a discussion about who is to blame for the collapse.

We conclude that while many WTO members must share some of the blame for the collapse of the Doha Round, the analysis identifies the EU as the single player with the most isolated negotiation position and, at the same time, the least institutional capacity to engage in real bargaining. The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the theoretical requirement for coming to an agreement in an international organization such as the WTO. Section 3 presents the data used to form the blame indices and the indices themselves. Section 3 then asks who is to blame while section 5 concludes.

2. Theoretical requirements for agreements in international organizations

As a first aim of this paper, we devote this section to exploring the theoretical conditions under which negotiations in an international organization with the characteristics of the WTO can either lead to an agreement or collapse. A number of factors contribute to making international trade negotiations within the WTO of specific intricacy.

The dynamics of such negotiations are first of all made complex by most members effectively being veto players. In principle, all members can veto an agreement text as the WTO is a democratic organization with a unanimity clause. Yet, members' *de facto* veto power is nonetheless limited by potential reputation losses of causing a collapse as well as by the wishes of sufficiently influential domestic special interests. A simple schematic representation of countries' choices is presented in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Following each proposal set – which we think of as a set of proposals from either single countries or country groups, or from the negotiation chair, working as mediator – four scenarios can unfold: 1) the country illustrated here can agree, gaining the pay-off *a*; 2) the country can decide to reject the proposal set, or more likely reject part of it, but decide to continue negotiations; 3) the country can exit the negotiations, thereby either exiting the organization or effectively ending the negotiation round (if the country is a sufficiently large player); or 4) it can exit the negotiations or bring them to an end, but place the blame on the effective collapse on other players. For simplicity, we can imagine a situation with only two players, in which case the second player has similar pay-offs resulting from a given proposal set.

The next question is what constitutes the pay-offs? Again for simplicity, assume that four elements enter the pay-off at any time: 1) the likely economic consequences for the population at

large of accepting a proposal set, E_P; 2) the likely economic consequences for a set of influential special interests of accepting a proposal set, E_I; 3) the likelihood of getting a 'better' deal by renegotiating, r, minus the costs of waiting for a deal, W_t in phase t; and 4) the cost of losing international reputation if the country is seen to contribute to a collapse of the negotiations, C. In each phase of the negotiations, a participant comes up with a proposal set that maximizes his expected pay-off, given the expected response of the other player.

It should be relatively clear that with $W_t = 0$, i.e. with no procrastination costs, one can easily imagine a situation with intransitive pay-offs, and thus with circular voting as in Arrow (1950). One of the likely mechanisms that could stabilize negotiation rounds might therefore be such costs, not least when some amount of political capital has been invested in reaching an agreement as some point in the future. We would therefore expect for purely intuitive reasons that W_t is increasing for both players over the course of the negotiation round (time t), on the assumption that both have entered with the intention of reaching an agreement, which will make an agreement more likely in later rounds even if the proposal set does not become more attractive to populations or special interests. With this structure, and in particular when having a multidimensional negotiation agenda, there will also be room for multiple attempts at logrolling, i.e. of changing the proposal set simultaneously on several topics.

For country 1, the pay-offs at any time are therefore given by $E_P (S) + E_I (S)$, which must be balanced by the term $r[E_P (S_A) + E_I (S_A)] - W_t - (1-r) DC$, where S_A is the alternative proposal set that will be forwarded by the country if such a set exists that can either lead country 2 to either accept or improve upon the proposal set S in such a way that country 1 will either accept or gain from renegotiating with some probability r. The term DC is the reputation cost that the country must bear if it is internationally blamed for causing a collapse ($D = 1$).

Given that $E_P(S) + E_I(S) < r[E_P(S_A) + E_I(S_A)] - W_t - (1-r)DC$ for both players and that term $r[E_P(S_A) + E_I(S_A)] - W_t > (1-r)DC$ for both, we would expect the negotiation round to make headway, as a series of proposal sets $\{S\}_t$ will imply that $E_P(S) + E_I(S) - r[E_P(S_A) + E_I(S_A)] - W_t$ is steadily decreasing until $E_P(S) + E_I(S) \geq r[E_P(S_A) + E_I(S_A)] - W_t$. Alternatively, with two players, one can either imagine a situation with circular voting, i.e. the pay-off difference is stable, up to some time when the term W_t begins dominating the non-progress of the negotiation proposals, or one can in principle imagine a situation in which negotiation proposals diverge and the development of the proposal sets therefore imply larger pay-off differences between rounds. In the former situation, it would be a matter of time before the procrastination costs take on a weight that makes players converge, while in the latter, it is difficult to rationalize why players entered into negotiations in the first round. Again, in either the former situation or the 'standard' scenario above, players will likely converge around the median proposal set, as outlined by the median voter theorem (Black, 1948; Downs, 1957).

Nevertheless, in the context of the WTO, which at the moment consists of 149 members, the picture is somewhat more complicated. Groups of countries may converge on a joint proposal set, that is, approaching a situation in which they would be willing to accept a final proposal set and thus reach situation a in Figure 1, while other countries may continuously vote in circles and thus stay in situation b. This could in principle happen if the procrastination costs of such countries are low, or perhaps zero, or if special interests or the population (if it has substantially different preferences than the rest of the world) judge any alternative proposal sets as very bad, such that $E_P(S) + E_I(S) < W_t + (1-r)DC$ at any time. The latter could be the case if E_P or E_I – and most likely the latter – have a different structure than those of other players. In that case, the country will be

rationally willing to keep the negotiations on a *de facto* standstill as long as the expectation of D is zero, i.e. that the country can blame other players for an eventual collapse.[1]

While such considerations may seem either simplistic or theoretically complex, depending on the purpose of using them, one implication comes out of them, which will be employed in the following: given that negotiations collapse after a prolonged period of attempts at reaching an agreement, any likely culprits – defined as players that have in some tangible way 'caused' the collapse – can be identified as those with proposal sets that have either diverged or continuously remained distant from an evolving joint proposal set – the median set – of a large subset of the remaining players. In the following, we will use this identification criterion to identify the countries most likely to bear the blame for the collapse of the Doha Round.

3. Data

To achieve this objective, we rely on a large quantitative dataset on relative negotiation positions developed in previous studies (Bjørnskov and Lind, 2002, 2005; Lind and Bjørnskov, 2006). The data are formed by reviewing all available official material during the negotiation period 2000-2005, thereby allowing an identification of 14 issues that haven been particularly contended in the Doha Round.[2] The disputed issues identified in Lind and Bjørnskov (2006) can be summarized in 14 headings within five overarching areas.

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[1] It might be noted that in practice, it is very difficult to imagine a country ending up in situation *c*, i.e. a situation in which the country is ready to exit negotiations even if it cannot credibly blame any other country for causing a collapse, and thereby most probably exit the organization. To my knowledge, this has not happened in the 50-year life of the GATT/WTO.

[2] The information was collected from proposals submitted to the agricultural negotiations since 2000, official statements and comments on other members' proposals during these negotiations, and official statements and declarations during

1. Market access issues covering: 1) tariffs; 2) tariff rate quotas; 3) tariff escalation and peaks; and 4) the special safeguard clause

2. Positions on 5) export subsidies; and 6) export credit.

3. Agricultural support captured in: 7) domestic support in the WTO 'green box'; 8) domestic support within the 'blue boxes'; 9) the question of whether or not the WTO should accept a future development box; 10) *de minimis* levels and the aggregate support measure (AMS).

4. Finally, various non-trade concerns expressed by members are captured by their positions on: 12) a broad vs. a narrow round; and 13) so-called postmodern issues.[3]

5. In addition, a set of topics known as the Singapore issues have become important since the initiation of the Doha round. These issues cover rules for investments, competition policy, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation and form the 14th issue.

The country positions are mapped into an ordered scale producing a dataset, which has been used in the analyses outlined above, and which we use for the subsequent statistical analyses in the next section. The scale consists of the ratings 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4, where the higher the number the more free trade/market oriented is the position.

0. reflects countries' support for expanding the current provisions for support and protection.

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and following the Doha and Cancun meetings. Due to availability and coverage of such documents, the data include the positions of 122 members.

[3] Positions on labour and environmental standards enter the postmodern issues while other issues such as geographical indicators and the so-called 'multifunctionality' of agriculture enter the 'broad versus narrow' issue. A few issues considered at first including state trading practices, standards and the amber box were excluded from the final analysis because of general agreement on these.

1. reflects support for keeping the current WTO provisions unchanged, although allowing the inclusion of a number of the so-called broad agenda issues, i.e. a number of non-trade concerns.

2. reflects limited support for reducing tariffs and domestic support, but with special and differential treatment or exemptions given to developing countries and in some cases also transition economies.

3. reflects a desire to reduce tariffs or domestic support, i.e. to increase global market access and curb the use of support measures.

4. reflects that a country wants to eliminate or substantially reduce tariffs and domestic support, and have a new round of negotiations as narrow as possible.

Coding member countries' positions in the 14 issues in this admittedly crude way allows us to compare all countries on an issue-by-issue basis as well as an aggregate basis due to the fact that the ratings can be used to calculate distances between countries in the same way as one calculates a distance between two cities. As such, the data can combined to provide proxies for the difference between the proposal sets of single countries, as outlined above. Even though the ratings probably do not fully capture the different weights that countries attach to the negotiation issues, it should nevertheless be noted that countries tend to polarize their official position on issues of particular interest to them, which has the effect that the ratings come to reflect the weight attached to them. Further details are available in the series of publications that introduced this dataset (Bjørnskov and Lind, 2002, 2005; Lind and Bjørnskov, 2006).

Bjørnskov and Lind (2005) show that these 14 particularly disputed negotiation topics identified – 13 agricultural topics and the so-called Singapore issues – split into three orthogonal dimensions of which one explains the major part of the systematic variation in the data. Yet, the

paper also shows that the two 'extra' dimensions, called the 'export price' and 'market access'

dimension, explain only l8 and 11 percent of the variation and are rather specific to small groups in

the WTO.[4] As such, it could be expected that the liberalization dimension satisfactorily captures the

unifying theme of the Doha Round. Indeed, the 13 issues (with the exception of the Singapore

issues) can be pooled into a single index, as indicated by Cronbach's alpha, which is .83.[5]

We therefore pool the data into a simple additive index, and in addition rescale the index to be

distributed between 0 and 100. This variable is called INDEX in the table. To capture countries'

relative positions on reaching a formal agreement, we also calculate all member states' percent

deviation from the median (64.4), called DEV, as this is the position which is relevant based on the

median voter theorem. Instead of calculating a simple deviation from the median, we apply an

alternative measure since Tukey's test of nonadditivity indicates that the 13 item scores should be

rescaled by being lifted to the power of -.64 in order to be ideally additive. This yields our second

indicator of deviation, called SCA, which is based on an additive index with the item scores

converted this way.

The correlation between the indices (DEV and SCA) is large (ρ = .85) but not perfect,

indicating that there may be subtle differences between the two approaches. In the following, all

analyses are therefore performed using both indices as indicators of the theoretically informed

identification divergence from a median proposal set that WTO member states ought to be able to

converge on.

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[4] For example, the 'export price' issue is only stressed by a small group of countries typically relying on large exports

of coffee, tea or very specific other products for which the world market price plummeted during the last ten years. For

the central players in the Doha Round, these issues therefore remain on the very fringe of the negotiation agenda.

[5] Excluding the Singapore issues item from the index also has the advantage of making it less dependent on average

scores inserted in the dataset when countries have no explicitly stated position on this topic. This is the reason why

some countries seem to have larger deviations from the median on the SCA measure than DEV.

4. Who's to blame?

The premise of the analyses in this section rely on the workhorse of political economy – the median voter theorem – which implies that the WTO member states should eventually converge on the median negotiation position. As is well-known, this theorem provides unambiguous implications when the negotiation agenda is one-dimensional and all negotiation parties have single-peaked preferences, but fails when one of these conditions does not hold. It is therefore necessary, before proceeding to the analyses, to demonstrate that these conditions are likely to hold for the Doha Round negotiation positions of most WTO member states.

If we predict the average scores employed in this paper using the three principal components from Bjørnskov and Lind (2005) and calculate the residuals, we can obtain a fairly good measure of how 'wrong' or unworkable an assumption of uni-dimensionality is. Doing so reveals that only three countries have large residuals, defined as more than two standard deviations away from the average: Ghana, South Africa and Norway. Only six other countries have residuals larger than one standard deviation: Malawi, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the three Caribbean island states Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Given that Cronbach's Alpha supports the use of a uni-dimensional index and a further look at the data reveal that only rather few countries have scores that deviate from this picture, an assumption of a uni-dimensional main negotiation agenda *a priori* seems a quite reasonable approximation.

Secondly, a necessary condition is that countries have single-peaked preferences. A violation of this condition would entail both problems for our position indices as well as for the theoretical considerations. Yet, in theory, countries could have twin-peaked preferences if one proposal set optimized the pay-offs, E_P, to the population at the cost of the pay-off to special interests, E_I, and

another did the opposite. In practice, though, such a situation would likely require that the interests of those two groups would be sufficiently negatively correlated.

In the data, we do not seem to observe such problems. Had any countries had multi-peaked preferences over the negotiation outcomes, we would expect to see at least some shifts from below-median negotiation positions to above-median positions, and vice versa, which would be likely evidence for shifts between preference peaks. Yet, as outlined in Lind and Bjørnskov (2006), the degree of convergence in the Doha Round has been rather limited, and following the round it has been clear to all observers that no countries have made such 180-degree shifts of their proposal sets.[6] Not a single such shift has been observed since the negotiation round was initiated in November 2001. In addition, seen from a public choice perspective, multi-peaked preferences over trade policy issues would arguably be very rare, as they would imply either considerable institutional reforms occurring within the negotiation period, which could shift the preference function and therefore appear as multiple peaks when aggregated over the negotiation period, or reflect governments with either fickle or very weak preferences, or shifting weights attached to different interests. We do not observe any considerable reforms of the institutional framework in the member states in the period 2001-2005. The second option, judged by any historical standards, also seems improbable as the institutions and interests defining trade policy as well as the influence of different groups in society are generally very stable over time.

As such, our assessment is that the necessary conditions for treating the Doha Round negotiations as a median voter game are, at least approximately, satisfied. For single countries, and in particular those with relatively few clear positions, it is apparent that the scores in the following

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[6] Most movements in the negotiation positions during the period 2001-2006 have occurred when countries have either stated a position on a previously unrated issue or have clarified their position in ways that in a limited number of cases have given rise to changing their rating in the data. As such, what may appear as convergence towards a median position is in most cases simply an artefact of the rating procedure used to generate the data on negotiation positions.

should be treated with some care. Yet, for the key players in the Doha Round that all have almost full data, the scores probably reflect their 'true' distance from the negotiation median (the proposal set around which convergence would likely happen) and therefore their relative responsibility for the collapse of the round. We are therefore in a position to identify the countries with divergent proposal sets, i.e. to 'assign blame'.

As a first indication of who's to blame, Table 1 lists all countries rated in Bjørnskov and Lind (2005) and their scores on INDEX. The data are distributed around an average of 64.38 and a median of 64.07 (defined by the African Group position) from a low of 33.15 (Norway) to a high of 79.56 (Colombia). Not surprisingly, the data thus replicate the overall picture in previous studies. With Canada's score of 67.76, the data also replicate the finding that this country is the key player situated closest to the median of the WTO member states and thus the one most likely to gain wide support for its overall position. Ranking countries according to the index, i.e. to how willing they are to liberalize world trade, the large players are spread across the field: the US is number 19, China number 20, Canada number 33, Japan number 102, and the EU number 107, followed only by Norway.

Insert table 1 about here

Table 2 instead reports the alternative measures SCA and DEV. As DEV is the deviation from the median position on INDEX in percent of the maximum deviation, this variable replicates the main picture in Table 1 although with the additional information of giving an estimate of how far away from the median position countries are. The average deviation from the median position is 18.3 with a standard deviation of 16.8. Using this indicator, Norway is the country that has been furthest away from the negotiation median, by definition receiving the score 100, and the median is

defined by the countries that have been part of the African Group's proposals while not posting any proposals or strong comments apart from those posted by the group. What is worth noting is the three other country scores (appearing in bold) that are more than two standard deviations away from the median deviation, which are, measured in this rather simple way, those members that were furthest away from accepting a median voter compromise. Besides the rather obvious case of Norway, the large negotiation outliers in this respect are the EU, Israel and Colombia, although it should be stressed that the latter country deviated by wanting more substantially liberalization than the median whereas the other outliers appeared considerably more protectionist.

Insert table 2 about here

Employing the deviation from the median voter position using the alternative SCA scores, which are more complex but also statistically more valid, yields slightly different results. The average deviation is significantly smaller at an SCA score of 12.3 but, given a standard deviation of 15.2, also with a significantly larger coefficient of variation. Again, countries opting for the 'pure' African Group position form the median group while Norway once more defines the maximum deviation. The second most protectionist country is the Democratic Republic of Congo, followed closely by the EU. However, the alternative indicator also shows that a number of the new member states of the EU, although being rated before their accession, are placed far in the 'protectionist' direction away from the median. The notable exception is Estonia, which on this indicator is placed almost precisely on the median. Other significantly protectionist countries include Iceland, Israel, Japan and Switzerland.

The use of SCA reveals a notable feature of the data that may not be immediately visible when relying on INDEX or DEV. The feature can be gauged from Figures 2 and 3 although it is more

readily visible in the latter. Looking at these figures, in which countries deviation from the median position (the proposal set upon which the organization 'ought' to converge), reveals that countries with a smaller INDEX, i.e. a more protectionist stance, are substantially further away from the median position than countries with a relatively free-trade oriented stance. As such, this picture is consistent with a specific interpretation of the theoretical considerations as outlined in the last section of the paper.

Insert figure 2 about here

Insert figure 3 about here

5. Conclusions

The purpose of this paper has been to discuss if any countries can be identified as being responsible for the collapse of the Doha Round negotiations in the WTO, or in other words, if some specific countries can be blamed. In the admittedly fairly loose theoretical considerations, we discussed what the negotiation proposals and negotiation behaviour of such countries would likely look like. Not surprisingly, a defining characteristic of a 'laggard member' of the WTO would be an inflexible overall stance, combined with flexibility within its more specific positions. This would allow a laggard member to post new proposal sets and thereby prolong the negotiations, but without actually walking away from the table. As time passes and groups of other member countries converge on more similar proposal sets, either due to an emerging agreement among those countries or due to increasing costs of waiting for an agreement, the laggard countries will be definable as those with negotiation preferences particularly far from an emerging median position in the

organization. So the question is if such countries can be identified from the relatively simple data outlined in section 4.

In Figure 3, the two outer observations – protectionist Norway and free-trade oriented Colombia – are marked with an asterix, as are the two central players with large distances to the median position – the EU and Japan. A feature of these median deviation data immediately clear in the figure is that countries with positions to the right of the median, i.e. countries wanting more liberalization, do not have deviations from the median of the same size as those to the left, wanting less liberalization. In placing any 'blame' on countries of groups of countries, outlier observations in the former direction such as Colombia, Chile or Argentina, with scores on the SCA index of 20-24 points, should probably not be emphasized as much as the key players that are outliers in the other direction: Japan with a SCA score of 43.7 and the EU with a score of 57.3.

Presumably, most countries with a 'positive' deviation, i.e. a more liberal stance than the median, would be likely to accept an agreement that is slightly less liberalizing than they would ideally want. In other words, it may seem reasonable to assume that such countries would accept smaller, but still positive, pay-offs from reaching an agreement. On the other hand, it can even be discussed whether countries with revealed preferences far away from the proposal set preferred by the median country, i.e. countries actually wanting *less* liberalization than the status quo, may not have wanted a negotiation round in the first place, but went along in order to protect their international reputation.

What does this example of an exercise imply for negotiations in democratic and fairly transparent international organizations such as the WTO? A first lesson must be that cramming the negotiation agenda with issues without any apparent relations, i.e. a multidimensional negotiation agenda and thus multidimensional proposal sets, implies very large room for logrolling, and thus also for circular voting, which may be intended by some countries. Without wanting to make too

much of it, it indeed seems as if virtually all EU proposals in the Doha Round had the specific characteristic of admitting concessions in one area in exchange for very specific concessions from other players in specific other areas. As such, one of the main problems in the Doha Round may arguably have been the extreme efforts of logrolling exerted by a number of players, and in particular the EU, which was enabled by a combination of having multiple negotiation dimensions and very diverse initial positions.

As an example, many EU proposals have suggested to cap agricultural support in the amber and blue boxes, thus implying liberalization, but in exchange of allowing support for environmental and animal welfare purposes to be put in the non-capped green box. The 'trick' in these proposal sets is that the latter forms of support are most often given per acre or per head in the EU, and therefore rightfully belong in the blue box. The EU has also proposed lowering tariffs but in exchange raising effective non-tariff barriers in the form of specific (environmental or process) standards that would likely work in the same way as existing tariffs. While this structure seems to have been a defining characteristic of EU proposals, it should of course be stressed that such behaviour is not limited to the EU. Instead, the existence of these very specific quid-pro-quo proposals serves to underline the difficulties in having multidimensional negotiation agendas in international organization.

Second, the negotiations have implicitly put emphasis on the domestic structure of countries engaged in such negotiations. A main problem of the EU, as discussed in Lind and Bjørnskov (2006), is that its negotiation position in the WTO is itself the result of negotiations with veto power within the EU. As such, the EU position is likely to be the lowest common denominator of its 27 member countries. Any proposal from other WTO members therefore has to be acceptable not only to other WTO members, but also to every single member of the EU, a situation which can easily create a positional deadlock in such negotiations, and in particular given the very strong influence

of special interests on the EU negotiation position. How that problem is solved in the union is beyond the scope of this paper, but needs to be carefully discussed since it seems at the bottom of the collapse of the Doha Round.

Third, and as a tentative final point, this exercise in data creation and 'manipulation' shows that in democratic international organizations, what may seem as relatively powerless developing countries can gain weight in the negotiations when they converge on a common proposal set. The African Group provides a clear example of a motley crew of countries that nonetheless almost from the onset acted as one player and came to *define* the median position in the WTO. In the course of the negotiations, the so-called G20 Group, which included such diverse countries as Australia, Brazil and India, also converged on an almost common proposal set. The risk of this development is that rapid convergence can isolate laggard players, as has been the case of the EU. While we have argued that the EU is the main culprit in the WTO collapse, such isolation can probably be used to insulate some laggard governments from domestic critique and thus from a loss of domestic reputation. How that is to be solved is well beyond the scope of this paper, but only serves to underline the extreme complexity of negotiations in modern international organizations.

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Table 1. Overall negotiation positions

Countries	INDEX	Countries	INDEX	Countries	INDEX
Albania	56.54	Fiji	67.99	Nicaragua	69.79
Angola	64.07	Gabon	65.55	Niger	64.07
Antigua and Barbuda	57.70	Gambia	63.76	Nigeria	65.72
Argentina	77.60	Ghana	66.29	Norway	33.15
Australia	72.29	Grenada	60.36	Pakistan	76.79
Barbados	56.45	Guatemala	75.34	Paraguay	74.55
Benin	65.38	Guinea	60.02	Peru	68.65
Bolivia	77.60	Guinea-Bissau	64.07	Philipines	63.02
Botswana	63.02	Haiti	66.58	Poland	56.09
Brazil	73.93	Honduras	67.17	Rwanda	64.07
Brunei	66.53	Hungary	51.29	Senegal	63.49
Bulgaria	50.69	Iceland	50.64	Sierra Leone	66.55
Burkina Faso	67.16	India	61.59	Singapore	66.19
Burundi	67.64	Indonesia	63.07	Slovakia	65.08
Cameroon	60.50	Israel	48.12	Slovenia	64.29
Canada	67.76	Jamaica	57.93	South Africa	77.26
Central African Republic	64.07	Japan	51.44	South Korea	55.54
Chad	64.07	Jordan	61.97	Sri Lanka	73.94
Chile	77.60	Kenya	67.64	St Kitts	58.10
China	70.64	Kyrgyz Republic	60.31	St Lucia	59.89
Colombia	79.56	Latvia	59.41	St Vincent	63.06
Congo DR	52.58	Lesotho	67.64	Surinam	60.36
Congo, Rep	64.07	Lithuania	55.48	Swaziland	61.22
Costa Rica	74.07	Madagascar	64.07	Switzerland	53.08
Côte d'Ivoire	67.64	Malawi	63.76	Tanzania	62.98
Croatia	55.65	Malaysia	71.82	Thailand	75.34
Cuba	68.33	Mali	64.47	Togo	64.07
Czech Republic	54.48	Mauritania	64.07	Trinidad and Tobago	57.57
Djibouti	63.76	Mauritius	59.30	Tunisia	58.76
Dominica	59.31	Mexico	70.06	Turkey	72.98
Dominican Republic	69.10	Mongolia	61.99	Uganda	68.95
Ecuador	70.64	Morocco	69.64	Uruguay	69.24
Egypt	76.79	Mozambique	65.38	USA	71.51
El Salvador	69.10	Myanmar	65.62	Venezuela	67.76
Estonia	61.99	Namibia	73.21	Zambia	64.07
EU	41.51	New Zeeland	71.83	Zimbabwe	67.86

Note: the average position is 64.39; the standard deviation is 7.67.

Table 2. Deviations from negotiation median

Country	DEV	SCA	Country	DEV	SCA	Country	DEV	SCA
Albania	24.35	12.86	Fiji	12.68	8.82	Nicaragua	18.52	4.90
Angola	0.00	0.02	Gabon	4.79	1.78	Niger	0.00	0.02
Antigua and Barbuda	20.59	*19.34*	Gambia	0.98	0.26	Nigeria	5.34	8.81
Argentina	*43.77*	*21.56*	Ghana	7.17	6.99	Norway	**100.00**	**100.00**
Australia	*26.58*	11.04	Grenada	11.99	2.95	Pakistan	*41.14*	8.29
Barbados	24.63	*24.44*	Guatemala	*36.46*	*19.52*	Paraguay	*33.90*	17.24
Benin	4.24	3.11	Guinea	13.09	16.67	Peru	14.81	8.71
Bolivia	*43.77*	*21.56*	Guinea-Bissau	0.00	0.02	Philipines	3.40	9.66
Botswana	3.40	0.97	Haiti	8.11	9.57	Poland	*25.81*	*20.37*
Brazil	*31.89*	*16.28*	Honduras	10.03	8.96	Rwanda	0.00	0.02
Brunei	7.96	6.06	Hungary	*41.35*	**41.13**	Senegal	1.86	0.97
Bulgaria	*43.26*	**42.29**	Iceland	*43.44*	**42.63**	Sierra Leone	8.02	4.41
Burkina Faso	10.02	6.21	India	8.02	13.86	Singapore	6.87	1.62
Burundi	11.55	5.16	Indonesia	3.22	12.64	Slovakia	3.28	1.67
Cameroon	11.55	18.71	Israel	**51.59**	**47.94**	Slovenia	0.73	1.54
Canada	11.93	6.37	Jamaica	19.86	0.99	South Africa	*42.68*	*21.95*
Central African Rep.	0.00	0.02	Japan	*40.83*	**43.71**	South Korea	*27.58*	*20.85*
Chad	0.00	0.02	Jordan	6.78	4.11	Sri Lanka	*31.92*	0.04
Chile	*43.77*	*21.56*	Kenya	11.55	*23.07*	St Kitts	19.30	2.95
China	21.26	10.75	Kyrgyz Rep.	12.15	16.47	St Lucia	13.52	2.95
Colombia	**50.13**	*23.75*	Latvia	15.06	17.17	St Vincent	3.28	0.56
Congo DR	*37.15*	**57.49**	Lesotho	11.55	5.16	Surinam	11.99	2.95
Congo, Rep	0.00	0.02	Lithuania	*27.79*	*26.93*	Swaziland	9.21	1.82
Costa Rica	*32.36*	15.20	Madagascar	0.00	0.02	Switzerland	*35.53*	*25.13*
Côte d'Ivoire	11.55	5.16	Malawi	0.98	0.26	Tanzania	3.54	4.14
Croatia	*27.22*	*23.95*	Malaysia	*25.08*	16.17	Thailand	*36.46*	*19.52*
Cuba	13.79	*19.66*	Mali	1.29	2.83	Togo	0.00	0.02
Czech Rep.	*31.03*	*31.44*	Mauritania	0.00	0.02	Trinidad and Tobago	21.03	4.65
Djibouti	0.98	0.26	Mauritius	15.42	*24.06*	Tunisia	17.17	0.55
Dominica	15.38	0.84	Mexico	19.40	9.77	Turkey	*28.82*	7.92
Dominican Rep.	16.27	5.42	Mongolia	6.74	0.02	Uganda	15.79	4.34
Ecuador	21.26	10.75	Morocco	18.03	3.04	Uruguay	16.74	9.80
Egypt	*41.14*	*23.99*	Mozambique	4.24	3.11	USA	24.08	10.08
El Salvador	16.27	5.42	Myanmar	5.01	3.73	Venezuela	11.95	3.50
Estonia	6.74	0.02	Namibia	*29.59*	15.75	Zambia	0.00	0.02
EU	**72.96**	**57.31**	New Zeeland	*25.12*	13.93	Zimbabwe	12.26	3.05

Note: figures are deviation from negotiation mean as percent of the maximum deviation (Norway); countries in italics are more than one standard deviation away from the median; countries in bold are more than two standard deviations away. The correlation between DEV and SCA is .85.
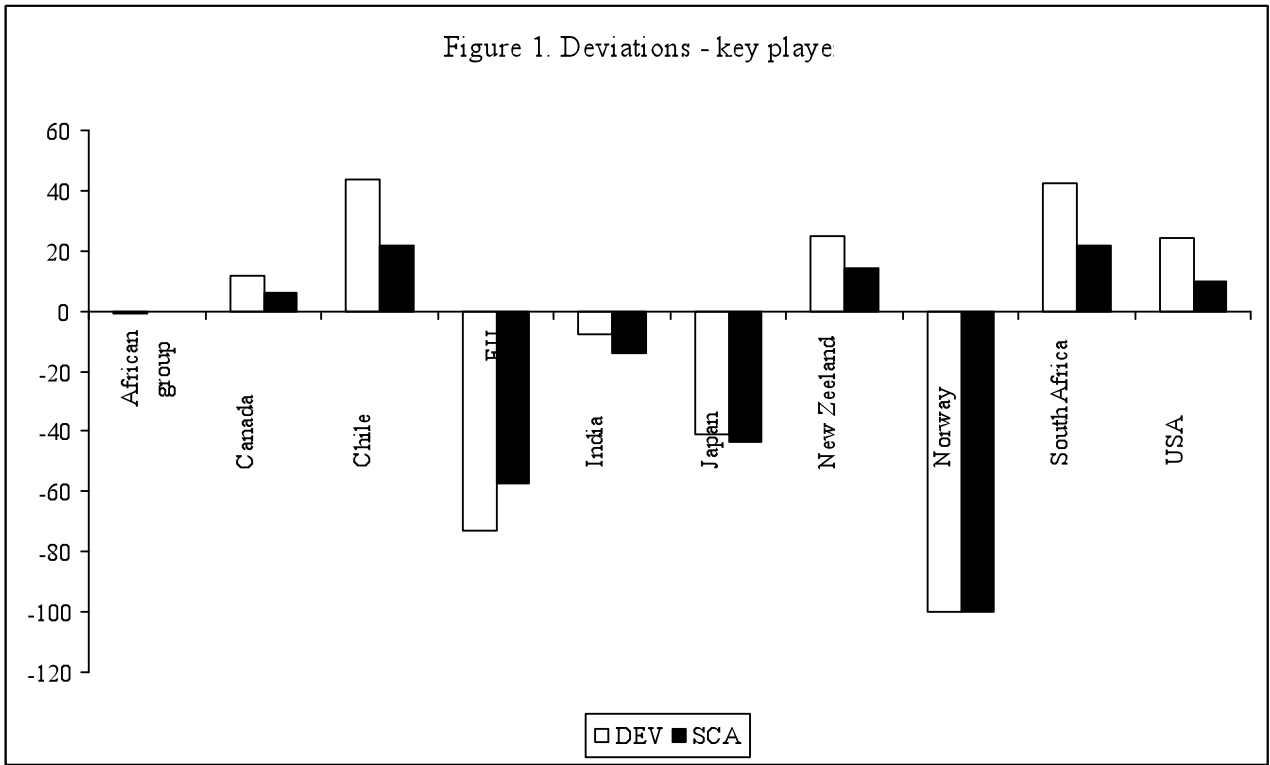
Figure 1. Deviations - key players

Figure 1. A simple negotiation game

Proposal set, *S*

a, a'   b, b'   c, c'   d, d'

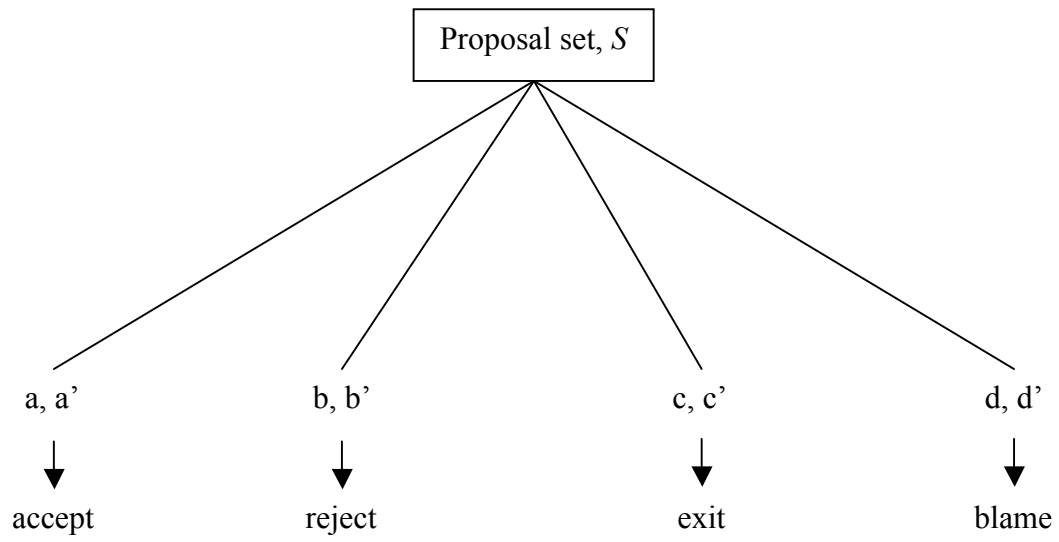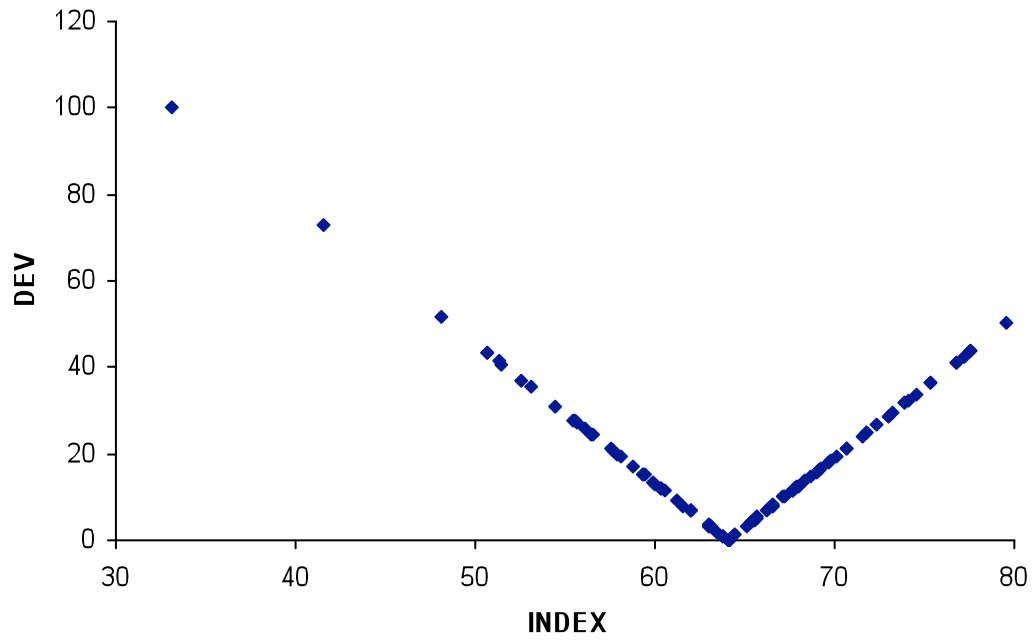↓   ↓   ↓   ↓

accept   reject   exit   blame

Figure 2. INDEX and DEV

Figure 3. INDEX and SCA