

COLLAPSE IN CANCÚN

**NGO & CIVIL SOCIETY PERSPECTIVES
ON THE 5TH WTO MINISTERIAL**

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The Programme on NGOs and Civil Society

Worldwide, the role of civil society has been increasing at rapid speed. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become significant and influential players and generate much interest. Created in 1986, the Programme on Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society aims at contributing towards a better understanding of NGOs and the solutions of complex and conflictive societal problems involving NGOs.

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INTRODUCTION

Cancún, frequently dubbed “Mexico’s most exciting resort city”—a hotspot for hotels, restaurants, and all-night parties—swapped its bikinis and beach towels for chained-link fences and riot police in preparation for the Fifth Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organisation. From September 10th to 14th, the city played host to the highest level of decision making of the WTO, a meeting in which the 146 member countries of the WTO negotiate the outcomes of global trade agreements.

Following the failed talks in Seattle in 1999 and unfulfilled outcomes from Doha in 2001, this year’s Ministerial took on extra significance. Many believed that, facing growing opposition and an increasingly assertive group of developing countries, the Fifth Ministerial would be the ultimate test, the outcome of which would determine the life or death of the WTO and the entire multilateral trading system.

Organisers estimate that, in addition to the hundreds of official delegates, the Ministerial also brought more than 2000 organisations from 83 countries around the world to Cancún.¹ Of these, 980 were officially accredited with one-third coming from North America, one-third from the European Union, and the remaining third from the rest of the world. Of all the organisations present in Cancún, roughly 30 percent represented farmers’ groups and campesinos, 20 percent focussed on the environment, the rest represented diverse interests—from globalisation to gender, human rights, and trade. More than 300 business associations also attended the Ministerial.

The Ministerial also attracted nearly 30 000 anti-WTO demonstrators, critics, and alternative thinkers. Though organisers originally expected nearly 100 000, the combined effects of tightened security measures and the cost of reaching Cancún reduced numbers considerably. Despite the lower turnout, however, demonstrators put months of planning into action both inside the Hotel Zone and on the streets of Cancún City. Over the course of the week, NGOs and anti-WTO activists voiced their opposition using a range of tactics, from direct action to teach-ins, marches, vigils, protests, street theatre, festivals of resistance, cultural events, public forums, and the like.

Within the demonstrators and NGOs, a diversity of perspectives emerged. Individuals representing the movement for trade justice joined forces with indigenous rights activists, farmers’ organisations, environmentalists, labour unionists, gender advocates, human rights activists, development organisations, and church groups, to form an impressive critique of the WTO.

Likewise, many of the groups present in Cancún also differed in their objectives. Some NGOs aimed to influence the negotiating positions of the delegates, following the discussions closely from inside the Conference Centre and providing position papers to both developed and developing country negotiators. Meanwhile, others on the outside held alternative events and took to the streets.

¹ For a complete list of all NGOs eligible to attend the Ministerial, please see Appendix A.

Though unified in their opposition to the status quo, demonstrators and NGOs outlined different demands for change. For some, the emphasis was placed on institutional reform, special trade measures for developing countries, and an end to Northern protectionism while for others, it centred on ending corporate globalisation, abolishing the WTO, and derailing the Ministerial entirely.

It is not surprising, therefore, that following the collapse of the negotiations, NGOs and other civil society organisations had different opinions on the significance of the event as well as what the future may hold.

This paper provides an overview of some of the key issues under examination at the Fifth WTO Ministerial in Cancún from the perspective of NGOs and other civil society actors. It is not intended to serve as a summary of events or issues, but rather to provide a ‘taste’ of what took place.

BACKGROUND

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) was established on January 1st, 1995 by an agreement negotiated under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Uruguay Round (1986 to 1994). Established as a permanent multilateral forum for trade negotiations and dispute settlement, the WTO headquarters are located in Geneva, Switzerland. The present Director General of the WTO is Supachai Panitchpakdi from Thailand.

Widely considered one of the most influential institutions in the world, the WTO has 146 member countries (as of April 1st, 2003). The WTO's functions include: administering WTO trade agreements covering such areas as agriculture, services, and intellectual property rights; serving as a forum for trade negotiations; handling trade disputes; monitoring national trade policies; providing technical assistance and training for developing countries; and fostering cooperation with international organisations.

The Ministerial Conference, which takes place at least every two years, is the highest level of decision-making within the WTO. The Ministerial brings together all WTO members, whether countries or customs unions, to take decisions on all matters under any of the multilateral trade agreements. The first Ministerial was held in Singapore in 1996, the second in Geneva in 1998, the third in Seattle in 1999, the fourth in Doha in 2001, and the fifth in Cancún in 2003.

Following the collapse of the trade talks in Seattle in 1999 over what was largely considered a North-South split between the United States, the European Union and developing countries, the WTO regrouped in Doha to promote a new approach: the Doha Development Agenda. However, the Doha Ministerial proved no less difficult. Heated negotiations on agriculture, industrial tariffs, services—and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), and the Singapore Issues (investment, competition policy, transparency and government procurement) ended the meeting in international disagreement.

As delegates and observers prepared for the Fifth Ministerial in Cancún, many pinned their hopes on a new round. Most believed the outcome from Cancún would either 'make or break' the multilateral trading system, ultimately determining the legitimacy of the WTO as the global trading forum.

Since 2001, when talks on this round were launched, the WTO has faced increasing criticism for failing to meet both its objectives and its deadlines. As a result, critics looked to Cancún as the "critical juncture", wondering, with growing urgency, whether the Ministerial would be able to get the talks back on track.

However, with numerous unresolved issues on the already overcrowded agenda and mounting tension between developed and developing countries, few believed that a successful round of negotiations, not to mention real progress on the 'development agenda', was possible. And, with reports of an extra Ministerial planned in the event of a failure, optimism slowly gave way to pessimism and the realisation that Cancún was doomed to failure from the very beginning.

PREPARATIONS FOR CANCÚN

In the weeks and months leading up to the Ministerial, official delegates, observers, NGOs and civil society organisations scrambled to establish, clarify, and publicise their viewpoints on the issues likely to dominate the agenda in Cancún and form coalitions of the like-minded. Stacks of policy briefings, press releases, special reports, demands, and calls to action were exchanged in the frenzied rush that preceded the Ministerial.

Though the bulk of pre-Ministerial material focussed on the ‘hot issues’ of agriculture and the Singapore Issues, nearly every possible perspective on any imaginable issue was being circulated among NGOs and other organisations. The following section aims to provide an overview of some of the main issues brought forward and outline some of the various perspectives of NGOs and civil society organisations working on these issues.

Access to Essential Medicines

In the weeks before the Ministerial, WTO member countries reached consensus on one of the most contentious issues involving Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) and access to essential medicines. In a last-minute deal made on August 31st, 2003, WTO member countries agreed to allow developing countries to import inexpensive copies of patented drugs to fight health emergencies such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and other diseases without facing lawsuits over patent infringement.

At the time of the accord, many regarded the agreement with optimism and hailed it as an indication of an increasing willingness on the part of WTO members to work together to achieve development goals. WTO Director General Supachai Panitchpakdi echoed the optimism: “This proves once and for all that the organisation can handle humanitarian as well as trade concerns”.

NGOs, however, viewed the agreement differently. Mark Fried from Oxfam International, says the deal, “while positive, has set up a very bureaucratic system that poor countries have to follow to get copies of brand name drugs”. Commenting on the complexity of the agreement, Michael Bailey, also from Oxfam International, added, “The only thing the WTO did [with the August 31st deal] is open a very small door that is difficult to pass through. The deeper problem has not been resolved.”

Ellen t’Hoen, from Médecins sans Frontières criticised the deal for being more optical than substantial. “Though it appears that the agreement gives developing countries greater access to generic medicines at low prices, it will be much more difficult than it seems because what was agreed upon involves very complex rules.”

According to Céline Charveriat, of Oxfam International, “The proposed deal is largely cosmetic and will not make a significant difference to the millions of sick people who die unnecessarily in the Third World every year. If confirmed, the deal would be a betrayal of the pledge made in the Doha Declaration to put public health before patent rights.” In

a press release on the issue, Charveriat also pointed out that the pharmaceutical industry in the US alone makes an annual profit of over 37 billion dollars, calling the industry's concerns over profitability into question.

Pointing a finger to large pharmaceutical laboratories who are reluctant to cede their patent rights and who want to protect their investments in research and development of medicines, many NGOs claim that the focus of the deal is on profits, not people's health. Sharonann Lynch of Health GAP claims that this is a result of "bullying from the US and the EU" and has resulted in a deal that "prioritises the profit motives of big pharmacies and compromises access to medicines," adding that this is "business as usual for the WTO".

In a joint declaration on TRIPs and Public Health, a coalition of NGOs went further, denouncing the agreement as a "gift bound tightly in red tape".² They claim that the deal contradicts the basic principles of the WTO and free trade and reject the agreement, arguing that it complicates the process of acquiring drugs, introduces uncertainty for corporations producing drugs, and leaves too many questions unanswered as to how generic pharmaceutical producers should proceed.

As a result, the coalition called upon WTO members to draft an amendment to the TRIPs agreement that would "simplify and clarify the procedures and remove any unnecessary obstacles to the export of medicines to address public health problems". They also called for countries without access to medicines to use the TRIPs flexibilities measures to provide affordable medicines to the poor and urged countries to resist the implementation of further TRIPs obligations in regional or bilateral trade agreements.

Additionally, the coalition concluded that, "If the framework imposed on countries by the WTO cannot be used effectively to promote public health and access to medicines for all, then poor countries should not be obligated to issue patents on medicines."

Though many regarded the agreement on essential medicines an "optimistic development" during a period of considerable pessimism about the upcoming Ministerial, clearly many NGOs remained unimpressed.

The Council of Canadians warned, "The fact that the pharmaceutical industry applauds the deal should make observers sceptical that this deal will be in the interest of the fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and other diseases that ravage the poorest countries."

During the Ministerial, a group of activists gathered outside of the Convention Centre to demonstrate their ongoing frustration. The activists, dressed in white, bound themselves

² For the Joint NGO Statement on TRIPs and Public Health, please see Appendix B.

The coalition consists of ACT Up Paris, The Consumer Project on Technology, Consumers International, Essential Action, European AIDS Treatment Group, Health Action International, Health GAP, International People's Health Council, Médecins sans Frontières, Oxfam International, People's Health Movement, The Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiation Institute (SEATINI), Third World Network, and Women in Development.

in red tape and waved signs stating that they were “dying without access to essential medicines”. Others, meanwhile, reached for the “Big Pill” that remained hopelessly out of reach in an effort to dramatise the impact of the August 31st agreement.

Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights

On the issue of Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights or TRIPs, many NGOs focussed on how patenting may affect agricultural practices. Vandana Shiva, head of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology and one of the world’s most outspoken activists on the issue, describes TRIPs as the “most far-reaching of all of the WTO agreements” and the one that “threatens us most”.

Shiva argues that the TRIPs agreement has “changed the law related to patents, copyright, design, and trademarks from national to global levels and redefined vital issues of farmers’ rights to seeds and citizens’ rights to medicine, recasting them as trade issues.” She also claims that TRIPs has “expanded patentability to cover life forms”, despite that these things are products of nature.

In a statement denouncing the agreement, Shiva states: “For us, intellectual property rights are matters of national sovereignty and basic needs...With TRIPs, a framework is in place that allows the seed industry to force all farmers of all crops to buy seed every year instead of saving and reproducing seeds. We argue that the TRIPs agreement militates against people’s human right to food and health by conferring unrestricted monopoly rights to corporations in the vital sectors of health and agriculture.”

In a joint press conference, Shiva together with the other contributors, re-launched the Manifesto on the Future of Food, a declaration that outlines the concerns and demands of NGOs working to “reverse the present industrialisation and globalisation of food systems”.³

Echoing Shiva’s concerns, a small group of NGOs hosted a panel discussion entitled “The TRIPs Review: A Roadmap for Protecting Farmer’s Rights”. The aim of the session was to discuss the need to make the TRIPs Agreement more “farmer-friendly” and how to harmonise TRIPs with other international instruments that recognise, respect, protect and promote farmers’ rights. Another objective of the meeting was to create an international coalition of like-minded organisations who would work to sensitise stakeholders about the need to protect farmers’ rights. The coalition—the Farmers’ Rights Advocacy Network (FRANK)—is organised by ActionAid, Consumers International, Gene Campaign India, and the South Asia Watch on Trade, Economics, and Environment (SAWTEE).

³ The Manifesto on the Future of Food was produced by the participants of the International Commission on the Future of Food which was held in late 2002 in Tuscany, Italy. The Contributors include: Claudio Martini (President of the Region of Tuscany), Vandana Shiva, and Jerry Mander (President of the Board of the International Forum on Globalisation).

Agriculture

Agriculture is not only economically important, but also politically and culturally sensitive, and is typically a major stumbling block in trade negotiations. In Cancún, many argued that agriculture was not only the most important issue under negotiation but also the pivotal issue which would decide the success or failure of the Ministerial. In the words of WTO spokesperson Keith Rockwell: “We need, without any question, to make some progress on agriculture, because this is an issue of great important to virtually all our members, and it is an issue on which progress in other areas hangs”.

One of the most important aspects of the agricultural negotiations was that of subsidies, inextricably linked to the equally important issue of dumping. During the Uruguay Round of negotiations on agriculture, developed countries committed themselves to drastically reducing domestic supports and removing export subsidies by January 2005 in order to level the playing field for developing country producers. However, given the state of the discussions before Cancún, few believed this was a possibility.

For many NGOs, the delay in removing subsidies reflected the WTO’s unwillingness to put development first and called into question the reason for developing country participation in the WTO. Aftab Alam Khan, Trade Policy Specialist from ActionAid Pakistan urged the WTO to take developing country farmers into greater consideration.

“It is crucial that developing country demands for protection for poor farmers are fully integrated into any new text that is put before the Cancún Ministerial. Trade liberalisation has decimated farming communities in countless developing countries. The WTO must prove that it can address the genuine concerns of poor farming communities. Otherwise, there is no justification for agriculture being in the WTO.”

In the ActionAid report “Farmgate: The Developmental Impact of Agricultural Subsidies”, ActionAid explained: “The next four years will determine whether governments in the developed world are willing to embrace development objectives in trade negotiations on agriculture or simply continue ‘business as usual’”.

The report argues that the impact of existing agricultural trade rules in the WTO has favoured rich countries and large-scale producers at the expense of the livelihoods of millions of farmers. It states, “If developed countries’ governments’ interest in eradicating poverty is genuine, they must ensure that these negotiations deliver trade rules that are fair and designed to combat hunger while promoting food security”. However, the report adds, “To date, there is little evidence that this will happen”, citing that instead of reducing subsidies, many developed countries have actually increased them.

In a similar effort, A SEED Europe, Third World Network, Focus on the Global South, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), Trade Observatory IATP, FoodFirst, Genetic Resources Action International (GRAIN), Via Campesina, and the International

Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) joined forces and issued a detailed report entitled “The World Trade Organisation’s Agreement on Agriculture: A Fair Deal?”

In their report, the organisations also attacked the Agreement for prioritising the needs of farmers in developed countries while ignoring important development considerations such as food security and the sustainability of rural livelihoods. The report concluded:

“The Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) harms the agricultural the agricultural sectors of developing countries and threatens food security: it undermines local farming systems. Its support of international competition based on comparative advantage pushes export-oriented production, especially in poor countries, which does not focus on the food needs of local populations....The AoA rules contain loopholes that developed countries exploit in order to keep high tariffs on goods that are exported by developing countries. Thus a developed country may lower its tariffs on average and give duty-free access for some goods, but can retain prohibitively high tariffs on the major crops that are produced by developing countries. Under structural adjustment economic reforms required by the World Bank and the IMF, developing countries have cut social spending and most support and subsidies to farmers. The AoA is fundamentally anti-development, while the winners are mostly agribusiness multinationals and large producers based in the North.

The WTO advances unsustainable farming methods, through promoting an international trade system in which countries orient their agricultural sectors towards the international market, not domestic needs, based on a theory that puts small peasant farmers in competition with large-scale industrial producers in the North. Liberalisation of agriculture promotes a greater industrialisation of production, including a reliance on patented seed, chemical-intensive inputs and mono-cropping . This threatens biodiversity and ecosystems, and concentrates land and resources into fewer and richer hands, while displacing peasants who depend on small-scale agriculture.”

The authors of the report also outlined their demands for change, advocating the abolishment of the WTO, the removal of the WTO from agricultural issues, the postponement of further expansion of the WTO, and a real emphasis to be placed on human rights—including economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights.

In addition to subsidies, dumping, and food security, many NGOs focussed on market access for developing countries. According to Anuradha Mittal of the Institute for Food and Development Policy, also known as FoodFirst, “The most contentious issue remains the Agreement on Agriculture and market access for agricultural commodities because agriculture is the only area where developing countries might compete head-on with the industrialised nations”.

Mittal argued that market access was the “carrot offered to the developing world to join the WTO”. The reality, she claimed, is that the WTO is “structured to protect the interests of the politically influential corporate agriculture in rich countries like the US at the expense of millions of farmers across the Third World.”

In preparation for the Ministerial, the US and the EU tabled a plan on agriculture that, according to many NGOs, would have left billions of dollars in export subsidies intact. In response, developing countries, led by Brazil, India, and China tabled a radical reform

plan demanding immediate action to end export dumping, cut production subsidies and improve market access.

Céline Charveriat of Oxfam International said, “Unlike the EU-US offering, this [developing country proposal] is a serious proposal which provides a good basis for discussions in Cancún. It is high time that the European and American farm subsidy superpowers got serious about reforming their destructive agricultural policies.”

In support of developing countries, ActionAid UK spokesperson Tim Rice also denounced the EU-US plan, calling for further action on the part of developing countries. Rice claimed the proposal involved “simply renaming subsidies” and “failed to deal with the root problem of dumping”. He stated, “The EU and US cannot continue to ignore the growing call from developing countries to put their own houses in order. Any pro-development outcome from Cancún requires a significantly higher level of commitment from the richest countries”.

Echoing these criticisms, Oxfam International said the EU-US text represented nothing more than a “repackaging exercise that would do little or nothing to stop export dumping”. Oxfam called on the EU and the US to listen to the groundswell of opinion coming from developing countries and millions of citizens, warning that continued ignorance would “put the Doha Round at risk”.

Mark Ritchie of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy also criticised the draft text of the EU-US, calling it a “step back from earlier proposals”. As a result, he said, “The proposed text will lead to even greater levels of dumping, not less as demanded and promised in the Doha talks. This will simply intensify the global commodity crisis that is crushing farmers around the world...What we’re seeing is more of the same failed approach to trade.”

In a joint declaration, numerous American NGOs stated that the time had come for a “new direction” to be taken.⁴ “As farmers, workers, religious and development organisations, environmentalists and concerned citizens,... we demand trade agreement that put the good of the people before the trade of goods; trade agreements that value social justice over private profits.” The group also declared that trade agreements must be designed to defend and support certain principles: universal access to food as a human right; food production that does not involve environmental degradation; economic justice and fair wages for family farmers and ranchers; secure access to land; and the prioritisation of the livelihoods of farmers over corporate profits.

⁴ The group included: FARM AID, AFL-CIO, American Corn Growers Association, American Federation of Government Employees, Campaign for Family Farms and the Environment, Center of Concern, Citizens Trade Campaign, Consumers’ Choice Council, Defenders of Wildlife, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Land Assistance Fund, Friends of the Earth, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, National Council of Churches, National Farmers Union, National Family Farm Coalition, Oxfam America, Presbyterian Church USA, Public Citizen, Rural Coalition/Coalición Rural, Soybean Producers of America, United Auto Workers, United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness Ministries, United Methodist Church, United Steelworkers of America, Western Organisation of Resource Councils.

However, there were also other perspectives present in Cancún. A small coalition of northern farmers argued that cutting subsidies is not necessarily the solution to global farm problems. Though they acknowledged that “US farm policy is not working for farmers anywhere in the world,” they say that farmer-oriented policies and international cooperation are the solution, not ending the use of subsidies.

“We have found conclusive evidence that international trade policies have indeed led the way for the global downward spiral of farm prices and farm income. However, we can also predict with a significant degree of accuracy that the elimination of US farm subsidies without real price-enhancing reform of US policy will destroy our farm and rural economy, and—surprisingly—would perpetuate the problems facing farmers in developing countries rather than alleviate them”.

During the Ministerial, many NGOs drew parallels between the state of Mexican corn producers and the importance of trade agreements. Peter Rosset of FoodFirst, explained “For small farmers and Indigenous Peoples in rural Mexico, growing corn has been their lifestyle for thousands of years. The price of corn they grow has now dropped by fifty percent thanks to US subsidised corn exports entering Mexico through NAFTA. They feel that the WTO is a stronger dose of that already bitter medicine of their market being flooded by cheap subsidised imports.”

Throughout the week, countless alternatives events were held to discuss agricultural issues and numerous protests erupted around the city, one of the most notably involving the suicide of a Korean farmer. For further detail on alternative agricultural events, please see Alternative Events (Highlights); for further information on protests, please see Protests.

Cotton

In addition to participating in the debate on general agricultural issues, several NGOs also examined the specific impacts of the Agreement on Agriculture on cotton producers in West Africa. Here, they claimed that high subsidies given to cotton farmers by developed countries is adversely affecting cotton exporters from some West African countries.

As a result, several NGOs took up the cause of African cotton farmers, declaring September 8th “World Cotton Day”. In West African countries, local farmers’ organisations collected signatures for a petition that called for an end to “unfair subsidies” and requested that, though they were unable to make the journey themselves, the elimination of cotton subsidies should be taken seriously nonetheless. In total, more than 200 000 signatures were collected and brought to Cancún.

In preparation for the Ministerial, cotton producers in Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali also issued a proposal that urged the WTO to establish a mechanism to phase out

support for cotton production. Additionally, they called for the introduction of transitional measures in the form of financial compensation to offset their loss of revenue until subsidies in Northern countries are completely phased out..

However, many of these farmers and the NGOs supporting them said their needs were not reflected in the WTO text. “After so many comments and declarations of sympathy with our cause from the WTO Secretariat and many ministers, the mountain gave birth to an ant. The rhetoric was not matched with action,” said Francois Traoré, head of the National Union of Cotton Producers of Burkina Faso.

Third World Network described the draft text’s treatment of the proposal as a “travesty” and said the West African countries had been “short-changed.” TWN also said the WTO text “adopted a ruse by which the cotton initiative would be dealt with under several headlines thus ensuring that, in effect, the plight of poor farmers in these countries would be ignored and prolonged.”

Oxfam International, also supportive of the cotton initiative, called the WTO response to African countries’ demands the “theatre of the absurd”. As Gawain Kripke of Oxfam explained, “While the two subsidy superpowers spend billions and flood the world market with cheap cotton, they bluster about the collapse of cotton prices being caused by good weather and people not wearing enough t-shirts....The plight of millions of cotton farmers is ‘everyone else’s fault’ but theirs.”

Indeed, the hopes of many African cotton producers were dashed in Cancún. The Burkina Faso Minister of Commerce explained the frustration: “Our first demand was that cotton be recognised as a special product for our countries—our economies depend on its production and trade. These days, there’s no sense in having a world trading system if justice in the cotton industry is not addressed.” Leaders of the cotton producers’ association later declared: “Here’s a clear case of where the ministers can make a difference. If they fail to act, it threatens the credibility of the world trading system.”

According to the West African Network of Farmers Organisations, “While the current rhetoric focuses on export subsidies, West African farmers demanded a much more fundamental change in the supply management of cotton that is driving down world prices for cotton producers everywhere.” Advocating a guaranteed minimum price for producers and a change in the supply management of cotton, the Network claimed the proposed text simply did not go far enough.

For some NGOs, like Third World Network who believed cotton would be the “testing grounds for the sincerity of the developed countries’ commitment to poverty eradication in the poorest countries”, the result was that “major industrialised nations failed the test”.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

Among many NGOs present in Cancún, there was a growing concern that the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) constitutes a “threat to access to basic social services”, including education, health care, and water. In the Nairobi Civil Society Declaration on GATS earlier this year, NGOs and civil society organisations outlined their rejection of the GATS. They argued, “The GATS represents a powerful and totally unacceptable instrument that limits policy space and restricts popular access to services which are essential to people’s livelihoods and economic development”.

In Cancún, several NGOs reiterated these concerns. According to Deborah James, Global Policy Director of Global Exchange, “We are particularly concerned about the shift in global governance away from self-determination. We want to stop the enlargement of the WTO mandate into areas like the privatisation of services. Corporations don’t have an inherent obligation to provide drinking water to people. Their obligation is to make money.”

In a joint briefing paper entitled “GATS—Trading Away Basic Rights”, EcoNews Africa, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and Oxfam International explain how the measures of the agreement will adversely affect Africa. They claim that the agreement reflects corporate influence, commodifies human rights, threatens public services, and grants rights to investors while limiting governments’ ability to regulate. Moreover, they say that the agreement is effectively “irreversible” and locks in commitments to liberalise service sectors, making flexibility in the agreement a “myth”. As a consequence, these NGOs call for an assessment of the GATS agreement and demand that respect be given to countries wishing to follow their own national policy objectives.

According to a recent report published by World Development Movement entitled “GATS: From Doha to Cancún”, the wealthiest countries in the world are the only ones who stand to gain from GATS. They say the United States, the European Union, Japan, and Canada, whose corporations will profit most from the privatisation of services, are not only the driving force behind the GATS but are also pushing to speed up the negotiations in Cancún.

WDM worries that the liberalisation of water services, a service sector targeted by wealthy countries, has caused “grave problems” in developing countries. Repeating the concerns of other NGOs, WDM warned, “Any country making GATS commitments in water will be bound to liberalisation in the future”. They argued that this will make it “effectively impossible to withdraw, even if service provision is unaffordable to the poor, the water is of poor quality, or a future government wishes to change the policy”.

In preparation for Cancún, hundreds of NGOs issued a statement demanding an end to corporate control over water. In “Halt the GATS Negotiations: Take Essential Services, Such as Water—Out of the WTO”, they urge developing countries to resist the “far-reaching demands” of developed countries, whose only interests are gaining market

access for their corporations.⁵ They also reaffirm the need for governments to meet the Millennium Development Goals as well as the targets set at the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD): halving the proportion of people without access to water and that of those without access to sanitation by 2015. If these goals are not attained, they argue that the global water crisis will worsen.

Members of communications NGOs also voiced their opposition to the GATS in Cancún. These groups worry that the American attempt to submit Communications and Audiovisual Services—including film, radio, television, video, and music production as well as satellite, cable, and broadcast services—will “spell disaster for vibrant media systems worldwide”. Under the agreement, they say public funding for media, including mass, alternative, community, and citizen’s media can be attacked as “barriers to trade”. As a result, the groups are pushing for a “cultural exception” to keep media and services out of the agreement. Organisers of the initiative include: the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), CENCOS, Centro de Medios Independientes Cancún (Indymedia), COMCOSUR, Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS), Free Press, Global Project, Las Agencias, and OURMedia/NUESTR@Smedios.

In a report entitled “Financial Services in the WTO: A Licence to Cash In?”, World Economy, Ecology, and Development (WEED) looks at the impacts of financial services liberalisation. WEED claims that, like with the liberalisation of other service sectors, US and EU negotiators stand to gain the most from the GATS and are pushing to “open the way for an expansion offensive by their very competitive countries”. WEED concludes, “In view of the many unsolved problems of the international financial architecture and the notorious weakness of many national financial systems, GATS which only tends to increase instability, may lead to a deepening of the asymmetry that exists between North and South”.

The “Singapore Issues”

In days leading up to the Ministerial, there was widespread consensus and fear that the Singapore Issues would be one of the most critical decisions taken by the WTO Ministerial. With major industrialised countries pushing for the launch of negotiations on the four so-called “Singapore Issues” (investment, competition policy, transparency in government procurement, and trade facilitation) despite clear opposition from the majority of developing countries, many rightly predicted the issue would be explosive.

Considering the Singapore Issues a “harmful distraction” from more important issues and a strain on the already stretched negotiating resources of developing countries, opposition to the inclusion of the issues was both deep and widespread. In addition to the majority of NGOs, the issue faced opposition from the African Union and African parliamentarians a broad coalition of developing countries including China, India, Egypt,

⁵ For further information on the statement, please see Appendix D.

Indonesia, Kenya Malaysia, and CARICOM states, the least developed WTO member countries also rejected the proposed new negotiations.⁶

As a result, many NGOs criticised the EU and the US for continuing to push the issue, despite the deadlock on other issues seen by many as more important to development. Jane Ocaya, Trade Policy Specialist from ActionAid Uganda said: “The EU is more isolated than ever in its call for negotiations on the new issues. It is unacceptable to maintain this stance in the face of worldwide opposition. The EU must now listen to the voice of developing nations and abandon the new issues at Cancún.”

John Hilary, Trade Policy Specialist from ActionAid UK added, in reference to the EU’s attempt to push through the “new issues” before agreeing to work on the Agreement on Agriculture, “Pascal Lamy [EU Trade Commissioner] cannot be allowed to hold the world to ransom by threatening to use new issues as a deal breaker at Cancún. His refusal to respect developing country opposition is clearly out of step with many EU member states.”

The World Development Movement (WDM) called for an end to negotiations on the “new issues”, over fear of an new investment agreement. “We would like to see the WTO drop investment from its agenda. The WTO is not the appropriate place to start formulating rules on investment. There is no way the WTO can come up with a balanced view on investment, or a way to regulate companies, investors, and home country obligations....Such an agreement would deny developing countries a fair chance to grow.

Peter Hardstaff, Head of Policy at WDM explained: “We are concerned that a WTO investment agreement will be used to get rid of the kind of investment regulations which a lot of countries have used to get rich, referring to joint venture programmes, local content requirement, limits to capital leaving the country, and protecting some areas from foreign investment entirely. Under the agreement, WDM fears that developing countries would be denied such measures. Besides, he said, “There is no evidence that a multilateral agreement will increase foreign investment in poor countries.”

In a policy briefing on the “new issues”, EcoNews Africa, Heinrich Böll Foundation and Oxfam International argued that opening negotiations to the Singapore Issues would result in corporate rights taking priority over the right to development. Additionally, they argued, the proposed investment agreement would “seriously undermine developing countries’ abilities to regulate foreign investment in order to ensure that the investment benefits the local economy”. Moreover, the expansion into new areas of negotiation will “undermine development, increase corporate rights with no guarantee of increasing investment, and overload the agenda against Africa’s interest.”

⁶ For the NGO Statement on Investment Negotiations at the WTO, please see Appendix E.

Environment

On the topic of environment, NGOs' concerns ranged from genetically-modified organisms to animal welfare to deforestation and the privatisation of services. With roughly twenty percent of all accredited NGOs representing environmental interests of one kind or another, putting the environment on the agenda became perhaps less difficult than making individual issues heard.

Amidst such a clamorous backdrop, WWF representative Keith Tyrell feared that the environment would take a "back seat". According to Tyrell, "Everybody is talking about sustainable trade rules, growth and development, but nobody is talking about sustainable development. The environment is taking a back seat with very few references to the environmental issues which are on the table for negotiation at the moment".

Stephen Porter of the Centre for International Environmental Law (CIEL) agreed with these concerns, adding, "Environmental issues may have a "low profile, but a major concern is how the launching of investment negotiations and a deregulatory agenda could lead to the weakening of policies protecting public health, the environment, and workers' rights".

Addressing these concerns in more detail, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), together with the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) issued a series of policy briefs on trade and natural resource management. In the papers, the organisations stressed the importance of highlighting forest issues in trade negotiations; the role of sustainable agriculture in West African development; the need for international agricultural reform and power balance in agrifood chains; and water under the GATS.

To this, the Global Forest Coalition added its concerns over how WTO negotiations may further impact the forests. In a press release, Ricardo Carrere from the World Rainforest Movement stated: "At the root of most deforestation processes, one can find international trade as one of its major causes." By facilitating corporate access to forest resources such as wood, minerals, oil, land for export-oriented agriculture or cattle-raising, the WTO will "further contribute to forest loss and to the violation of local dwellers' human rights", he added.

In a pre-Ministerial briefing put forward by Greenpeace, "The WTO Unmasked, Uncensored, Uncut: What It Is and Why You Should Care About It", the organisation takes these claims further, alleging that, since the creation of the WTO, international environmental agreements have been under threat from the international trading regime. The briefing states: "Increasingly, trade rules and practices under the WTO have been used to undermine environmental standards, human health, and well-being."

In the document, Greenpeace also outlines its opposition to the WTO based on its role in increasing corporate power, promoting free trade "at all costs", producing increasing

pollution and for being non-transparent and democratic. Greenpeace concludes, in the briefing, that the WTO's "forced trade regime will continue to bulldoze environmental and health regulations that pose 'barriers' to expanding corporate control and profit" and urges the WTO to "free people from forced trade".

Friends of the Earth, together with Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO) also released a detailed report outlining the "powerful influence of corporations on the WTO process". In "Business Rules: Who Pays the Price?", FOE and CEO argue, "Big business has unparalleled access to trade negotiators, and this has resulted in a set of trade rules and agreements that directly benefit transnational commercial enterprises—often at the expense of local communities and small business, as well as future generations and the environment".

The report examines how the WTO "pushes GMOs down throats", "contaminates corn in Mexico", "sabotages" the environment, "blocks the supply of essential medicines", "threatens local communities with the new investment negotiations", threatens to overthrow local control of water supplies and "submerge national interests", and will "leave people in the dark" with energy privatisation under GATS.

In another campaign, Greenpeace accused the WTO of pursuing a "corporate-driven agenda" which placed the WTO on a "collision course" with Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) such as the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety. Under the Biosafety Protocol, a legally-binding global instrument, countries hold the sovereign right to use the 'precautionary principle' to restrict or ban the import of genetically-modified organisms (GMOs). The Protocol, signed by 131 countries in Montreal in 2000, came into force on September 11, 2003, the second day of the Ministerial.

Greenpeace, along with several other environmental NGOs, expressed deep concern over the treatment of GMOs in international trade agreements in the WTO. The groups are worried that the constant threat of WTO sanctions being placed on any government attempting to restrict GMOs would instead result in the government putting its own environmental and health policies and laws under a kind of risk assessment. "Anything that looks like it might be used as grounds for a WTO complaint gets watered down... Instead of assessing the risk of GMOs, governments end up assessing the risks of restricting GMOs", one spokesperson exclaimed.

It is for this reason, say organisations such as IATP, that strengthening the Biosafety Protocol is so important. "The precautionary approach taken by this treaty will help participating countries to utilise appropriate labelling requirements as well as environmental and health safeguards when addressing GMO foods." If this fails, however, they fear that instead of setting an international floor of minimum standards, the WTO will establish a ceiling which would restrict nations from pursuing more rigorous safety standards.

Several NGOs joined forces to launch a new campaign in Cancún—the "Bite Back" WTO Hands Off Our Food" campaign. As part of an anti-GMO food movement, the

group invites the public to make their own legal submissions to the WTO in the form of a “citizen’s objection”. The goal, according to Lianas Stupples of Friends of the Earth, is to insist that the WTO must respect people’s right to choose what they eat and allow them to protect their environment. “The US Administration, lobbied by the likes of biotech giant Monsanto, is using the undemocratic and secretive WTO to force feed the world genetically modified foods. The public should have the right to decide what they eat. Decisions about our food should not be made by the WTO or by Monsanto. It is clear that the WTO is neither fit nor independent enough to judge whether the public should eat GM foods or not”.

In what they describe as an “unprecedented mass citizen objection to GMOs” taking place in more than 140 countries around the world, the groups aim to collect objections from citizens from all 146 WTO member countries. The initiative is organised by Friends of the Earth International, Confédération Paysanne, the Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Ecology, Public Citizen, Public Services International (PSI), and the International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN).

Friends of the Earth Trade Coordinator Ronnie Hall stated that Cancún should be about changing these environmentally-destructive behaviours. “The WTO cannot continue to serve the interests of the world’s big business and hope that no one will notice. Developing countries and civil society representatives are here in Cancún to call for a halt to this unfair, unsustainable, and illegitimate process. International trade has to change, and that change must start here in Cancún.”

On a quite different note, Friends of the Earth International organised a “reality tour” of the “real Cancún”, to give journalists an idea of what was going on beyond the boundaries of the Hotel Zone. Explaining that Cancún is one of the areas in Mexico with the greatest gaps in social and economic status and where poverty is extremely high, journalists rarely get a glimpse of this “reality”.

A small delegation of Canadians from the Sierra Youth Coalition bicycled from Canada to Cancún to lobby Canadian trade negotiators and to increase awareness of environmental issues among negotiators.

On another day, a group of some 200 protesters dressed as dolphins gathered at the Plaza de la República. The group, including members of Greenpeace and the Grupo Ecologista del Mayab (GEMA) protested to draw attention to the mistreatment of animals. In particular, they voiced opposition to the dolphins held in captivity for tourist diversions like those held at the Wet and Wild Waterpark outside the Cancún hotel zone. “Today we have decided to become dolphins and speak for them. All of the animals of the world have a right to live and to be treated as living beings, not slaves. To us, dolphins symbolise freedom,” the demonstrators explained.

Throughout the Ministerial, numerous environmental debates and workshops took place. For further information on these events, please see Alternative Events (Highlights).

Human Rights

In advance of the Ministerial, several Human Rights NGOs declared the need to make human rights a central theme of both the negotiations as well as the protests. Amnesty International urged the Mexican government to ensure that the right to freedom of expression, peaceful demonstration, and the freedom of movement during the Ministerial are fully respected.

“Activists from all over the world have the right to travel to Cancún to express their legitimate concerns regarding world trade regulations and issues concerning social and economic rights”, one spokesperson said. “The Mexican authorities must ensure these activists are allowed to protest freely without any hindrance and are allowed to express their opinions in a climate of mutual respect and tolerance,” Amnesty added.

The organisation also sent letters to Mexican President Vincente Fox calling upon authorities to limit the use of force and firearms and respect the standards set out in the law enforcement and criminal justice system. The document called “Ten Basic Human Rights Standards for Law Enforcement Officials” stressed the importance of respecting human rights, and extended responsibility for doing so to members of private security companies as well.

The Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l’Homme (FIDH) also called for the “primacy of human rights and for a human rights impact assessment of WTO agreements”. Urging WTO member states to respect their human rights obligations, the FIDH cited the Final Declaration of the Vienna Conference on Human Rights to which most countries present in Cancún are party.

The FIDH claimed: “The lack of development may not be invoked to justify the abridgement of internationality recognised human rights”, then went on to say that many states risk becoming “schizophrenic” with their human rights commitments, “binding themselves with one hand, and untying themselves with the other”.

If the new WTO round claims to be geared toward development, the FIDH concluded, then human rights obligations must be reminded and upheld, and ultimately must take precedence over trade, especially in case of conflict. If the Doha Round is to truly become a “development round”, the FIDH argues that it needs to first identify the real conflicts that exist between states’ human rights obligations and obligations under WTO agreements to which they are party and suspend negotiations until this audit on human rights is conducted. Failing this, the FIDH stated that the round cannot “really succeed”.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights at the United Nations also issued a report emphasising the role of Human Rights in international trade agreements. The report, entitled “Human Rights and Trade” outlined the need for the promotion and protection of human rights and aimed to assist policy makers who might not be familiar with the international human rights system to better include human rights considerations.

Labour

Labour and trade unions also made their presence known in Cancún, calling on the WTO to respect workers' rights and ensure that trade works for people, not large corporations.⁷ During the Ministerial, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), backed by the German Confederation of Trade Unions (DGB) released a report entitled "EPZs: Symbols of Exploitation and a Development Dead-End", in which they argue that the WTO, by promoting the growth of Export-Processing Zones, is failing to achieve these objectives.

The report states that, as governments in developing and developed countries compete for foreign investment by offering cheap labour and tax breaks, human rights are now being "increasingly consigned to oblivion". As a result, the ICFTU called for WTO ministers to endorse the conclusions of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) so that sustainable development is fully incorporated into the world of the WTO.

Additionally, the ICFTU urged the WTO to work with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to establish and implement better rules of conduct. According to ICFTU General Secretary Guy Rider, "Globalisation has the potential to bring prosperity to people across the world, but today's crude, free market globalisation is pushing standards down and leading to massive exploitation...The absence of effective multilateral trade rules to support the standards set by the ILO cannot be allowed to continue, yet governments are refusing to even allow the WTO and the ILO to work together on the problem."

As a consequence, Rider warned, "This negative downward spiral of labour standards will continue as governments compete against each other by offering cheaper labour, tax breaks, and other concessions." The result is documented in the report, he claimed: poverty wages, appalling work conditions—including discrimination, abuses, and physical violence—and environmental degradation. Some unions stated concern over China's accession to the WTO, arguing that this has lured investment away from countries attempting to improve working standards and has resulted in a "race to the bottom" in order to take advantage of China's "bargain basement economy". The ICFTU urged, "The Cancún meeting must take a decision that human rights, including fundamental workers' rights, take priority over trade rules."

In an attempt to increase cooperation and coordination between labour unions, the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the Central Unica de los Trabajadores (CUT-Brasil), with support from Focus on the Global South, organised an event to discuss points of unity. The objective of the meeting was to discuss how global trade unions could join forces to change the current neo-liberal agenda by creating a global labour struggle based on the principles of respect and tolerance. The end product, they hoped, would be a sustainable global struggle representing the critical role of unions in global social transformation.

⁷ For the ICFTU Cancun statement, please see Appendix E.

Indigenous Peoples

At a press conference on the Indigenous Peoples' perspective of the WTO, several representatives presented the International Cancún Declaration on Indigenous Peoples.⁸ The declaration addressed the negative impact of globalisation on Indigenous Peoples throughout the world, as well as the impacts of the current round of WTO negotiations on Indigenous Peoples. At the Congreso Nacional Indígena (CNI), held in advance of the Ministerial, a coalition of Indigenous organisations drafted the declaration, including the Coalición Obrera Campesina Estudiantil Indígena del Istmo (COCEI), the Asian Indigenous Women's Network, the Cordillera Peoples Alliance, the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Indigenous Initiative for Peace, the Indigenous Women's Network, the International Indian Treaty Council, Na Koa Ikaika Kalahui Hawaii, and the Tebtebba Foundation.

Indigenous Peoples' issues and their relationship with agriculture were also discussed in depth at the International Farmers' and Indigenous Peoples' Forum.

For more information on the Forum, please see Alternative Events (Highlights).

Ecumenical Community

In a joint statement written by the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Conference of European Churches, the ecumenical community outlined its opposition to the WTO Ministerial in Cancún, claiming that the negotiations have “very profound implications for the livelihood, health, well-being, and survival of peoples—especially in the developing world”.

Stating that trade and development should be “rooted in spiritual, moral, and ethical perspectives”, the alliance questioned whether WTO policies so far have been just and fair especially to the vulnerable and impoverished. The statement urged the WTO to ensure that “international trade agreements first and foremost respect, value, and uphold the sacred nature of all life” but pointed out that “the economic agendas of some governments, especially Northern governments, seem to be largely driven by corporate interests at the expense of economic justice.”

Specifically, the ecumenical community outlined the following demands to member countries of the WTO: “Recognise the rights of the weak and develop fair conditions for trade with equal access for all”, especially in the agreements on Agriculture, the GATS, the Singapore Issues, and TRIPs. The group concluded, “Motivated by faith in a compassionate God, and based on the hope that ‘another world is possible’, we issue this statement as part of our commitment to work with peoples and movements towards a global trading system that is just, sustainable, and caring. The ecumenical community

⁸ For the International Cancun Declaration of Indigenous Peoples, please see Appendix F.

will continue to advocate for policies that uphold human rights—especially economic, social, and cultural rights”.

As part of their commitment, the alliance pledged to work with the Trade for People Campaign under the Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance and the Debt Cancellation Campaign, among other initiatives.

CAFOD, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development, also voiced concern over the “aggressive bullying by Northern countries at the Cancún Ministerial”. However, the agency also welcomed the new “dynamic role developing countries are playing within the WTO” and supported the emergence of the Group of 21 countries committed to reforming agriculture and reducing American and European subsidies. CAFOD’s Head of Policy George Gelber stated, “We are witnessing a sea change in Cancún. Bullying and arm-twisting are not working anymore. Developing countries are focussing on the long-term benefits of getting a good deal at Cancún”.

Christian Aid, in pushing for past promises to “finally be fulfilled”, invited trade negotiators to see the “reality of trade”. Christian Aid UK hosted the UK Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Patricia Hewitt on a tour of Honduras. During her stay, Hewitt visited poor rice farmers to witness how farmers are failing to compete with imported and heavily subsidised rice from the US. Dr. Claire Melamed, Head of Trade Policy for Christian Aid said, “We want Ms. Hewitt to see the reality of trade—what it means to poor people. The government has been making lots of noises about wanting to make trade free and fair. On this trip, she will see that there is still a very long way to go and that often, for people, free trade is not fair trade.”

On an entirely different front, church groups, Latin American farmers, and government officials met in Cancún in an attempt to establish a fair and environmentally-friendly trade in Easter palms, the palms widely used in Christian religious ceremonies each year. Focused on the creation of a certification system for the *Chamaedorea* palm, the industry hoped to alert consumers in the US and elsewhere that the palms can be produced under environmentally-sustainable and fair trade standards. In an industry estimated at \$4.5 million annually, the goal of certification is “to create a system that properly compensates the harvesters of the palms—usually poor peasant farmers living near the forest—while preventing too much harvesting that would diminish the species.”

Lutheran World Relief’s Interfaith Fair Trade Initiative explained the importance of fair trade palms: “Our lives should not be based on the suffering of others...To get the palms certified would fit nicely into church concerns for workers’ rights, economic justice, and other social and environmental issues.” Other groups involved in the meeting included Fondo Acción, the Instituto para el Desarrollo Sustentable en MesoAmerica, and the Rainforest Alliance.

Fair Trade

Among NGOs and WTO critics present in Cancún, many were divided as to whether to focus their efforts on reforming trade within the WTO or on creating an alternative “fair trade” system of exchange entirely outside of the WTO. Though differing in their approaches, however, both sides were unified in a campaign for change.

Arguing that free trade has created a “race to the bottom” when companies compete with each other on a global scale, the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP) presented its case for Fair Trade. Mark Ritchie, President of IATP, explained Fair Trade in agriculture: “Fair Trade rules are succeeding because they guarantee farmers a fair price. Fair trade has taken the idea of sustainable development touted in the WTO’s Doha Round and is actually making it happen every day.”

Defining the practice as a “system that connects farmers directly with consumers”, IATP says Fair Trade protects the environment, promotes sustainability, and demonstrates how trade rules can promote ‘equitable development’. As a response to plummeting prices in commodity markets, Fair Trade aims to bypass the intermediaries who often “take the lion’s share of the profits” and allows producers to sell directly to importers.

Paola Ghillani, President of the Fair Trade Labelling Organisation (FLO), maintains that Fair Trade is the ‘way forward’. She stated: “Fair Trade wants to be an example to the world economy. Trade should serve human beings, human beings should not be slaves to trade.”

A coalition of international organisations showcased their commitment to Fair Trade by hosting the International Fair Trade Fair and Sustainable Trade Symposium. The event, organised by IATP, Comercio Justo Mexico, Equiterre, Oxfam International, and Gerster Consulting, was aimed at bringing together Fair Trade experts and producers and providing ministers with workable alternatives to current WTO policies while presenting successful examples of Fair Trade to the world. For more information on the event, please see Alternative Events (Highlights).

Reformed Trade

In addition to those calling for the creation of a parallel or replacement system of Fair Trade, there were organisations emphasising the need to reform trade. Here, many NGOs focussed on democratising the WTO, reducing corporate influence within the WTO, and making the trade ‘work for the poor’.

The Trade Justice Movement, a coalition of more than sixty leading UK NGOs, argued that trade reforms are desperately needed if trade is to play a development role.⁹ The

⁹ The Trade Justice Movement consists of ActionAid, ACTSA, ADRA-UK, AEFJN-UK, African Initiatives, Anti-Slavery International, Baby Milk Action, Banana Link, Baptist Union of Great Britain, British Association of Fair Trade Shops, CAFOD, Campaign Against Arms Trade, CARE International

Movement states: “Trade is a powerful force. It could play an important part in reducing poverty and improving people’s quality of life worldwide. But the rules governing international trade are currently biased in favour of the richest nations and companies. Poor countries and the environment are being harmed.”

As part of their campaign to reform trade, therefore, the Movement called on negotiators at the Cancún Ministerial to “take the lead”:

“The Trade Justice Movement calls upon negotiators to insist that the WTO’s remit is not expanded to include new issues such as investment; to stop forcing poor countries to open their markets and instead, to champion poor countries’ right to manage their own economies; to regulate big business and their investments to ensure people and the environment come before profits; to stop rich countries from promoting the interests of big business through trade interventions that harm the poor and the environment; and, to ensure that trade policy is made in a fair, transparent, and democratic way.”

In their campaign for “trade justice, not free trade”, members of the Movement emphasised the need to have rules weighted to benefit poor people and the environment. Bono, lead singer of world famous U2 and celebrity debt cancellation campaigner added, “This is not about charity. Like debt cancellation, this is about justice. The Trade Justice Movement is putting politicians to the test—millions of Africans’ livelihoods depend on their response.”

Oxfam International, a member of the Trade Justice Movement, also brought its own “Make Trade Fair” campaign to Cancún.¹⁰ Spokesperson Mohammed Chikhaoui explained the importance of the timing of the campaign: “It’s time to make trade fair. Without a strong signal here that developing country concerns will be addressed, the Cancún meeting may be on the ropes...The implications of such a failure are monumental. It would be bad for the world’s poor and bad for the future of the WTO and all multilateral institutions”.

UK, Carlisle One World Centre, Catholic Institute for International Relations, Centre for the Study of Global Ethics, Christian Aid, Church of Scotland Board of World Mission, Congregational Federation, Consumers International, Credo Arts Community, Devon Trade Justice Network, The Fairtrade Foundation, Find Your Feet, Friends of the Earth, Greenbelt Festival, Haiti Support Group, Intermediate Technology Development Group, International Federation for Alternative Trade, Methodist Association of Youth Clubs, Methodist Relief & Development Fund, National Federation of Women’s Institutes, National Justice and Peace Network, National Union of Students, Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, One World Action, Oxfam, Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Peace Child International, People & Planet, Peru Support Group, Reading International Solidarity Centre, Re-generation, Save the Children, SCIAF, Scottish Catholic Justice & Peace Commission, SPEAK, Student Christian Movement, Swaziland Solidarity Campaign, Tearfund, Tools for Self Reliance, Traidcraft, Trinity and All Saints’ Chaplaincy, TUC, Unitarian Office of Social Responsibility, United Reformed Church, VSO, War on Want, WOMANKIND, Women’s Environmental Network, World Development Movement, World Vision UK, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.

¹⁰ Oxfam’s “Make Trade Fair” campaign focuses on making trade more “just” by creating the right conditions for trade to be used for development, not creating “Fair Trade” opportunities as might otherwise be implied.

Oxfam also criticised the WTO's proposed changes to the "Development Agenda", claiming that "instead of agreeing to meaningful reforms, rich countries are trying to force through a consensus on a minimal, 'face-saving' package". In response, Oxfam challenged WTO member countries to make progress towards the following: a concrete package of Special and Differential measures for developing countries in agriculture; measures to end US and EU 'dumping' of agricultural goods; measures to finally ensure access to essential medicines, honouring in full the Doha Declaration on Public Health; a clear acknowledgement that there is no consensus to launch negotiations on the new "Singapore Issues"; and, a more transparent and inclusive decision-making process before and during Cancún.

Barring such changes, Oxfam warned that the "draft text is a barometer for judging the state of world trade talks...It's falling fast. There is very stormy weather ahead for the WTO unless the rich countries make some concessions to developing countries, and quickly". For Oxfam, the solution to the WTO's problems lies in democratising the organisation, not abandoning it altogether. Despite its flaws, Oxfam argued, "We want to strengthen the multilateral trading system". However, it also warned that "this will not come about through the abuse of power by the privileged. It will come from ending the rigged rules and double standards that deprive poor counties of economic development opportunities".

During the Ministerial, Oxfam's "Make Trade Fair" campaign was boosted by the presence of celebrity rock group Coldplay. Chris Martin and Jonny Buckland of the group spelled out "HOPE" in giant green letters on a beach near the Convention Centre. They also presented WTO Director General Supachai Panitchpakdi with a petition of more than three million signatures urging the WTO to make its rules benefit poor nations, as well as rich nations. When presenting the petition, Martin exclaimed: "We'd like to raise awareness about the idea of more fair trade around the world. Free trade is a great idea. It's just that we in the West do anything but stick to it."

Global Exchange, another leading NGO, called for more drastic change to the WTO arguing that democratisation is greatly needed, but that abolishment is the ultimate goal. In a position paper outlining twelve reasons to 'oppose the WTO', Global Exchange claims, "The WTO is writing a constitution for the entire globe. The trade ministers and corporate CEOs who control the WTO would like you to believe that its purpose is to inspire growth and prosperity for all. In reality, the WTO has been the greatest tool for taking democratic control of resources out of our communities and putting it into the hands of corporations. An international movement is growing to oppose the corporate rule of the WTO and replace it with a democratic global economy that benefits people and sustains the communities in which we live."

As such, Global Exchange demanded more democratic representation in the formulation, implementation and the evaluation of all global social and economic policies of the WTO; an immediate halt to all meetings and negotiations in order for a full, fair, and public assessment to be conducted on the impacts of the WTO's policies to date; and the eventual replacement of the WTO with a body that is fully democratic, transparent, and

accountable to citizens of the entire world instead of to corporations. In addition, Global Exchange called for support for trade policies that protect workers, human rights, and the environment.

Democracy and Transparency

In addition to calls for trade reform and Fair Trade, many NGOs called for deeper institutional reforms to the WTO, accusing the organisation of bullying and power politicking. In a joint statement, a group of UK development organisations called for an end to “arm-twisting” tactics at the WTO and urged the organisation to ensure transparency and fairness during negotiations. The alliance included: ActionAid; Christian Aid; Friends of the Earth England, Wales, and Northern Ireland; the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds; the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund; World Development Movement; and WWF UK.

In the “Civil Society Call to WTO Members”, the NGOs ask the WTO to respect basic rules of procedure, including announcing all negotiating meetings at least six hours in advance; not excluding countries from meetings; not extending Ministerial meetings without warning and agreement; announcing a cut off time for negotiations thus allowing small delegations to better stagger their minimal negotiating resources; allowing negotiators time to eat and sleep; and ensuring that all negotiating documents accurately reflect the view of all WTO members, and not just the EU and the US. The call also asks the WTO Secretariat to remain neutral when member countries are in disagreement.¹¹

In a recently published book, “Behind the Scenes at the WTO: The Real World of International Trade Negotiations”, authors Aileen Kwa from Focus on the Global South and Fatoumata Jawara, support these accusations. They claim: “Arm-twisting through a combination of threats and inducements to countries and ambassadors was a key feature of the process leading to the ‘agreement’ in Doha...Only the rich have real leverage, while most developing countries are so desperate for trade opportunities, aid, debt reduction, etc., that they have little choice but to succumb.” The authors released a follow up paper, summarising their criticisms, entitled “The Cunning Bully—EU Bribery and Arm-Twisting at the WTO” which was released in Cancún.

According to Peter Hardstaff of World Development Movement, the problem lies in the disproportionate representation of countries in WTO negotiations. Though the WTO operates on a ‘one country, one vote’ basis in theory, he claims the process remains imbalanced. “At negotiations in Doha, the EU had over 500 delegates, Mauritius had two, and Haiti—the poorest country in the western hemisphere—had none. The whole system should be geared to helping these countries have a voice, yet it constantly acts to silence them. The bullying behaviour and lack of real rules at the WTO would disgrace a village bowls club.”

¹¹ For the Civil Society Call to WTO Members, please see Appendix H.

Barry Coates, also of WDM, explained the extent of what he calls “grossly misrepresented numbers”. During negotiations, the EU has more than 650 members in its delegation, supporting its negotiators; this is compared with the US with just over 200 and Rwanda with only three. In total, the number of delegates from the seven richest nations is more than 800. “The vast disparity in the sizes of delegations is yet another indicator that the odds are stacked against the poorest nations in the negotiations process. The developing world has little chance to achieve fairer trade rules. The one member, one vote ideal of the WTO so often cited by its defenders collapses under the reality of the massive inequalities in negotiating strength.”

Other NGOs criticised the practice of holding exclusive preparatory meetings before the official Ministerial. Commenting on the unfairness of “mini-Ministerials” in which only “selected countries are invited to participate, Tom Crompton of WWF UK argued that NGOs “witnessed first hand at Doha how the WTO process is manipulated by strong countries”. He says, “We have had too many of these mini-Ministerial meetings of hand-picked ministers—this has been done in a way that excluded the vast majority of WTO members.”

Other organisations targeted the selection process for heads of the working groups, calling it “questionable”. According to Barry Coates of WDM, “These chairs have massive power to direct the negotiations in their area of responsibility, yet they were chosen through an entirely untransparent process, without approval by WTO members.” “They were not elected, and there are no mechanisms to hold them accountable,” he said.

In a study conducted by the War on Want, results revealed a sense of injustice and unfairness among members. In what they call a “devastating vote of non-confidence” in the WTO among developing country delegates, 82% of developing country delegates said the WTO is monopolised by rich countries; 83% said that, in their experience, the WTO is not democratic; 88% thought the Doha Round will not be completed on time for January 1, 2005; and nearly 6 of 10 respondents thought their country would be no better off as a result of the Cancún talks.

Steve Tibbett, Director of Campaigns and Policy for War on Want, says: “The survey confirms what critics of the WTO have been saying for years. Delegates were unequivocal in their belief that the WTO is not interested in addressing the needs of the world’s poor. The survey exposes a deep pessimism, disillusionment, and anger. It was surprisingly easy to get people to fill out the questionnaire—in fact, most were only too happy to make their views known. Many delegates simply feel that they are being taken for a ride.”

As a result, some NGOs are calling for deep reforms to the WTO. According to the Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l’Homme (FIDH), improved NGO and civil society participation is part of the solution. “NGOs have long been recognised as legitimate and competent partners within the UN system. This is certified by the existing mechanisms of consultative status within the various agencies of the UN, the OECD, the ILO, and others. The WTO lags behind on this point. The WTO has been accused of

lacking transparency and legitimacy. This can be partly explained by the absence of formal representation of civil society.”

Nobel Peace laureate Rigoberta Menchú echoed the call for consultative status for NGOs, though adding a twist. “The WTO should be dismantled and replaced by a new global organisation that grants consultative status to NGOs and not the crumbs and empty promises that they are given now.” Until this happens, she says the WTO will remain a “farce”.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

Over the course of the Ministerial, several events took place, which, either in the moment or in hind-sight have taken on great significance.

Cambodia's Accession to the WTO

As a Least Developed Country (LDC), Cambodia's accession to the WTO was hailed by developed countries as proof that the WTO can "deliver" for one of the world's poorest countries. However, for NGOs, this is hardly the case. According to Oxfam, Cambodia's accession represents the typical power-politicking characteristic of the WTO.

Regarding the accession, Oxfam stated: "Cambodia was pressured by members of the WTO into making concessions that go far beyond the level of commitments made by LDCs that are already members of the WTO. Despite the Doha Ministerial conference pledge to facilitate poor country accession to the WTO, Cambodia has seen no red carpet, and has instead been forced to lie on a bed of nails."

Listing the "harsh accession terms" Cambodia was forced to follow—including the immediate end to the use of affordable generic versions of new medicines, reduced protection to sensitive agricultural sectors, revision of its first offer on market access in agriculture and industrial products, Oxfam claims the treatment was anything but fair. One Oxfam spokesperson worried that this treatment will serve as a template for the accession of other LDCs and developing countries.

Phil Bloomer, of Oxfam, says the scandal in Cambodia's accession is that "the powerful members of the WTO have asked more concessions from the Cambodia than they have asked from themselves." Oxfam released a report on Cambodia's accession entitled "How the Law of the Jungle is Applied to One of the World's Poorest Countries".

Médecins Sans Frontières echoed Oxfam's concerns about Cambodia's lost access to generic medicines, including AIDS anti-retrovirals. One spokesperson said that this sets an "ominous precedent" for other poor nations.

Cambodian Secretary of Commerce Cham Prasidh admitted that, when adopting the package, "this is a package of concessions and commitments which goes far beyond what is commensurate with the level of development of an LDC like Cambodia...Nonetheless, we accept the challenges because we see the benefits of joining the world trading system".

Kyung-Hae Lee

In what marked perhaps the single most significant protest, Korean farm leader Kyung-Hae Lee took his life in during an Indigenous Peoples' and Farmers' protest on September 9th. Mr. Lee climbed to the top of the police barricades erected to prevent protesters from reaching the Convention Centre and stabbed himself in the heart, calling his suicide a ritual act of sacrifice. As the story emerged in the international press, it

became a focal point and symbol of a much larger struggle for many of those opposed to the WTO.

Mr. Lee, a Korean rice farmer, had attended the protest wearing a sign stating, “The WTO Kills Farmers”. As former president of the Korean Advanced Farmers’ Federation, Mr. Lee had been involved for years in organising opposition to the economic forces of the WTO that he described as “waves destroying our lovely rural communities”.

Many other Koreans present at the protest said that Mr. Lee’s frustration stemmed from the fact that he felt he had “failed, like many other farm leaders elsewhere”. Imports, they explained, were cheaper than domestic goods and their income no longer covered their costs. Taking his frustration to Cancún, Lee passed a note to fellow WTO protesters stating: “I am crying out the words to you that have boiled so long time inside my body. For whom do you [the WTO] negotiate now? For the people or for yourselves?”

Through his immolation, Mr. Lee had hoped to focus the world’s attention on the plight of farmers across the globe. In response, many farmers present at the protest considered his suicide a sacrifice, and hailed Mr. Lee as a martyr. Many NGOs issued statements in support of his position on the agricultural negotiations and pleaded with negotiators to take Mr. Lee’s suicide as a statement of the importance of reaching an agreement that considers the livelihoods of millions of people involved in agriculture around the world. Statements came forward from Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, Via Campesina, the Council of Canadians, FoodFirst, among others.

Walden Bello from Focus on the Global South exclaimed, “The Mexican authorities are responsible for this [suicide] as they prevented open dialogue from taking place between farmers and WTO delegates. Suicide rates among farmers are increasing globally. This is a tragic example.”

In its statement, Via Campesina said: “We do not want any more deaths. We do not want people to die of hunger. We do not want our land to die. At great cost, we understand this sacrifice of life. This immolation committed by our friend Lee Kyung Hae has left us speechless and heartbroken. We do not want this death to be in vain; we want a solution to the despair in which a large number of farmers are living because of these international treaties.”

Following news of his death, the security fence at Kilometre Zero, since renamed by activists “Plaza Lee”, became a place of quiet reflection and memorial as flowers and candles were placed around a picture of Mr. Lee. During international solidarity rallies over the weekend, Cancún echoed with thousands of voices chanting “We are all Lee”.

Though it may be difficult to trace the impact of his death on the negotiations, many inside the Conference Centre said they were deeply moved by the death and it had given them a renewed focus on the importance of trade issues on the poor.

Mr. Lee, who lost his farm in a foreclosure sale four years earlier, had also been involved in a hunger strike outside the WTO in Geneva in March 2003.

The G-22

During preparations for the Cancún Ministerial in Geneva, a group of developing countries formed an alliance to challenge the EU-US stance on agriculture. The group, initially comprised of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, and Venezuela, now includes more than 22 members, though it is still commonly referred to as the G-21 or the G-22.

In an attempt to challenge the “EU-US superpower dynamics of the WTO”, the group aimed to “maximise their negotiation leverage by banding together”. The alliance, which represents a profound shift in the WTO, also represents a considerable share of the world’s population: 51% of the world’s population; 63% of all farmers; 20% of global agricultural production; and 26% of total agricultural exports.

Their message, they claimed, was that poor countries are prepared to work together and intend to make overall progress at Cancún dependent on an “ambitious dismantling of farm protection in rich countries”. Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim stated, “It is the first time that such a large group of countries has met and achieved an agreement on a concrete issue of common concern. Our cause is a good one. We have the support not only of people in our countries, but also of the world opinion in general.”

Demanding the elimination of export subsidies, the G-22 claimed that economic, political, technical, and ethical reasons add up to making the continuation of subsidies an “aberration” and claimed that they effectively “lock the developing countries out of international markets”. Instead, the G-22 proposed improved market access, including the removal of trade distortions and deeper tariff cuts for rich countries, who they claim bear a special responsibility in this negotiation.

Many NGOs applauded the G-22’s rejection of the existing text on agriculture and their rigid opposition to the “new issues”. Oxfam supported the G-22, arguing that the alliance is the “best way to pressure the West for fairer treatment of the world’s small farmers”. Céline Charveriat stated, “We decided to support their proposal because they want to challenge the status quo imposed by the two big subsidy superpowers—the EU and the US. What we hope is that this can unlock the political situation here in Cancún and that it will start serious negotiations on agriculture.”

Referring to the EU-US pressure on the G-22 to negotiate the “new issues” before completing the agricultural negotiations, Ricardo Navarro, Chair of Friends of the Earth, said: “The developing countries have rightly put the brakes on the rapid expansion of the WTO. The EU and the US are making a show of playing the nice guys but behind closed doors, the pressure is on.”

According to G-22 members, this made the alliance all the more important. Brazilian Foreign Affairs Minister Celso Amorim claimed that the meeting “can be a historic turning point. We now have the opportunity to bring social demands from the streets into the conference hall. The countries that have presented the proposal represent sixty-three percent of the world’s farmers. We cannot be ignored. Already we see a new dynamic which hopefully can lead to real negotiations.” He also commented that, “In the past, there was an impression that fighting for social justice took place outside the hall. But now the fight for social justice is also inside the WTO and this is part of the historic moment”.

India’s Commerce Minister Arun Jaitley said the formation of the G-22 as a “very important occasion”, as it marked an important point where developing countries, representing the majority of the world’s population of farmers, are “attempting to put forward their own case”. To this, South African Trade Minister Alec Erwin added, “It is historic that Ministers could unify positions across such major agricultural economies and exports.”

However, despite the optimism of the G-22, EU and US trade officials dismissed the alliance as a “marriage of convenience”. Deputy US Trade Representative Peter Allgeier said, “It’s really unclear to us what is the unifying principle there among those countries. On the one hand, you’ve got some of them that were among the most ambitious countries for agricultural reform, then it goes across the spectrum to countries that have not been advocates of reform.” EU spokesperson Arancha Gonzalez added, “We do not see the G-21 as some kind of threat. It is a temporary alliance which wants to push the joint interests of its members together.”

In response to the G-22’s demands, EU Agriculture Commissioner Franz Fischler said he was given the impression that these countries were “circling in a different orbit”. He warned that, if they continue their “space odyssey, they will not get the stars, they will not get the moon, they will simply end up with empty hands”. Fischler concluded that the G-22 had shown “no ambition at all. We [the EU] have shown flexibility, we are showing flexibility, and we will show flexibility, but there are limits”.

During the Ministerial, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala claimed that US Trade Representative Robert Zoellick attempted to break the G-22 by offering bribes. The countries said that the US offered to increase trade quotas if they were to quit the alliance. Other countries accused the EU of employing similar tactics. Despite the pressure, however, the G-22 expanded to include more than eighty countries.

The Dividing Crisis

With the release of the draft Ministerial text came an up-roar of anger and frustration, as developing countries quickly concluded that their demands and concerns were not reflected in the text. The draft was criticised for forcing developing countries to make

further cuts on tariffs to imports than developed countries, failing to make progress on allowing poor countries to protect their farmers, and ignoring developing countries' rejection of the "new issues".

NGOs were similarly disappointed by the text. Claire Melamed, Head of Trade Policy at Christian Aid, said, "If this text were accepted, it would bring an end to any legitimate claims that the current set of trade talks is a development round". Martin Khor of Third World Network attacked the text, arguing: "The approach taken on the new issues is outrageous. It ignores the clearly stated views of Ministers of a large number of developing countries.

Friends of the Earth said the draft text effectively "sidelines developing country issues", giving precedence to corporate interests over the needs and demands of developing countries. "Despite the explicit repeated objections of 75 developing countries, the draft included all four "new issues" and all previous language indicating developing country objections has disappeared."

According to Ronnie Hall of Friends of the Earth, "This draft shows that the EU and the US are driving these talks to the point of collapse. Developing countries here in Cancún have made their rejection of the Singapore issues clear, but their demands have been ignored. Clearly they are more interested in protecting their corporate interests than supporting the developing world."

ActionAid also stated that the draft "blatantly disregarded the views of developing countries" and called the draft text an "insult to developing countries". As a result, Adriano Campolino Soares, head of ActionAid's international campaign said: "The credibility of the WTO as an institution is at stake. This was the WTO's last chance to redeem itself and provide some hope for developing countries. Barring a last-minute U-turn, Cancún will establish the WTO as the enemy of the world's poorest people."

Following the release of the draft text, many NGOs predicted that the talks would collapse, with many pointing the finger at the US and the EU for pushing them to the brink. Barry Coates of World Development Movement, acknowledging that the EU was prepared to push the talks to the brink:

"If developing countries walk out, the EU is to blame. The hand-picked facilitators of the working groups have delivered a draft declaration that is a slap in the face to developing countries. They have ignored the views of a majority of WTO members in a draft that would further extend the deep inequities in trade rules. The revised draft is illegitimate. It has been arrived at through a corrupt and undemocratic process and bears no relation to the views or needs of developing countries. They have been totally ignored. The text is an insult to the developing countries in Cancún."

Though European governments had warned that a collapse of the WTO negotiations would be a major setback for world economic affairs, most NGOs representing a wide variety of perspectives—from trade to the environment and human rights—thought the opposite. Many argued that a failure in Cancún would be a good thing.

According to Peter Wahl from World Economy, Ecology, and Development (WEED), “A second Seattle, a failure at the Cancún negotiations, wouldn’t be a bad thing. Maybe then the richest countries in Europe and North America would understand that they can no longer fob off Third World countries with peanuts.”

Mexican Network of Action Against Free Trade spokesperson Héctor de la Cueva added, “We are staking our bets on the complete reformulation of the WTO, so a complete failure of the Minister’s conference would be best”.

In a joint statement, the International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), the Center of Concern, the International Jesuit Network for Development (IJND), the Association of Women in Development (AWID-Canada), Women in Development Europe (WIDE), the Asia-Pacific Food Sovereignty Network, the Berne Declaration, KULU, and ICDA claimed the draft represented a move from “bad to worse”. As a consequence, the statement concluded: “We reject the revised ministerial text. It is better to have no text at all than to sign a bad one.” ActionAid and the Africa Trade Network (Third World Network Africa, ENDA Tiers Monde, EcoNews Africa, and CECDIE) also put forward the “No Deal is Better than a Bad Deal” view.

Oxfam, however, took the position that a collapse of the trade negotiations would be more damaging than beneficial. In its report, “Running into the Sand: Why Failure at the Cancún Trade Talks Threatens the World’s Poorest People”, Oxfam argued that the meeting provides an opportunity to reform the unfair trade rules that systematically disadvantage the world’s poorest countries. The report also called for urgent action to stop agricultural dumping, protect access to affordable medicines, improve market access, and prevent damaging new rules on foreign investment. Failing to reach an agreement on such matters, the report claimed, would jeopardise this progress, forcing many countries to continue living under an unfair system.

This was also the message of WTO Director General Supachai Panitchpakdi: “Failure is not an option. It would send a very damaging signal about prospects for economic recovery and would result in more hardship for workers, particularly in poorer countries.”

However, in the end, more than thirty countries walked out of the negotiations, most attributing the failure to “forced negotiations on the Singapore Issues” and the draft text’s exclusion of developing country perspectives and priorities. As had happened in Seattle, the WTO Ministerial negotiations in Cancún collapsed.

ANTI-WTO PROTESTS

Cancún Protests

In the days leading up to the Ministerial, both police and protesters were nervous, not knowing what to expect in Cancún. The Mexican government, perhaps fearing a repeat of Seattle, took few chances with security, employing more than 20 000 police and military personnel and building a ring of steel around the hotel zone. The cost security effort, including countless roadblocks, sniffer dogs, two navy frigates, and officers from both Scotland Yard and the CIA, was estimated at \$20 million.

Other measures were also taken to “secure” the area. Before the Ministerial began, Mexican authorities drew up a “watch list” including the names of several of activists who were to be kept under surveillance. The list, which included Naomi Klein, José Bové, Vandana Shiva, Noam Chomsky, Walden Bello, Evo Morales, and many others, ranked the individuals as posing either a “moderate”, “radical”, or “ultra-radical” threat to the Ministerial. Lori Wallach of Public Citizen, also on the list, rejected the characterisation, arguing that “most people on that list have no history of throwing rocks, they have a history of throwing ideas”.

Many of those who were “blacklisted” claimed to have experienced logistical problems as a result, ranging from cancelled hotel reservations, delayed visa processing, to outright refusal of entry into the country, as was the case with Evo Morales.

In a humorous response to the “blacklist”, hundreds of activists who also planned to attend Cancún wrote to the authorities demanding that their names be added to the list. The activists claimed that they too were worthy of extra surveillance. In their letter, they wrote: “I recently found out about the ‘watch list’ prepared by the Mexican authorities, purportedly to quell the voice of civil society at the upcoming WTO Ministerial in Cancún. Despite hefty expenditures of tax money on intelligence gathering, we are concerned that you were only able to find 60 internationals and 20 Mexicans who are opposed to the WTO. Haven’t you noticed that the tide of public opinion is turning decidedly against the WTO? Please add my name to your watch list immediately!”

In Cancún, activists complained of heavy security measures. Greenpeace was prevented from distributing information when security forces told them it was considered “illegal” to make photocopies or distribute “propaganda”. They also complained of restricted movement and that many banners and posters advertising alternative events were confiscated and destroyed. Other protesters in Cancún feared a heavy-handed police retaliation after the local police commissioner stated that he would match any protester violence “blow for blow”.

Recognising that violence was a possibility, some NGOs stated their commitment to non-violent protest before the Ministerial even began. Rafael Alegria, International Secretary

of Via Campesina, stated: “We are not here to throw sticks or stones... We are here to send a clear and ringing message: Take agriculture out of the WTO talks.”

In a statement issued by the Our World is Not For Sale Network (OWINFS), NGOs and activists explained their presence in Cancún:

“Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, and the man in front of the tank in Tiananmen Square were all considered troublemakers at the time; but they were all struggling for peace, equity, and justice. We all come in peace committed to non-violence. We hope to find opportunities to share our views, present our alternatives, and expose the wrongdoings of the current trade system. We do not make trouble for the sake of it. We are people like you that come from near or far away, united by a common commitment to promote peace, equity, and justice. If this is troublesome to government negotiators, multinational corporations, and the rich—then so be it.”

Throughout the week, various protests took place, ranging in both size and tactics. On one of the first days, a group of forty activists stripped nude on the beach and spelled out the words “NO WTO” in English, then Spanish with their naked bodies. Katie Hughes, an American student, explained why. “We wanted to form an international group and show our asses to the WTO to say what we really think of their organisation.”

On September 8th, several thousand protesters joined the Farmers’ and Indigenous Peoples’ March. One Indymedia entry described the day as follows:

“Joined by Seattle’s marching band the Infernal Noise Brigade, students from Mexico City, assorted anarchists and activists banging oil drums lodged in stolen Wal-Mart carts, the march headed towards that high wall protecting the luxury hotel zone. One group carried a puppet of Mayan God Kaluka, a feathered dragon invoked against the WTO’s intellectual property rights regime. Another wheeled Chak, a stunning 12 foot high Mayan God, his arms raised towards the heavens, invoked against the privatization of water. Most spectacular of all were the 200 members of KOPA, a coalition of 40 South Korean social movements who walked, banged traditional drums, and sang together. Their procession was a mock Korean-style funeral march for the WTO, replete with multi-coloured coffin carried on the shoulders of six and followed by people dressed as priests.

We arrived at the heavily policed security fence blocking access to the causeway leading towards the Convention Centre. Some tied banners to it, and others scaled it. With the Koreans in the lead, the crowd began to push sections of the fence over. Then Koreans set fire to the coffin and threw it at the barrier. This was the moment when Lee fell from the fence at the time the nature of his injury was not clear to the crowd, and he was quickly taken away in an ambulance.

Then as the Infernal Noise Brigade’s drums beat a driving rhythm, the crowd lifted up the fence bodily and toppled it. The heat was intense and people began to suffer from heatstroke. From out of nowhere, a dark grey cloud opened up right over our heads and showered the protesters with cooling rain. John Ross, veteran chronicler of the Zapatista rebellion emerged out of the crowd, grinned with broken teeth and shamanic stare, yelled ‘It’s Chac the God of Rain!’ and dissolved once more into the crowd.

A group of boys at the front, reluctant to push through the line of riot police, began to throw stones and sticks instead. The *campesinos* drew back, some of them hit by stones later blamed on provocateurs that had apparently been thrown from too far back to have

been intended for police. The crowd, now fatally divided in tactics, began to lose momentum. Several hours passed in this manner. And then the news spread from person to person, that the Korean man was dying. And this was how the protest ended.”

Meanwhile, in a protest that took place within the WTO, a group of forty-some protesters attending the opening session of the Ministerial, stood up, turned their backs on the WTO Director General as he started his speech and held up posters saying: “WTO Anti-Development”, “WTO Undemocratic”, and “WTO Obsolete”. Protesters also distributed leaflets presenting their case against the WTO and called out “Shame, Shame” in front of the international press.

In another ‘inside’ protest, Greenpeace Mexico activist Alejandro Calvillo stood up and delivered a brief statement on the negative impacts of American GMOs on Mexican farmers during US Trade Representative Peter Allgeier’s presentation. Reporters, angered by the interruption, shouted at the protesters to “get out”. The WTO responded to the action by banning NGOs from attending press briefings. Greenpeace, the NGO responsible for creating the commotion, offered to sacrifice its accreditation if the WTO would allow other NGOs access to the press briefings. The WTO rejected the proposal and Greenpeace accused the WTO of “increasingly secretive and unaccountable behaviour”.

On September 13th, another march and protest took place. Starhawk, anti-WTO activist and member of the Pagan Cluster, described the event as follows:

The march begins from the Casa de la Cultura, remarkable early. Again we head down the now-familiar route to Ground Zero, chanting, drumming, with banners and puppets and song. This time we pass Ground Zero and go on to the newly erected barrier. It's a strong, orange steel fence, built in sections linked to each other and braced to make multiple cages. The chain link sections are hooked to metal supports and the sections are held together with thick steel chain and anchored in big concrete blocks. Behind it are a line of Federal Police in riot gear, but they cannot reach us through the fence, nor can we reach them.

Our plan is to destroy it. To cut the fence, take it down, and move it away, as a powerful symbol of our opposition to the barriers that keep us away from the places of decision-making, to the borders that confine people while allowing corporations free run all over the globe.

The plan is for women to move forward and begin taking down the fence. When they have cut it apart, the Koreans will tie on a big rope and we will all pull it down together. But there is some disorganization to begin with. The women's contingent is not at the front, and eager young men are already all over the fence, shaking and worrying it like a pack of young dogs. Finally a women's contingent arrives. I run forward, link arms and march the final yards with them, arm in arm, feeling how strong and wonderful it is to be together as compañeras, as sisters.

We file in and form a line in front of the fence. As soon as we do, Chak the Rain God registers his approval with a sudden, soaking downpour, that ends a few moments later, leaving us cooler but dripping wet. Photographers crowd forward like sharks in a feeding frenzy and we are practically crushed against the fence while we wait for the tools to arrive. A blond young woman tries to move us all to the side to let the Koreans into the center. "We have to take orders from the Koreans," she says. I rebel. "The agreement is

that women are going to begin taking down the fence, and that's what I want to do, not stand here symbolically and then let the men do it. And I want to do it here, in the center, where the media is, not off to the side as women have always been pushed to the side. At least let the women decide themselves and don't tell them what to do."

But the Koreans are upset. Somehow they don't seem to understand that this is supposed to be a women's part of the action (they only know that they are being held back when they want at that fence themselves. They are awesomely strong, unified and disciplined but feminism does not seem to be part of their political analysis as yet, and they are trying to push forward. Finally I recognize one brother who speaks English, and when he understands the plan, he becomes very helpful, calling the rest back, grabbing a few who are revved up and madly going for it and making them wait. That leaves only the media to deal with, who are pushing and shoving and trying to bash their way forward. And a few of our own who want to help us, or protect us, or just take over the damn tools and do it for us.

Soon enough of the fence is removed that there are holes through all the double sections of cages, giving the police access to us. We decide to send a line of women through to hold back the police. We stand pressed up against the riot shields, but separated from our sisters by uncut side sections. It is not a great place to be, tactically speaking, but I don't actually believe these cops are going to start beating us, and in any case most are a head shorter than me, which lessens the intimidation factor. Somewhere down the line, one of the women gets hit in the head with a billy club, but overall they don't attack. Then we get the word that the Koreans are ready to pull down the fence, and we climb back out.

The Koreans have spent the evening twisting rope, taking thin stranded cord and twining it together and twisting and braiding fat lines of it, thick as a thigh, long enough so several hundred people can pull each one. Some of them climb up on the fence and begin tying the rope on. The rest of us line up and grab hold. The sun is blazing so hot that I think I'm going to pass out.

Finally the order comes, "Pull!" We grab hold, and pull all together. I feel a tremendous surge of strength, not just my strength, but all of strength together, Mexicans and Koreans and internationals, tiny indigenous women in their bright dresses, big, burly men, students and workers and local people from the town, our friends from the NGOs who've come out to march with us, everyone linked in the same effort like this great rope twined of many strands. And the fence moves.

We pull, and wait while the ropes are repositioned and tied, and pull again. One section of the fence is finally pulled away, and rolled off to the side. The black bloc take it up the street and use it to barricade a side road where the cops could come in and trap us. The Korean drummers are on the side with a blond guy with a jimbe, and I join them for a while. A group of South African women are smiling in the center and dancing, and they motion to me to drum for them. Behind us, Chak the giant puppet looms, creating a mythic backdrop for this collective act. We form up and pull again, a mighty, powerful heave strong enough to pull an empire down.

After an hour or so, the final section of fence across the road is pulled away. Now the way is open for us to move through (but the plan is not actually to do that, but to hold a ceremony and walk away, as nine kilometers, two more barricades, and about ten thousand riot cops still lie between us and the WTO. The Koreans and the campesinos move forward, negotiate a truce with the police, and call on us all to sit down.

They begin a ceremony of burning the WTO in effigy, which seems to involve a lot of speeches, all of which have to be translated into Spanish and English, and eventually the

crowd gets restless. Some of them want to go through the space we've opened, and weren't part of the decision to tear down the fence and then leave.

At the torn down barricade where we sit, the students want to make a proposal, but when finally the crowd pressure gets a woman student up there, one of the men takes the bullhorn out of her hand. When she speaks, and proposes that we hold a people's assembly in the park, she's booed and shouted down, and I find myself feeling very angry. It has been an incredible day, full of awesome power, but still women have to fight for our space in the movement, and still women's voices aren't listened to.

The women's thread is one of the strands of the cord. The campesinos, the students, the black bloc, the internationals, the indigenas, all distinct, all maintaining their identity and autonomy, still struggling to work together, to be twined into the same braided rope, a rope twined of the many threads that can bring the empire down.

Global Protests

While anti-WTO activists took to the streets in Cancún, protests also erupted in cities and countries around the world.

In Spain, direct action activists crop-pulled a test plot of genetically-modified plants in protest of the TRIPs agreement.

Indian demonstrators formed a human chain around the Ghandi statue in the city of Chennai to protest against corporate influence in the WTO. In Bangalore, more than 35 000 farmers converged, demanding "Either food and agriculture be removed from the WTO or India must quit the WTO". The protesters claimed that the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture and the Indian government's failure to protect its farmers had led to "ruin and death". Burdened by crop failures, low commodity prices, and heavy debt burdens, the group claimed that hundreds of farmers have committed suicide for lack of another option.

More than eight thousand protesters gathered in Manila to protest the Philippine governments' participation in the WTO Ministerial. The protesters included members of the Anakpawis, Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, National Federation of Sugar Workers, and Amihan Peasant Women organisations.

In Dhanmondi, Bangladesh, thousands of women gathered at a protest organised by the "Big Noise" Make Trade Fair alliance. The women, mostly garment workers, cultural activists, and housewives, listened to speeches by trade unionists and political leaders and collected a petition of over one million signatures demanding an end to agricultural subsidies in the developed world and for continued preferential treatment for products from developing countries.

The Thai Action on Globalisation Network organised a march on the embassies of the EU and the US in opposition of their WTO negotiation positions. Organisers estimated that several thousand demonstrators attended the event, including farmers, private and public sector unions, small business members, the Assembly of the Poor, HIV/AIDS activists,

Greenpeace representatives, consumer organisations, students, members of the alternative agricultural movement, the Slum Community Network, and many NGOs.

Solidarity protests were also organised in the US twin cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Union members, small farmers, danzantes, artists, families, firefighters, students and “people of the world” united to say: “Yes to the direct democracy, unions, dignity, communities, immigrant rights, control over our destinies and No to union busting, Plan Puebla Panamá, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and the privatisation of the world’s water services.”

Anti- WTO protests were also held around the world to recognise September 13th as “Worldwide Day of Action against Militarism and Corporate Globalisation”. Marking the joining of two of the world’s strongest social movements—the anti-corporate globalisation movement and the anti-war movement, the protests drew support from a variety of groups such as the Unite for Peace and Justice group, farmers’ organisations, anti-capitalists, and human rights activists.

ALTERNATIVE EVENTS (HIGHLIGHTS)

The following section will outline some of the many and diverse alternative events which took place over the course of the Cancún Ministerial.

Alternative Media-Tech Convergence “Hurakan”

During the first week of September, activists around the world converged in Cancún both in preparation for the upcoming Ministerial as well as to attend “Hurakan”—or “Tidal Wave” Cancún, the Alternative Media-Tech Convergence. For an entire week, activists and locals discussed ways in which to counter the “misinformation campaign” carried out by the local media which, according to organisers, attempted to “criminalise activists and stir up fear”.

The local media, they argued, inaccurately portrayed demonstrators as “globalofóbicos” (globalphobes), then only later reduced the term to “globalocríticos” (globalcritics) under pressure from the Alternative Media activists. In response, the gathering launched an initiative to reach the Cancún public with the aim of “letting them know what the movement is all about”. Activities included public screenings of alternative films such as World War IV from Big Noise Tactical Film production and musical performances by groups such as the Infernal Noise Brigade, an original anti-WTO protest band from Seattle.

Having travelled 4100 miles from San Francisco, the Greenpeace solar truck “Rolling Sunlight” arrived in Cancún to supply power for the closing ceremony of the Alternative Media Convergence held in Parque las Palapas, an event which was organised by the Cancún Indymedia Centre.

Biodiversity, Trade and Sustainable Development Forum

The Biodiversity, Trade, and Sustainable Development, held September 5th to 7th, marked the 18th Session of the Global Biodiversity Forum. The event was co-convened by the World Conservation Union (IUCN); the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD); the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Mexico (SEMARNAT); the Mexican Centre for Environmental Law (CEMDA); the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS); the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ); the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC); Fundación Futuro Latinoamericano (FFLA); the American Land Alliance; Environment and Development Action in the Third World (ENDA); Greenpeace International; the National Wildlife Federation US; the NAFTA Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC); the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD); the Working Group on Environment, Trade, and Investment (GETI); the World Resources Institute (WRI); the Ramsar Convention Bureau; the Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity (SCBD); the Equator Initiative; the United Nations Environment

Programme (UNEP); the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); and the Global Environment Facility (GEF).

Organisers of the event aimed to address the following three key issues:

- *The relationship between TRIPs Agreement and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)*
- *Risk, Precaution, and Biosecurity, and*
- *Trade and Sustainable Livelihoods*

The International Farmers' and Indigenous Peoples' Forum

The International Farmers' and Indigenous Peoples' Forum, a two day event held at the Casa de Cultura in Cancún, was hosted by Via Campesina and UNORCA, the Mexican peasants' organisation. Over the two days, more than 5 000 people attended the forum, with more than 200 buses of Indigenous Peoples from around Mexico arriving thanks to sponsorship from NGOs and individuals. Organisers estimated that delegations from more than thirty countries were present for the event, including participants from Korea, Spain, the US, Canada, Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua, Cuba, Brazil, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal, Thailand, Venezuela, Germany, Greece, Belgium, and Argentina. The objective of the Forum was to serve as a platform for stories of courage, determination, passion for those involved in the struggle to protect food sovereignty.

Guest speakers at the Forum included representatives from the National Family Farm Coalition (USA); Via Campesina (Honduras); the Assembly of the Poor (Thailand); the Landless Peoples' Movement, LPM (South Africa); the Landless Workers' Movement, MST (Brazil); Focus on the Global South (Thailand); and El Campo No Aguanta Más (Mexico). Events also included a series of workshops on topics ranging from land reform to patent issues.

Organisers also led a large march of farmers and Indigenous Peoples on September 10. The protest, which drew several thousand people, also attracted widespread media attention for its intensity and for clashes with the police. During the protest, Korean farmer Kyung-Hae Lee committed suicide in attempt to call attention to the situation of farmers worldwide.

The protesters, a diverse group, consisted of small and family farmers, peasants, landless and Indigenous People, women and rural labourers, and campesinos dressed in their trademark green t-shirts and caps. During the march, the group called for food sovereignty, a ban on genetically-modified foods, for food and agricultural issues to be removed from the WTO, and for food to be treated as a human right, not a commodity.

Though some estimated that nearly 10 000 people attended the march, others argued "the protest would have been 10 times bigger if our farmers could have afforded to come to Cancún". However, even some of those not present made themselves heard through

recorded messages. In his message to the people, Comandante David of the EZLN declared: “The land is ours, it belongs to the peasants and the indigenous peoples and we should take it back and make it produce for all, not just for a handful of the wealthy who wouldn’t even recognise the colour of the soil if you placed it before them”

Zapatista Subcomandante Marcos also read a statement. “This is not the first time nor the last that those who think they own the planet have to hide behind their high walls and pathetic security forces to make their plans. Just as in any way, the high command of this army of the transnationals, which seeks to conquer the world in the only way that it can be conquered—by destroying it—meets under a security system which is matched in size only by their fear”. He then called for protesters to “Derail the Death Train of the WTO” and called the WTO a “war on humanity—a machine that feeds on blood and defecates dollars”.

At the conclusion of the Forum, participants issued a list of demands, including the following:

- Leave agriculture out of WTO negotiations (We believe that food, health, and education should not be made objects of the trade agreements that only benefit transnational corporations and destroy local economies);
- Promote food sovereignty and the right for communities to produce their own food sustainably;
- Provide support for small and medium farmers and protection from large scale agribusiness; against the importation and production of genetically-modified organisms;
- Stop any trade deal that appropriates traditional indigenous and campesino knowledge;
- End the privatisation of services; and,
- Encourage a new world food order based on the priorities of ending hunger and promoting food sovereignty

IFG Teach-In: “Alternatives to Globalisation and the WTO”

On September 9, 2003, the International Forum on Globalisation hosted a full day of events and discussions on the WTO, the key issues being negotiated at the Ministerial, and reviewed expectations of possible outcomes. The objective of the teach-in was to discuss alternatives to the WTO and globalisation that are more equitable, democratic, and which protect people and the natural world.

Guest speakers at the event included: Martin Khor (Third World Network), Malaysia; Vandana Shiva (Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Ecology), India; Tony Clarke (Polaris Institute), Canada; Victoria Tauli Corpuz (Indigenous Peoples’ Centre for Policy Research and Education), India; John Cavanaugh (Institute for Policy Studies), US; Sara Larrain (Chile Sustentable), Chile; Jerry Mander (International Forum on Globalisation), US; Walden Bello (Focus on the Global South), Thailand; Alberto Gomez (UNORCA), Mexico; Maude Barlow (Council of Canadians), Canada; Lori

Wallach (Public Citizen/Global Trade Watch), US; and, Agnes Bertrand (ECOROPA), France.

Despite the line-up of leading academics, writers, economists, and researchers, attendance at the event was lower than anticipated. However, organizers later discovered that public radio stations had run announcements declaring the event “cancelled”. Organizers called the announcements an act of “sabotage”.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Forum “Dialogue on Globalisation”

Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a non-profit political public interest institution committed to the principles and basic values of social democracy and the labour movement, hosted a 6-day conference at the NGO Centre in Cancún.

Organisers of the event stated that Cancún represented a significant event in global policy making as “it will not only decide on the future of the Development Round, it will also provide an opportunity for a debate on the broader context of trade and development.” The FES aimed to contribute to this debate in many ways—by hosting panel discussions and meetings, by providing briefing and background material and by supporting the participation of representatives from trade unions, NGOs and journalists from the South.

Topics discussed during the Forum included:

- *Green Biotechnology: Able to feed the world?* Ana de Ita (CECCAM), Peter Rosset (FoodFirst), José Enrique Tron (CNMAIZ)
- *Globalisation with a Human Face: What to do Next?* Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development Wieczorak-Zeul, Germany
- *WTO and Investment:* Richard Eglin (WTO), Karl P. Sauvart (UNCTAD), Mike Waghorne (PSI), Kavaljit Singh
- *10 Years of the WTO: Everything for the Corporations—No Rights for Workers?* Guy Rider (ICFTU) Archie Palane, Michael Sommer, Raquel Clavillas
- *GATS-Mode 4* Erika Mann (MEP Brussels), Peter Boldt, Johannes B.R. Bernabe, Pascal Kerneis, Rama Chandra Khuntia
- *Between Reform and Rejection: Can a Gender Agenda be Integrated in the WTO?* Aminata Traoré, Mariama Williams, Sigrid Skarpelis-Sperk, Maria Karadenizili (WIDE)
- *Making Voices Stronger! Global Civil Society and Democracy in International Institutions* John Clarke (UN), Aminata Traoré
- *Peasant Farmers, Small Scale Farmers and Enhanced Market Access—Any Positive Effects on Poverty Alleviation and Development?* Peter Kaindi (MP, Kenya), Abid Qaiyum Sulehri, Christian Häberli, Larry Kohler (ILO), Ajay Vashee
- *Environmental Consequences of Service Liberalisation*
- *Cooperation with Trade Unions*
- *Supporting Journalists from the South*

Fair Trade Fair and Sustainable Trade Symposium

From September 10th to 12th, the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP) US; Comercio Justo (Mexico); Équiterre (Canada), Oxfam International, Gerster Consulting (Switzerland) hosted the Fair Trade Fair and Sustainable Trade Symposium in Cancún.¹²

According to organisers, the objectives of the events were to demonstrate how trade, under the right conditions, can help revitalise local economies while protecting the environment and to foster dialogue among producers, NGOs, businesses, governments, and other international organisations on how to generate, improve, and expand Fair Trade solutions through policy reform and international cooperation.

Organisers also aimed to show that the current dominant rules of international trade are not working. “Nowhere are the failures of this system clearer than in agriculture, where farmers and rural communities in both the developed and developing world are being crushed by record low prices in nearly every major commodity,” said Mark Ritchie of IATP. “We need to promote fair trade and to advocate for improved trade rules which are desperately needed to end destructive agricultural trade practices.”

At the Fair Trade Fair, the groups organised a showcase of leaders from more than 70 farmer cooperatives, giving locals and tourists the opportunity to purchase Fair Trade coffee, tea, wine, chocolate, nuts, chips, fruit juices, mescal, crafts, textiles, and jewellery. The event also featured a special Mexican Pavilion with products and spokespeople from all regions of Mexico and an inaugural reception with guest speakers Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú, Mexican Foreign Minister Luis Ernesto Derbez, Canadian Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew, Swiss Ambassador Matthias Meyer, and Vandana Shiva.

At the Sustainable Trade Symposium, organised and sponsored by the same organisations, numerous workshops, presentations, and dialogues took place. Topics included:

- *WTO Policy Plenary: Making Trade Work for Producers, Rural Communities, and the Environment*
- *Fair Trade: A Path Forward to the Millennium Development Goals*
- *What’s Behind the Label?*
- *Scaling Up Fair Trade for Greater Impact: What Will it Take?*
- *Fair Trade Within Borders: Creating Domestic Markets and National Policies to Support Small Producers*

¹² The event was organized by the above groups and sponsored by the Swiss Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT); Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA); The World Bank; Oxfam International; Ford Foundation; Danish Agency for Development Assistance (DANIDA); Ramsay-Merriam Fund; Commission for Environmental Cooperation; Presbyterian Hunger Project; Global Alliance on Commodities and Coffee (GLACC); and Green Mountain Coffee Roasters.

- *Sustainable Procurement: Key Strategies for Advancing Sustainable Development*
- *Wearing Sustainability on Your Sleeve: Organic Cotton and Fair Trade in the Apparel Industry,*
- *Corn at the Nexus of Debates over Hunger, Trade, Biotechnology and Agricultural Subsidies*
- *100% Fair Trade in Coffee: The Power of Commitment*
- *Indigenous Trade, Tourism, and the Environment*
- *Making Trade Fair: Solving the Global Commodity Crisis*
- *Innovative Fair Trade Models: Expanding Producer Participation in Business Development Strategies*
- *Foreign Investment, Democracy, and Sustainable Trade*
- *Sustainable Trade: What Role do Governments and International Financial Institutions Play?*
- *Rethinking US Agricultural Policy*
- *Exploring Fair Trade Policy and Programmes in Producer Countries/Consuming Countries*
- *Fair Trade Marketing and Education*

The Heinrich Böll Foundation Forum

From September 10th to 14th, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in conjunction with Public Citizen, Brot für die Welt, Deutscher KulturRAT, and the International Network for Cultural Diversity, hosted a space for “constructive criticism”, where local actors from all over the world were able to meet and join forces.

The aim of the Forum was to: promote policies of change within the WTO regarding social, environmental, and gender issues; offer a space where representatives of civil society, of governments, and of multilateral institutions were able to engage in a dialogue concerning the main issues under negotiation at the Ministerial; and, to advance the analysis of the consequences the present form of globalisation will have on social, political, and economic issues.

Topics for discussion included:

- *Trade and Environment*
- *Trade in Services*
- *Resisting the WTO Grab for Water*
- *Cultural Diversity*
- *TRIPS*
- *Agreement on Agriculture*
- *Food Sovereignty*
- *WTO Reform*

Guest speakers for the Forum included representatives from the Commission on Environmental Cooperation; the Mexican Network on Free Trade; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; the International Institute for Sustainable Development; the South Centre; the International Forum on Globalisation; Sustentable Chile; the International Gender and Trade Network; the Centre for Trade Law and Development Policy; Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN); the Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Ecology; World Economy, Ecology, and Development (WEED); Bread for the World; the Hemispheric Social Alliance; the Freedom from Debt Coalition; Public Citizen; the Council of Canadians; the International Network on Cultural Diversity; the ETC Group; FoodFirst; the Third World Network; Oxfam International; Focus on the Global South; and 3D Trade.

Cancún Trade and Development Symposium

The Cancún Trade and Development Symposium was co-convened by the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) and el Colegio de Mexico on September 11th and 12th, 2003.

Topics for discussion included:

- *Intellectual Property Rights, Trade, and Challenges for Development*
- *Towards a Pro-Poor Agenda for the Doha Round: The Role of Rich Countries and International Donors*
- *Standards and Market Access*
- *Agriculture, Market Access, and Livelihoods*
- *Free Trade, Development, and Sustainability: Lessons from Mexico*
- *How Can Trade Stimulate Sustainable Development in Agriculture?*
- *Investment as if Sustainable Development Really Mattered*
- *Rules and Institutions for Sustainable Development in Latin America*
- *Power, Trade, and Development Policies: The Global Value Chain Analysis*
- *Recovering 'Spaces for Development Policy': Special and Differential Treatment, Innovation, and Sustainable Development*
- *Post-Doha Marginalisation of LDC Concerns*

Guest speakers for the event came from the Centre for Global Development; the World Bank; the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS); the Centre for International Trade, Economics, and Environment (CITEE); the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED); World Wildlife Fund; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP); the Trade Knowledge Network (which consists of CINPE, ICTSD, IISD, RIDES, and SDPI); the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD); the Royal Institute for International Affairs (RIIA); the World Resources Institute; the Centre for International Environmental Law (CIEL); and the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD).

OUTCOMES

Following the failure of the Fifth WTO Ministerial in Cancún, many NGOs claimed that the collapse marked a “definitive victory”, not only for developing countries, but also for the ‘anti-globalisation’ movement in general. Some argued that a second collapse, falling on the heels of Seattle, indicates that the WTO never fully recovered. Some also argue that the ‘success’ in Doha was attributable to the fact that the US was able to play on the post-September 11th ‘sympathy vote’ in order to “plough through the talks without any real dialogue on the issues”. What happens after Cancún has yet to be determined—it is likely too early to claim either victory or failure.

Some NGOs attribute the “successful failure” of Cancún to increased interaction between NGOs and negotiators. Several NGOs and civil society groups noted that they had better access to developing country negotiators and were, in some instances, even granted access to developed country delegations. The result, they claimed, was that—at least to some extent—NGOs had influenced the outcome of the Ministerial.

Additionally, some say that there was also an improved relationship and increased recognition of protesters by developing country delegations. In September, South African President Thabo Mbeki suggested that anti-globalisation protesters might be an important ally for developing countries. “They may act in ways that you and I do not like—breaking windows in the street and this and that—but the message they are communicating relates to us. We need to link up with our constituency in the developed world.” Though it may be difficult to gauge their impact precisely, many negotiators said that events such as the death of Mr. Lee had indeed influenced their negotiations.

On the other hand, some groups noticed an increased hostility between developed country delegates and NGOs and civil society groups, with the former charging the latter with having “pressured” developing countries into taking an unnaturally aggressive and assertive stance on issues such as the Singapore Issues. To this, NGOs responded that their popularity is simply attributable to the fact that their perspective resonates with developing country delegations.

Other NGOs claimed that the developed countries attempted to de-legitimise their presence at Ministerial meetings, accusing NGOs of advocating positions that “do not always reflect the best interests of developing countries”. NGOs and developing countries were quick to point out that many developed countries must be likewise influenced by the presence of numerous business associations and lobby groups.

In the end, there is great uncertainty as to what will happen after Cancún. Some NGOs such as CAFOD are calling for the EU and the US to show the “necessary leadership in working with developing countries to reform the institution and re-energise negotiations around genuine development goals”. WWF concludes that the collapse provides a “wake up call” and a “second chance to come up with a more sustainable trade agreement”. Greenpeace is advocating the creation of an entirely new “alternative trade system” and

the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) is pushing for world leaders to show leadership at the highest level—the United Nations—to deal with the “social vacuum at the heart of the multilateral system”.

Whichever direction the trade negotiations take from here, however, many agree that the WTO suffered a serious blow in Cancún. Some believe this further de-legitimises the WTO as an international institution while others say it will increase the importance of alternative-generating forums such as the World Social Forum. Many are looking to the upcoming talks for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) Ministerial in November for indirect clues, while others are waiting to see if the WTO will re-emerge at the next Ministerial in Hong Kong. In the meantime, no one is very certain.

PHOTO GALLERY



BLACK BLOCK AND THE WORLD



ANTI-WTO BATTERING RAM



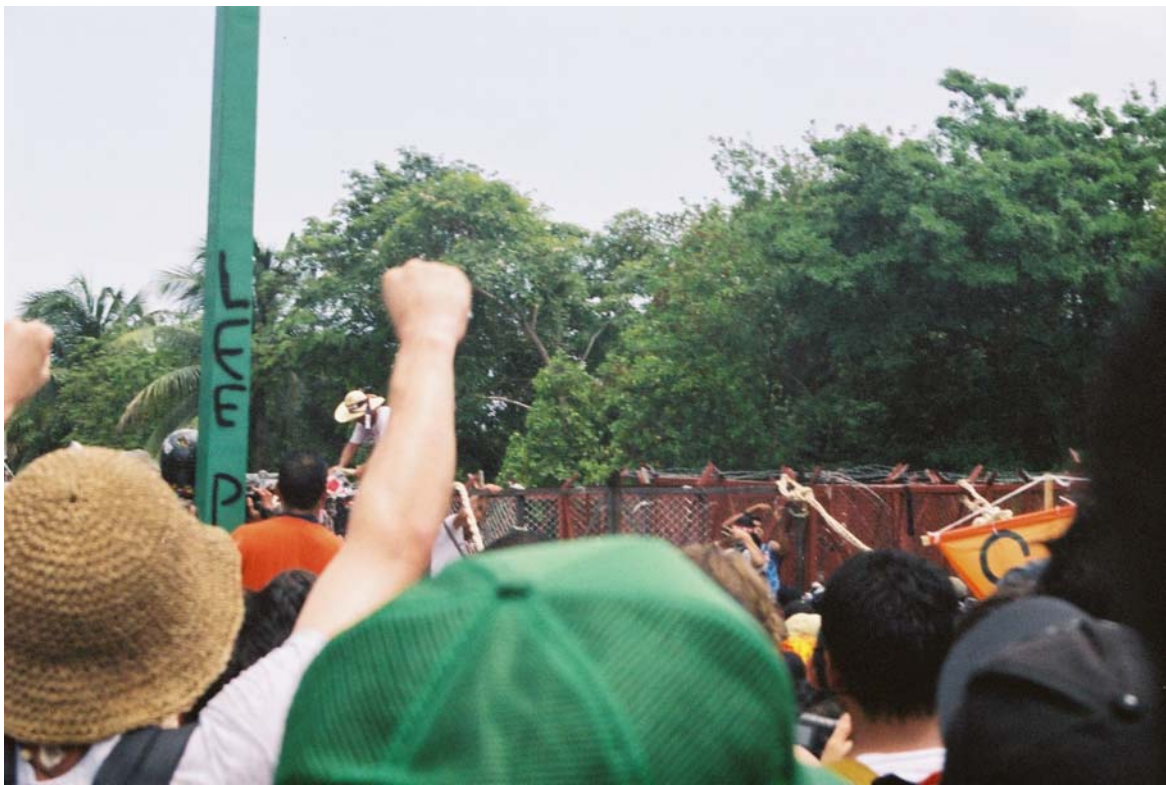
FRONTLINES OF THE PROTEST



ENOUGH GMOS ALREADY!



ANTI-AMERICANISM



PULLING DOWN THE FENCES AT KM 0 (PLAZA LEE)



CHAK, GOD OF WATER AND ANTI-PRIVATISATION



SEATTLE'S INFERNAL NOISE BRIGADE



APPENDIX A:**NGOs eligible to attend the Fifth WTO Ministerial Conference****ONG remplissant les conditions requises pour assister
à la cinquième Conférence ministérielle de l'OMC****Lista de las ONG que cumplen las condiciones requeridas
para asistir a la Conferencia Ministerial de Cancún**

Non-Governmental Organizations	Office based in:
3D Associates	Switzerland
Academic Council of the United Nations System (ACUNS)	USA
Accion Internacional por la Salud Bolivia / Comité de Defensa de los Derechos del Consumidor Bolivia (AIS-CODEDCO BOLIVIA)	Bolivia
ACT UP Paris	France
action aid Kenya	Kenya
Action Centre for Rural Community Development (ACERCD – CAMEROON)	Cameroon
action on smoking and health (ash)	UK
Actionaid	UK
ActionAid Brasil	Brazil
ActionAid Pakistan	Pakistan
ActionAid USA	USA
Adelphi Research (AR)	Germany
Advanced Medical Technology Association (Adva Med)	USA
Advocacy and Monitoring Network on Sustainable Development (AM-Net)	Japan
Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment	Uganda
Aerospace Industries Association (AIA)	USA
Africa Fighting Malaria	South Africa
Africa Trade Network (ATN)	Ghana
African Women's Economic Policy Network (AWEPON)	Uganda
Africare	USA
Afrique Agricole	Cameroon
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO)	Egypt
Agir ic pour un monde solidaire	France
AGPB Céréaliers de France	France
Agriculteurs français et développement international (afdi)	France
Agricultural Missions	USA
Agricultural Producers Association of Saskatchewan (APAS)	Canada
Agriterra	Netherlands
AgTrade	USA
Air Courier Conference of America (ACCA)	USA
Aktionszentrum 3. Welt e.V.	Germany
Alberta Chicken Producers	USA
Alberta Milk	Canada
ALCADECO Training Alternatives for Community Development	Mexico
Alianza Chilena por un Comercio Justo y Responsable – ACJR	Chile

All India Organisation Employers (AIOE)	India
All Japan Purse Seine Fisheries Association	Japan
Alliance for Democracy	USA
Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL)	Philippines
Aluminum Extruders Council (aec)	USA
American Apparel & Footwear Association (AAFA)	USA
American Bar Association	USA
American Cane Sugar Refiners' Association (ACSRA)	USA
American Chamber of Commerce to the European Union (AmCham EU)	Belgium
American Chemistry Council (ACC)	USA
American Council of Life Insurers (ACLI)	USA
American European Community Association (AECA)	Belgium
American Farm Bureau Federation	USA
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)	USA
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)	USA
American Federation of Teachers (AFT)	USA
American Forest & Paper Association (AF & PA)	USA
American Friends Service Committee	USA
American Institute for International Steel, Inc (AIIS)	USA
American Iron and Steel Institute	USA
American Lands Alliance	USA
American Meat Institute (AMI)	USA
American Oilseed Coalition (AOC)	USA
American Potato Trade Alliance	USA
American Soybean Association (ASA)	USA
American Sugar Alliance (ASA)	USA
American Sugar Cane League	USA
American Sugarbeet Growers Association	USA
American Textile Manufacturers Institute	USA
Amnesty International	UK
Anglican Church of Kenya	Kenya
Animal Welfare Institute	USA
APEC Chemical Industry Coalition (APCIC)	USA
Arab Knowledge Management Society (AKMS)	Jordan
Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND)	Lebanon
ARD	Belgium
Artisinal Fishers Association	South Africa
Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD)	Thailand
Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty (APNFS)	Philippines
Asian Farmers' Group for Cooperation (AFGC)	Japan
Asia-Pacific Research Network (APRN)	Philippines
Asocaña	Colombia
Asociación Agraria Jóvenes Agricultores (ASAJA)	Spain
Asociación Ambientalista Guerreros Verdes A.C.	Mexico
Asociación de Consultores en Prácticas Comerciales Internacionales (ACOPRACI)	Mexico
Asociación de Consumidores Libres (ACL)	Costa Rica
Asociación Mexicana de Productos Infantiles, A.C. (AMPI)	Mexico
Asociación Nacional de Empresas Comercializadoras de Productores del Campo, A.C. (ANEC)	Mexico
Asociación Nacional de Fabricantes de Conservas de Pescados y Mariscos (ANFACO)	Spain
Asociación Nacional de la Industria Química (ANIQ)	Mexico
Assemblée Permanente des chambres d'Agriculture du Mali	Mali
Association nationale des Industries alimentaires (ANIA)	France
Association Cotonniere Africaine (ACA)	France

Association des Amidonneries de Céréales de l'UE (AAC)	Belgium
Association des Organisations Professionnelles Paysannes (AOPP)	Mali
Association for Women's Rights in Development	Canada
Association Nationale des Organisations Professionnelles Agricoles de Cote d'Ivoire (ANOPACI)	Côte d'Ivoire
Association of Equipment Manufacturers (AEM)	USA
Association of Food Law and Food Science (BLL)	Germany
Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (DIHK)	Germany
Association of the Bar of the City of New York ("ABCNY")	USA
Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry (abpi)	UK
Association of the Chocolate, Biscuit and Confectionery Industries of the EU (CAOBISCO)	Belgium
Association Togolaise des Consommateurs (ATC)	Togo
Associazione Nazionale fra gli Industriali dello Zuccherero (ASSOZUCCHERO)	Italy
ATTAC	France
ATTAC Austria	Austria
ATTAC Germany	Germany
Australian APEC Study Centre	Australia
Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF)	Australia
Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)	Australia
Australian Dairy Corporation (ADC)	Australia
Australian Dairy Industry Council (ADIC)	Australia
Australian Fair Trade & Investment Network Ltd (AFTINET)	Australia
Australian Services Roundtable	Australia
Austrian Chambers of Agriculture	Austria
Automotive Component Manufacturers Association of India (ACMA)	India
Automotive Trade Policy Council (ATPC)	USA
AWB Limited	Australia
Balkan and Black Sea Veterinary Association (BaBSeVA)	Greece
Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA)	Bangladesh
Bankers' Association for Finance and Trade (BAFT)	USA
Belgian Textiles Association (FEBELTEX)	Belgium
Beneficiaries of the Sea Coalition	Japan
Berne Declaration	Switzerland
Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO)	USA
BirdLife International	UK
Blue Diamond Growers	USA
Boerenbond	Belgium
Bolivian Association of Political Economy of Globalization (ABEPG)	Bolivia
Both ENDS	Netherlands
Brazilian Institute for Consumer Defense (Idec)	Brazil
Brazilian Institute of International Trade Law (IBDCI)	Brazil
Brazilian National Agriculture Confederation (CNA)	Brazil
British Apparel & Textile Confederation	UK
Broederlijk Delen	Belgium
BUKO Pharma-Kampagne	Germany
Business Council for International Understanding (BCIU)	USA
Business Roundtable (BRT)	USA
CAFOD	UK
Calcutta Research Centre of Consumer Unity and Trust Society	India
California Coalition for Fair Trade & Human Rights	USA
California Council for International Trade (CCIT)	USA
California Farm Bureau Federation	USA
Campaign for the Welfare State	Norway

Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids	USA
Canada Beef Export Federation (CBEF)	Canada
Canada-Korea Business Council	Canada
Canadian Agri-Food Trade Alliance (CAFTA)	Canada
Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT)	Canada
Canadian Bar Association (CBA)	Canada
Canadian Broiler Hatching Egg Marketing Agency (CBHEMA)	Canada
Canadian Cattlemen's Association (cca)	Canada
Canadian Center for Studies and International Cooperation (CECI)	Bolivia
Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – National Office	Canada
Canadian Chamber of Commerce	Canada
Canadian Chemical Producers' Association (CCPA)	Canada
Canadian Council for International Business (CCIB)	Canada
Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC)	Canada
Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE)	Canada
Canadian Council of Professional Fish Harvesters	Canada
Canadian Egg Marketing Agency	Canada
Canadian Environmental Law Association	Canada
Canadian Federation of Agriculture (CFA)	Canada
Canadian Foodgrains Bank	Canada
Canadian Labour Congress	Canada
Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters (CME)	Canada
Canadian Pork Council (CPC)	Canada
Canadian Poultry and Egg Processors Council	Canada
Canadian Restaurant and Foodservices Association (CRFA)	Canada
Canadian Steel Producers Association (CSPA)	Canada
Canadian Sugar Institute (CSI)	Canada
Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF)	Canada
Canadian Turkey Marketing Agency (CTMA)	Canada
Canadian Wheat Board (CWB)	Canada
Canola Council of Canada	Canada
Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA)	Trinidad & Tobago
Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC)	Barbados
Caritas International	Vatican
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)	USA
Carpet and Rug Institute (CRI)	USA
Carrefour Tiers-Monde	Canada
Casa Argentina en el Caribe Mexicano	Mexico
Center for Civic Initiative (CCI)	FYR of Macedonia
Center for Development of International Law (CDIL)	USA
Center for Economic and Social Rights (CESR)	USA
Center for Human Rights and Environment (CEDHA)	Argentina
Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL)	Switzerland
Center for International Environmental Law, DC (CIEL DC)	USA
Center for Policy Analysis on Trade and Health (CPATH)	USA
Center for Trade Law and Development (CTLD)	UK
Center for Trade Union and Workers Services (CTUWS)	Egypt
Center of Concern (COC)	USA
Central American Sugar Association (AICA)	Guatemala
Central de Cooperativas Agropecuarias Operación Tierra LTDA	Bolivia
Central de Cooperativas de Cafetaleras de Honduras	Honduras
Central de Cooperativas del Sector Agropecuario de Colombia – CECORA LTDA -	Colombia

Central Organisation of Trade Unions (Kenya)	Kenya
Central Sandinista de Trabajadores	Nicaragua
Central Única Dos Trabalhadores (CUT)	Brazil
Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives (JA ZENCHU)	Japan
Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners (MTK)	Finland
Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT-CHILE)	Chile
Central Unitaria de Trabajadores del Peru (CUT-PERU)	Peru
Centrale des syndicats du Québec (CSQ)	Canada
Centre d'Echanges et Coopération pour l'Amérique Latine (CECAL)	Switzerland
Centre du commerce international pour le développement (CECIDE)	Switzerland
Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations (CASIN)	Switzerland
Centre For Community Economics and Development Consultants Society (cecoedecon)	India
Centre for International Sustainable Development Law	Canada
Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD)	Bangladesh
Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO)	Netherlands
Centre for Trade Policy and Law (CTPL)	Canada
Centre National des Jeunes Agriculteurs (CNJA)	France
Centre National Interprofessionnel de l'économie laitière (CNIEL)	France
Centre national pour la promotion des produits agricoles et alimentaires (CNPA)	France
Centro Alexander Von Humboldt	Nicaragua
Centro Ecuatoriano de Derecho Ambiental (CEDA)	Ecuador
Centro Mexicano de Derecho Ambiental (CEMDA)	Mexico
Centro Savadoreño de Tecnología Apropiada (CESTA)	El Salvador
Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America	USA
Chambres d'Agriculture Assemblée Permanente (APCA)	France
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	USA
Chicken Farmers of Canada (CFC)	Canada
Chicken Farmers of Nova Scotia (ns)	Canada
Chicken Farmers of Ontario	Canada
Christian Aid	UK
Citizen consumer and civic Action Group (C A G)	India
Citizens Network for Sustainable Development	USA
Citizens Trade Campaign (CTC)	USA
Coalition for Truth in Environmental Marketing (CTEMI)	USA
Coalition of Service Industries – Research and Education Foundation (CSI – REF)	USA
Coalition of Service Industries (CSI)	USA
Coalition of the Flemish North South Movement – 11.11.11	Belgium
Coalition pour la diversité culturelle	Canada
Comércio Internacional Tecnologia da Informação e Desenvolvimento (CITED)	Brazil
Comercio Justo México A.C.	Mexico
Comision Empresarial de Negociaciones Comerciales Internacionales (CENCIT)	Guatemala
Comité catholique contre la faim et pour le développement (CCFD)	France
Comité Ciudadano de Cancún	Mexico
Comité Européen des Assurances (CEA)	Belgium
Comité européen des Fabricants de Sucre (CEFS)	Belgium
Comité interprofessionnel des Productions saccharifères (CIPS)	France
Comité Nacional de Productores de Arroz	Peru
Commerce équitable Oxfam-Quebec	Canada
Committee of Agricultural Organisations in the European Union (COPA)	Belgium
Committee of Cereals, Oilseeds, Animal Feed, Oils and Fats and Agrosupply trade of the EU (COCERAL)	Belgium
Committee on Pipe and Tube Imports (CPTI)	USA
Committee to Support US Trade Laws	USA
Commonwealth Business Council (CBC)	UK

Communauté de travail Swissaid Action de Carême / Pain pour le prochain / Helvetas / Caritas / Eper	Switzerland
Community Networking Resources (CNR)	USA
Compassion in World Farming (CIWF)	UK
Competitive Enterprise Institute	USA
Comunidad y Biodiversidad A.C. (COBI)	Mexico
Confederação Nacional da Indústria	Brazil
Confederação Nacional Dos Trabalhadores em Seguridade Social	Brazil
Confederación de Porcicultores Mexicanos	Mexico
Confederación de Trabajadores de México	Mexico
Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE)	Spain
Confederación Nacional Agraria	Peru
Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos (CROC)	Mexico
Confederación sindical de comisiones obreras (CC.OO.)	Spain
Confédération des industries agro-alimentaires de l'Union européenne (CIAA)	Belgium
Confédération des Syndicats Autonomes du Bénin	Benin
Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN)	Canada
Confédération Européenne des Producteurs de Spiritueux (CEPS)	Belgium
Confédération Française de la Coopération Agricole (CFCA)	France
Confédération Française de l'Aviculture (CFA)	France
Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT)	France
Confédération général du travail (CGT)	France
Confederation Générale des Planteurs de Betteraves (CGB)	France
Confédération italienne des agriculteurs (CIA)	Italy
Confédération nationale de la Mutualité, de la Coopération et du Crédit agricoles (CNMCCA)	France
Confederation of British Industry (CBI)	UK
Confederation of Indian Food Trade & Industry (CIFTI)	India
Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)	India
Confederation of Iranian Industry	Iran
Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers VNO-NCW	Netherlands
Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry (NHO)	Norway
Confederation of Norwegian Commercial and Service Enterprises (HSH)	Norway
Confederation of Vocational Unions (YS)	Norway
Confédération paysanne	France
Confederazione Generale Italiana Del Lavoro (CGIL)	Italy
Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (CISL)	Italy
Conference of Asia Pacific Express Carriers (CAPEC)	Singapore
Conferencia Latino Americano de Compañías Express (CLADEC)	USA
Conseil du patronat du Québec (CPQ)	Canada
Consejo Mexicano de Porcicultura (CMP)	Mexico
Consensus Building Institute	USA
Consortium for North American Higher Education Collaboration (CONAHEC)	USA
Consumentenbond (Dutch consumer association)	Netherlands
Consumer Alert	USA
Consumer Information Network	Kenya
Consumer Project on Technology	USA
Consumer Research Action and Information Centre (CRAIC)	India
Consumer Rights Commission of Pakistan (CRCP)	Pakistan
Consumer Unity and Trust Society – Africa Resource Centre (CUTS-ARC)	Zambia
Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS)	India
Consumers Association of Malawi	Malawi
Consumers' Association of Penang	Malaysia
Consumer's Choice Council	USA

Consumers for World Trade (CWT)	USA
Consumers International	UK
Consumers International Office for Africa	Zimbabwe
Consuming Industries Trade Action Coalition (CITAC)	USA
Cooperation for Development & Solidarity (CIDSE)	Belgium
Coopérative fédérée de Québec (CFQ)	Canada
Cooperative League of Thailand	Thailand
Cooperative of Cane, Sugar and Alcohol Producers in the State of São Paulo (COPERSUCAR)	Brazil
Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica (COICA)	Ecuador
Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos (COAG)	Spain
Coordination Office of the Austrian Episcopal Conference for International Development and Mission (KOO)	Austria
Corn Refiners Association	USA
Council of the Americas	USA
Counterpart International	USA
Creators' Rights Alliance (CRA)	Canada
Crecer - Promocion del Comercio Equitativo de Centroamerica y Mexico	Guatemala
CropLife America	USA
CropLife International	Belgium
Customs and International Trade Bar Association (CITBA)	USA
CUTS-CITEE	UK
Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (ČMKOS)	Czech Republic
Dairy Farmers of Canada (DFC)	Canada
Dairy Farmers of Ontario (DFO)	Canada
Dairy Farmers of Saskatchewan	Canada
Danish 92 Group	Denmark
Danish Agricultural Council	Denmark
Danish Association for International Co-operation (MS)	Denmark
Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO)	Denmark
DECA Equipo Pueblo A.C.	Mexico
Defenders of Wildlife	USA
Deniva	Uganda
Deutscher Bauernverband (DBV)	Germany
Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)	Fiji
Développement et insertion internationale (DIAL)	France
Développement et Paix	Canada
Distilled Spirits Council of the United States (DISCUS)	USA
Diverse Women for Diversity (DWD)	India
Donne e Ambiente (DeA)	Italy
Drug Study Group (DSG)	Thailand
Dutch Food and Drink Industry (VAI)	Netherlands
Dutch National Association of World Shops	Netherlands
Dutch Organisation for Agriculture and Horticulture, LTO Nederland	Netherlands
Earth Rights Institute	USA
Earthjustice	USA
EarthVoice	USA
ecco international	Germany
Eco-Accord Center	Russian Federation
EcoNews Africa	Kenya
Economic Justice Coalition (EJC)	Mozambique
Economic Justice Network of Southern Africa	South Africa
Economiesuisse	Switzerland

EcoPeace Middle East Environmental NGO Forum	Israel
Ecumenical Institute for Advocacy on International Cooperation (BBO)	Netherlands
Edison Electric Institute	USA
Education and Research Association for Consumers, Malaysia (ERA consumer Malaysia)	Malaysia
Education International (EI)	Belgium
El Consejo Intertextil Español	Spain
Emergency Committee for American Trade (ECAT)	USA
Empresa Cooperativa de sur del Cauca-Cosurca	Colombia
Energy Services Coalition (ESC)	USA
Environmental Development Action in the Third World (enda)	Senegal
Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG)	South Africa
Environmental NGOS Lobby Group	Uganda
ePoor	Pakistan
Essential Action	USA
ETC Group	Canada
EURATEX	Belgium
Euro Commerce	Belgium
Eurocinema	Belgium
Eurogroup for Animal Welfare	Belgium
European AIDS Treatment Group (EATG)	Germany
European Automobile Manufacturers Association (ACEA)	Belgium
European Chemical Industry Council (CEFIC)	Belgium
European Coalition of Positive People (ec)	UK
European Dairy Association (EDA)	Belgium
European Express Association (EEA)	Belgium
European Federation of Coin Machine Associations – EUROMAT	Belgium
European Federation of Pharmaceutical Industries and Associations (EFPIA)	Belgium
European Industry Association (EICTA)	Belgium
European Oilseed Alliance (EOA)	France
European Partners for the Environment (EPE)	Belgium
European Services Forum (ESF)	Belgium
European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)	Belgium
European Union of Wholesale with Eggs, Egg Products, Poultry and Game (EUWEP)	UK
European Vaccine Manufacturers (EVM)	Belgium
Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (eed)	Germany
Evian Group	Switzerland
Fair Trade Alliance (FTA)	Philippines
Fair Trade Center	Japan
Fair Trade Resource Network (FTRN)	USA
Farm Aid	USA
Farmaindustria	Spain
Farmers Association of Iceland	Iceland
Farmindustria	Italy
Federação Nacional Dos Urbanitários (FNU)	Brazil
Federación Colombiana de Ganaderos (FEDEGAN)	Colombia
Federacion Indigena Ecologica de Chiapas Fiech, S.S.S.	Mexico
Federación Nacional de Productores de Panela	Colombia
Federal Association of Foreign Trade	Austria
Federal Trust for Education and Research	UK
Fédération Artisans du Monde	France
Fédération Chrétienne des Paysans Malagasy (FEKRITAMA)	Madagascar
Fédération de l'Industrie Alimentaire asbl (FEVIA)	Belgium
Fédération des Exportateurs de Vins et Spiritueux de France (FEVS)	France

Fédération des Paysans du Fouta Djallon (FPFD)	Guinea
Fédération des producteurs de lait du Québec (FPLQ)	Canada
Fédération des producteurs de volailles du Québec	Canada
Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ)	Canada
Federation Française des Cooperatives Agricoles de Collecte d'Approvisionnement et de Transformation (FFCAT)	France
Fédération Française des Producteurs d'Oléagineux et de Protéagineux (FOP)	France
Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique	Belgium
Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme (fidh)	Switzerland
Fédération Internationale des Mouvements d'Adultes Ruraux Catholiques (FIMARC)	Belgium
Fédération Internationale terre des hommes	Belgium
Fédération Mondiale des Zones Franches	Switzerland
Fédération Nationale Bovine (FNB)	France
Fédération Nationale des Producteurs de Lait	France
Fédération Nationale des Syndicats d'Exploitants Agricoles	France
Federation Nationale Ovine (FNO)	France
Federation of Egyptian Industries	Egypt
Federation of Enterprises in Belgium (FEB)	Belgium
Federation of European Rice Millers (FERM)	Belgium
Federation of German Food and Drink Industries (BVE)	Germany
Federation of German Industries (BDI)	Germany
Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI)	India
Federation of Indian Export Organisations (FIEO)	India
Federation of Norwegian Agricultural Cooperatives	Norway
Federation of Norwegian Food and Drink Industry (NBL)	Norway
Federation of Norwegian Meat Industry (KIFF)	Norway
Federation of Southern Cooperatives Land Assistance Fund	USA
Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF)	Sweden
Federation of Swiss Importers and Wholesale Traders	Switzerland
Fédération Syndicale Unitaire	France
Federazione Italiana dell'Industria Alimentare (FEDERALIMENTARE)	Italy
Fedichem	Belgium
FIAN-International (Food First Information and Action Network)	Germany
Fikambanana Fampivoarana ny Tantsaha (FIFATA)	Madagascar
Financial Leaders Working Group (FLWG)	USA
Florida Citrus Mutual	USA
Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association (FFVA)	USA
Florida FTAA	USA
Florida Sugar Cane League, Inc.	USA
Focus on the Global South	Philippines
Focus on the Global South	Thailand
Fondation Charles Léopold Mayer pour le progrès de l'Homme	France
Fonterra Co-operative Group	Belgium
Food and Drink Federation (FDF)	UK
Food First	USA
Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and The Environment Forum	Japan
FOPI	Austria
Força Sindical	Brazil
Force Ouvrière (FO)	France
Foreign Trade Association (FTA)	Belgium
Forest Products Association of Canada (FPAC)	Canada
Forum for Justice	Nepal
Forum for Protection of Public Interest (Pro Public)	Nepal

Forum Syd	Sweden
Forum Umwelt & Entwicklung	Germany
Foundation for International Environmental Law and Development (FIELD)	UK
Fraser Institute	Canada
Free and Fair Post Initiative (FFPI)	Belgium
Free Market Foundation of Southern Africa	South Africa
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)	Switzerland
Friends of the Earth	USA
Friends of the Earth UK (FoE-UK)	UK
Friends of the GATS	Switzerland
FUNDACION DL	Colombia
Fundación Intermón Oxfam	Spain
Funders Network on Trade and Globalization (FNTG)	USA
Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association (gama)	USA
Gender & Trade Network in Africa	South Africa
Gender and Economic Reforms in Africa (GERA)	Ghana
General Committee for Agricultural Cooperation in the European Union (COGECA)	Belgium
General Insurance Association of Japan	Japan
GeneWatch - Council for Responsible Genetics	USA
Georgian Trade Unions Amalgamation (GTUA)	Georgia
German Association of Research-Based Pharmaceutical Companies	Germany
German Confederation of Trade Unions	Germany
German Development Institute	Germany
German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF)	USA
Germanwatch	Germany
GLOBAL 2000	Austria
Global Alliance for Sugar Trade Reform and Liberalisation	Australia
Global Alliance for Trade Efficiency (GATE)	USA
Global Business Dialogue, Inc	USA
Global Environment and Trade Study (GETS)	USA
Global Exchange	USA
Global Guardian Trust (GGT)	Japan
Global Industrial and Social Progress Research Institute (GISPRI)	Japan
Global Publications Foundation	Sweden
Global Resource Action Center for the Environment (GRACE)	USA
Global Services Network (GSN)	USA
Global Traders Conference (GTC)	Switzerland
GlobalWorks Foundation	USA
Grain Growers of Canada	Canada
Greenpeace	UK
Greenpeace – Brazil	Brazil
Greenpeace – Canada	Canada
Greenpeace Australia Pacific Ltd	Australia
Greenpeace Belgium	Belgium
Greenpeace France	France
Greenpeace Germany	Germany
Greenpeace International	Netherlands
Greenpeace Luxembourg	Luxembourg
Greenpeace Mexico	Mexico
Greenpeace Netherlands	Netherlands
Greenpeace USA	USA
Grocery Manufacturers of America (GMA)	USA
Groupe d'Economie Mondiale (GEM)	France

Grouplex Systems Canada Inc.	Canada
Health Action International (HAI)	Netherlands
Health and Environment Program (HEP)	Cameroon
Health GAP	USA
HealthCare Institute of New Jersey	USA
Heartland Alliance (Enlaces América)	USA
Heinrich Böll Foundation - Belgium	Belgium
Heinrich Böll Foundation - Israel	Israel
Heinrich Böll Foundation – North America	USA
Heinrich Böll Foundation - Thailand	Thailand
Heinrich Böll Foundation Centralamerica, Mexico, Cuba	El Salvador
Homeworkers Organized for More Employment (H.O.M.E. Inc)	USA
Hong Kong Coalition of Service Industries (HKCSI)	Hong Kong, China
Hong Kong WTO Research Institute	Hong Kong, China
Hosiery Association (THA)	USA
Human Rights in China (HRIC)	USA
Humane Farm Animal Care	USA
Humane Society International (HSI)	Australia
Humane Society of the United States (HSUS)	USA
Ibis	Denmark
IBON Foundation, INC	Philippines
ICC United Kingdom-International Chamber of Commerce	UK
IDEAS	Switzerland
Indian National Trade Union Congress	India
Indian Pharmaceutical Alliance (IPA)	India
Indian Sugar Mills Association	India
Indo-European Chamber of Commerce and Industry	India
Indo-Overseas Chamber of Commerce and Industry (IOCCI)	India
Industrial Shrimp Action (ISA Net)	USA
Industriegewerkschaft Bauen-Agrar-Umwelt (IG BAU)	Germany
Information Technology Association of Canada (ITAC)	Canada
Information Technology Industry Council (ITIC)	USA
Initiative Network Threefolding	Germany
Initiatives de Développement Stratégique (IDS)	France
Institut de Recherches Historiques Economiques Sociales Culturelles	France
Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP)	USA
Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES)	Japan
Institute for Global Networking, Information and Studies (IGNIS)	Norway
Institute for Integrated Rural Development (IIRD)	India
Institute for International and European Environmental Policy (ECOLOGIC)	Germany
Institute for International Business, Economics and Law	Australia
Institute for International Economics	USA
Institute for the Development of Agricultural Cooperation in Asia (IDACA)	Japan
Institute of Economic Affairs	Kenya
Institute of Intellectual Property Development (IIPD)	India
Institute of Public Policy Analysis (IPPA)	Nigeria
Instituto de Cuestiones Agrarias y Medioambientales (ICAM)	Spain
Instituto de Derecho y Economía Ambiental (IDEA)	Paraguay
Instituto del Tercer Mundo (ITeM)	Uruguay
Instituto Latinoamericano del Fierro y el Acero (ILAFA)	Chile
Instituto Terrazul	Brazil
Integrated Rural Development Foundation of the Philippines (IRDF)	Philippines

Integrative Strategies Forum	USA
Intellectual Property Committee (IPC)	USA
Inter Region Economic Network (IREN Kenya)	Kenya
Interamerican Association of Industrial Property (ASIPI)	Brazil
Interamerican Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT)	Venezuela
Interchurch organisation for development co-operation (ICCO)	Netherlands
Inter-Environment Wallonie (IEW)	Belgium
Interhemispheric Resource Center (IRC)	USA
Internacional de Serviços Públicos (ISP Brasil)	Brazil
International Brotherhood of Teamsters	USA
International Chamber of Commerce (ICC México)	Mexico
International Chamber of Commerce (ICC)	France
International Chamber of Commerce (ICC)	Germany
International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA)	Belgium
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions – African Regional Organisation (ICFTU-AFRO)	Kenya
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions – Asian and Pacific Regional Organisation (ICFTU-APRO)	Singapore
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)	Belgium
International Consumers for Civil Society (ICCS)	USA
International Cooperative Agricultural Organization	Korea, Rep. of
International Cooperative Fisheries Organization of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICFO)	Japan
International Council of Chemical Associations	USA
International Council of Grocery Manufacturers Associations (ICGMA)	USA
International Development Exchange (IDEX)	USA
International Dispensary Association (IDA)	Netherlands
International Executive Service Corps (IESC)	USA
International Express Carriers Conference (IECC)	Belgium
International Federation for Alternative Trade (IFAT)	UK
International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP)	France
International Federation of Building and Wood Workers (IFBWW)	Switzerland
International Federation of Inspection Agencies (IFTA)	Switzerland
International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)	Belgium
International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM)	Germany
International Federation of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Associations (IFPMA)	Switzerland
International Federation of Wines and Spirits (FIVS)	USA
International Financial Services, London (IFSL)	UK
International Food & Agricultural Trade Policy Council (IPC)	USA
International Forum on Globalization (IFG)	USA
International Gender and Trade Network (ITGN)	USA
International Housewares Association (IHA)	USA
International Indian Treaty Council (IITC)	USA
International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD)	Canada
International Jesuit Network for Development (IJND)	USA
International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG)	South Africa
International Law Institute (ILI)	USA
International Law Institute-Uganda, African Centre for Legal Excellence (ILI)	Uganda
International Lawyers and Economists Against Poverty Initiative (ILEAP)	Canada
International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center (CIMMYT)	Mexico
International Mass Retail Association (IMRA)	USA
International Metalworker's Federation (IMF)	Switzerland
International MultiModal Transport Association (IMMTA)	Switzerland
International Network for Cultural Diversity (INCD)	Canada

International NGO Committee on Human Rights in Trade and Investment (INCHRITI)	Switzerland
International Organisation of Employers (IOE)	Switzerland
International Policy Network (IPN)	UK
International Road Transport Union (IRU)	Switzerland
International Textile, Garment & Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF)	Belgium
International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD)	Switzerland
International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America – UAW	USA
Iowa Farm Bureau Federation	USA
Irish Bioindustry Association	Ireland
Irish Farmers' Association (IFA)	Belgium
ISEAL Alliance	Canada
IUCN –World Conservation Union	Switzerland
JA-Joseikyo (National Council of Agricultural Cooperative Women's Associations)	Japan
Japan Agricultural Corporations Association, Inc. (JACA)	Japan
Japan Association of WTO Negotiation on Wood Products (JAWNWP)	Japan
Japan Center for a Sustainable Environment and Society (JACSES)	Japan
Japan Deepsea Trawlers Association (JDSTA)	Japan
Japan Federation of Wood Industry Associations (JFWIA)	Japan
Japan Fisheries Association	Japan
Japan Services Network (JSN)	Japan
Japan Wood-Products Information and Research Center (JAWIC)	Japan
Jeunes Agriculteurs – Région Centre	France
JF Miyagi-Ken Gyoren	Japan
Miyagi Prefectural Federation of Fisheries Cooperative Associations	
Joint Energy and Environment Projects (JEEP)	Uganda
Joint Industry Group (JIG)	USA
Joint WTO Committee	Thailand
Journalists for Democracy and Human Rights (JDHR)	Pakistan
JTUC-RENGO	Japan
Japanese Trade Union Confederation	
Keizai Koho Center – Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs	Japan
Kenya National Farmers Union (KNFU)	Kenya
Korea International Trade Association (KITA)	Korea, Rep. of
Korean Advanced Farmers Federation (KAFF)	Korea, Rep. of
Korean NGOs Coalition for the WTO Round Concerning Agriculture Environment and Livelihood (KNC-WTO)	Korea, Rep. of
Korean Women Advanced Farmers Federation (KWAFF)	Korea, Rep. of
Kvindernes U-landsudvalg (KULU Women and Development)	Denmark
La Confédération Européenne des Producteurs de Maïs (CEPM)	France
La Coordinadora Estatal de Productores de Café de Oaxaca	Mexico
La Federación Española de Industrias de Alimentación y Bebidas (FIAB)	Spain
La Fédération Nationale de la Production des Semences de Maïs et de Sorgho (FNPSMS)	France
LABOR	Bolivia
Centro de Apoyo al Desarrollo Laboral	
Labor Education and Research Network (LEARN)	Philippines
Labor/Industry Coalition for International Trade (LICIT)	USA
Labour Research Service (LRS)	South Africa
L'Association Générale des Producteurs de Maïs (AGPM)	France
les entreprises du médicament Leem	France
Liberty Institute	India
Lutheran World Federation	Switzerland
MAFS	Czech Republic

Making Our Economy Right (MOER)	UK
Malaysian Trades Union Congress (MTUC)	Malaysia
Management and Organizational Development for Empowerment, Inc (MODE)	Philippines
Mani Tese	Italy
Manitoba Corn Growers Association, Inc.	Canada
Manthan Adhyayan Kendra	India
Manufacturers Alliance/MAPI	USA
Manufacturers for Fair Trade Coalition (mft)	USA
Manufacturing Jewelers & Suppliers of America (MJSA)	USA
Marin Interfaith Task Force on Central America (MITF)	USA
Marine Stewardship Council (MSC)	UK
Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns	USA
Medecins Sans Frontieres	France
Medical Device Manufacturers Association (MDMA)	USA
Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC)	Mexico
Mexican Bar Association	Mexico
Mexican Chamber of Iron and Steel Industry (CANACERO)	Mexico
Miami FTAA, Inc	USA
Miel Solidaria Campesina A.C.	Mexico
Migrants Rights International (MRI)	Switzerland
Milieu Defensie	Netherlands
Minority Business Roundtable (MBRT)	USA
Misereor	Germany
Motion Picture Association (MPA)	USA
Mouvement des Entreprises de France (MEDEF)	France
Mouvement Ecologique asbl	Luxembourg
Mujeres para el Dialogo	Mexico
National Farmers Union – Canada (NFU-Canada)	Canada
National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NACF)	Korea, Rep. of
National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)	USA
National Barley Growers Association	USA
National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC)	USA
National Center for APEC	USA
National Centre for Advocacy Studies, India	India
National Chamber of Agriculture (NCA)	Japan
National Chamber of Textile Industry (CANAINTEX)	Mexico
National Confederation of Farmers' Movement (NOUMINREN)	Japan
National Corn Growers Association (NCGA)	USA
National Cotton Council of America	USA
National Council of Agricultural Co-operative Youth Associations (Ja Zenseikyo)	Japan
National Council of Farm Policy Organizations	Japan
National Farmers Federation (NFF)	Australia
National Farmers Union (NFU)	USA
National Federation of Fisheries Cooperative Associations (JF Zengyoren)	Japan
National Federation of Medium Trawlers (ZENSOKOREN)	Japan
National Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Cooperative Associations in Japan	Japan
National Fisheries Institute	USA
National Fishworkers' Forum (NFF)	India
National Foreign Trade Council (NFTC)	USA
National Foreign Trade Council Foundation (NFTCF)	USA
National Grain Sorghum Producers	USA
National Institute of WTO and International Trade Laws	Pakistan
National Juice Products Association (NJPA)	USA

National Milk Producers Federation (nmpf)	USA
National Oilseed Processors Association (NOPA)	USA
National Pork Producers Council (NPPC)	USA
National Potato Council	USA
National Retail Federation (NRF)	USA
National Union of Public and General Employees (NUPGE)	Canada
National Union of Students (UDU)	Italy
National Wildlife Federation (NWF)	USA
Natur og Ungdom	Norway
Network of European World Shops (NEWS!)	Belgium
Network Women in Development Europe (WIDE)	Belgium
New Zealand Council of Trade Unions	New Zealand
New Zealand Forest Industries Council	New Zealand
Nippon Keidanren (Japan Business Federation)	Japan
NOOR Pakistan	Pakistan
Norges Fiskarlag	Norway
North American Council of Chemical Associations (NACCA)	Mexico
North Dakota Barley Council	USA
North South Center at the University of Miami	USA
North-South Institute (NSI)	Canada
Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO Norway)	Norway
Norwegian Development Fund	Norway
Norwegian Farmers' Union (Norges Bondelag)	Norway
Norwegian Forum for Environment and Development	Norway
Norwegian Independent Meat Association (KLF)	Norway
Norwegian People's Aid (NPA)	Norway
Norwegian seafood Federation (fhl)	Norway
Norwegian Shipowners' Association (NSA)	Norway
Norwegian Union of Municipal Employees	Norway
Norwegian Youth Council (LNU)	Norway
Novib – Oxfam Netherlands	Netherlands
Oceana	USA
Ohio Farm Bureau Federation	USA
OIKOS Student Organization for Sustainable Development at the University of St Gallen	Switzerland
Ontario Soybean Growers	Canada
Organic Consumers Association	USA
Organisation Mondiale Contre la Torture (OMCT)	Switzerland
Organization for Promotion of Responsible Tuna Fisheries (OPRT)	Japan
Outdoor Power Equipment Institute, INC (OPEI)	USA
Oxfam	Belgium
Oxfam	UK
Oxfam - Québec	Canada
Oxfam America	USA
Oxfam Canada	Canada
Oxfam Community Aid Abroad	Australia
Oxfam Deutschland	Germany
Oxfam Hong Kong	Hong Kong, China
Oxfam International	Switzerland
Oxfam Ireland	Ireland
Oxfam New Zealand	New Zealand
Pacific Asia Resource Center (PRC)	Japan
Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC)	Singapore
Pacific Environment	USA

Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers (PACE)	USA
Peace Coffee	USA
Peace through Interamerican Community Action (PICA)	USA
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America – Jordan (PhRMA – Jordan)	Jordan
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA)	USA
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA)	Japan
Philippine Peasant Institute	Philippines
Philippine Sugar Millers Association (PSMA)	Philippines
Polaris Institute	Canada
Popular Education and Action Centre (PEACE)	India
Prince Edward Island Milk Marketing Board / Dairy Farmers of Prince Edward Island (PEIMMB)	Canada
Pro Natura	Switzerland
Programa Laboral de Desarrollo (PLADES)	Peru
Public Citizen	USA
Public Services International (PSI)	France
Quaker International Affairs Programme	Canada
Quaker Peace & Social Witness (QPSW)	UK
Quaker United Nations Office	Switzerland
Queensland Sugar	Australia
Rainforest Action Network	USA
Reality of Aid	Philippines
Red Nacional de Acción Ecológica (RENACE)	Chile
Rede Brasil	Brazil
Refrigeration and Airconditioning Manufacturers' Association (RAMA)	India
Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing countries (RIS)	India
Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology	India
Réseau des Organisations Paysannes et des Producteurs Agricoles de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (ROPPA)	Burkina Faso
Réseau d'information sur le commerce international	Canada
Réseau d'ONG Européennes sur l'Agro-alimentaire, le Commerce, l'Environnement et le Développement (RONGEAD)	France
Resources Oriented Development Initiatives (RODI Kenya)	Kenya
Rights & Democracy	Canada
Rogaland Research (RF)	Norway
Roots for Equity	Pakistan
Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA)	UK
Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA)	UK
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB)	UK
Rugmark Foundation	USA
Rural Coalition	USA
Rwanda Hope Society	Canada
SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SCCI)	Pakistan
Sahabat Alam Malaysia	Malaysia
Scotch Whisky Association (SWA)	UK
Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund SCIAF	UK
Sea Turtle Restoration Project	USA
Securities Industry Association (SIA)	USA
Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA)	India
Semiconductor Industry Association (SIA)	USA
Service Centre for Development Cooperation (KEPA)	Finland
SEWA Nepal	Nepal
Shram Seva Nyas	India

Sierra Club of Canada (SCC)	Canada
Sierra Club/USA	USA
Sierra Youth Coalition (SYC)	Canada
Small Business Exporters Association (SBEA)	USA
Social Development Network (SODNET)	Kenya
Social Enterprise Development Foundation of West Africa	Ghana
Social Platform	Belgium
Sociedade Rural Brasileira	Brazil
Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers (SIAM)	India
Solagral	France
Solid Action on Globalization and Environment (SAGE)	Japan
SOLIDAR	Belgium
Solidaridad Internacional	Spain
SOLIDARITE	France
Solidarnosc	Poland
South African Sugar Association - UK	UK
South Asia Watch on Trade, Economics, and Environment (SAWTEE)	Nepal
Southeast Asian Council for Food Security and Fair Trade (SEA COUNCIL)	Malaysia
Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiation Institute (SEATINI)	Uganda
Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI)	Zimbabwe
South-North Federation (ZNF)	Netherlands
Specialty Steel Industry of North America (SSINA)	USA
Stakeholder Forum for our Common Future (UNED-UK)	UK
Stop the New Round! Coalition	Philippines
Sugar Industry Trade Association	Thailand
Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI)	Pakistan
Swadeshi Jagaran Foundation	India
Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO)	Sweden
Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC)	Sweden
Swiss Farmers Union (SBV)	Switzerland
Swiss Society of Chemical Industries (SGCI)	Switzerland
Syndicat National des Fabricants de Sucre de France (SNFS)	France
Team for Human Resource Education and Action for Development (THREAD)	India
Tebtebba Foundation (Indigenous People's International Centre for Policy Research and Education)	Philippines
Telecommunications Industry Association (TIA)	USA
Thai Cane and Sugar Corp. Ltd	Thailand
Thai Sugar Manufacturing Association (TSMA)	Thailand
Thai Sugar Millers Corporation Ltd	Thailand
The Council of Canadians	Canada
The Fertilizer Institute (TFI)	USA
Third World Network (TWN)	Malaysia
Third World Network-Africa (TWN-Africa)	Ghana
Tierra Humana A.C.	Mexico
TMJ Society of California	USA
Trade & Development Studies Centre Trust (TRADES CENTRE)	Zimbabwe
Trade & Investment Foundation for Africa	USA
Trade Information Project (TIP)	Switzerland
Trade Justice Movement	UK
Trade Research Consortium	USA
Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC)	France
Trade Union Confederation of Arab Maghreb Workers	Tunisia
Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA)	Tanzania
Traidcraft Exchange	UK

Trans Atlantic Consumer Dialogue (TACD)	UK
TransAtlantic Business Dialogue (TABD)	USA
TransFair USA	USA
Transparency International USA	USA
Trocaire	Ireland
Truth about Trade & Technology	USA
U.S. Dairy Export Council	USA
U.S. Meat Export Federation (USMEF)	USA
Uganda Environmental Education Foundation (UEEF)	Uganda
Uganda National Farmers Federation (UNFFE)	Uganda
Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de la Región del Istmo	Mexico
Unión de Pequeños Agricultores y Ganaderos (UPA)	Spain
Union des Confédérations de l'Industrie et des Employeurs d'Europe (UNICE)	Belgium
Union des consommateurs	Canada
Union des industries textiles (UIT)	France
Union des producteurs agricoles (UPA)	Canada
Union des syndicats des industries des produits amylacés et de leurs dérivés (USIPA)	France
Union européenne de radio-télévision (UER)	Belgium
Union Française des Industries de l'Habillement (UFIH)	France
Unión General de Trabajadores	Spain
Union Generale des Travailleurs de Cote d'Ivoire	Côte d'Ivoire
Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail	Tunisia
Union Nacional de Organizaciones Regionales Campesinas Autonomas (UNORCA, A.C.)	Mexico
Unión Nacional de Trabajadores	Mexico
Union Network International (UNI)	Switzerland
Union of Needletrades, Industrial & Textile Employees (UNITE)	USA
Union Tunisienne de l'Agriculture et de la Pêche (UTAP)	Tunisia
Unione Italiana del Lavoro (UIL)	Italy
UNISON	UK
United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO	USA
United States Association of Importers of Textiles and Apparel (USA-ITA)	USA
United States Beet Sugar Association	USA
United States Council for International Business (USCIB)	USA
United States-China Business Council	USA
United Steelworkers of America	USA
United Trauma Relief	USA
Uniterre	Switzerland
US Grains Council (Council)	USA
US PECC	USA
US Rice Producers Association	USA
US Vietnam Trade Council	USA
US Wheat Associates	USA
USA ENGAGE	USA
USA Rice Federation	USA
US-ASEAN Business Council	USA
US-Chile Free Trade Coalition	USA
US-Russia Business Council (USRBC)	USA
US-Singapore FTA Business Coalition	USA
US-South Africa Business Council (USSABC)	USA
VeCo-Uganda	Uganda
Verband der Chemischen Industrie e.V. (VCI)	Belgium
Volontari nel mondo – Focsiv	Italy
War on Want	UK

water advocates (wa)	Japan
Water for All	USA
WEMOS	Netherlands
Western Canadian Wheat Growers Association (WCWGA)	Canada
Wheat Export Trade Education Committee (WETEC)	USA
William Davidson Institute (WDI)	USA
Windsor International	Canada
Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung Zucker (WVZ)	Germany
Women's EDGE	USA
Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)	USA
Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (WICEJ)	USA
Workers' Educational Association (WEA)	Finland
World Confederation of Labour (WCL)	Belgium
World Confederation of Labour (WCL)	Belgium
World Development Movement (WDM)	UK
World Economic Processing Zones Association	USA
World Economy, Ecology & Development (Weed)	Germany
World Federalist Movement (WFM)	USA
World Forum of Civil Society Networks (UBUNTU)	Spain
World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fishworkers	Canada
World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP)	India
World Information Technology and Services Alliance (WITSA)	USA
World Resources Institute (WRI)	USA
World Spirits Alliance	UK
World Vision International	UK
World Wildlife Fund – Mexico (WWF-Mexico)	Mexico
World Wildlife Fund – UK (WWF-UK)	UK
World Wildlife Fund – USA (WWF-US)	USA
Wuppertal Institut für Klima, Umwelt, Energie	Germany
WWF Austria	Austria
WWF European Policy Office	Belgium
WWF International	Switzerland
WWF Philippines	Philippines
WWF Sweden	Sweden
WWF-Brasil	Brazil
Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action	India
Zambia National Farmers' Union	Zambia
Zambia Trade Network (ZTN)	Zambia
ZEN KAN SUI (Japan Mariculture Association)	Japan
ZEN SAMMA (Japan Stick-held Dip Net Saury Fishery Cooperative Association)	Japan
ZEN-NOH (National Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Associations)	Japan
ZENSHINREN, National Federation Forest owners Cooperative Associations	Japan

APPENDIX B:

September 10, 2003

**JOINT NGO STATEMENT ON TRIPS AND PUBLIC HEALTH
WTO DEAL ON MEDICINES: A "GIFT" BOUND IN RED TAPE**

The August 30 WTO deal on exports of generic medicines is being presented as a gift to the poor. However, it is a "gift" bound tightly in red tape. As a measure of trade policy, it contradicts the basic principles of the WTO and free trade.¹³

The good news is that the developing countries resisted pressure from the United States, the European Union, Japan and other developed economies to limit the agreement to only a few diseases or for only extraordinary circumstances.

For a WTO "deal" to be more than a public relations exercise for a new round of trade rules, it should actually work in practice. The WTO took a 52-word mechanism¹⁴ that was endorsed by the European Parliament in 2002 and created a 3,200-word maze of red tape that was plainly designed to frustrate and undermine the objective of protecting public health and promoting access to medicine for all.

These are the main problems with the rules:

1. The WTO is requiring the issuance of two compulsory licenses when the new mechanism is used.
2. The WTO has added many constraints on the business practices of the generic companies.
3. The WTO deal introduced an extra layer of uncertainty by stating that the system should not be an instrument to pursue industrial or commercial policy objectives, creating uncertainty over the role that will be played by the businesses that manufacture and sell generic drugs.
4. The decision leaves unclear whether or not economic efficiency is a grounds for determining a lack of manufacturing capacity in the importing country. The lack of clarity on this issue has been defended as a matter of "creative ambiguity", but already the US is telling the Philippines and other countries that they will oppose "economic efficiency" as grounds for allowing a country to import generics.

¹³ First, the new "deal" explicitly accepts a protectionist framework, where rich countries can export to poor countries, but 23 rich countries were allowed to bar imports from developing countries. Second, the long list of new regulatory requirements does not apply to compulsory licenses in countries with capacity for manufacturing. Finally, the entire framework of export restrictions is designed to limit rather than promote economic efficiency, the putative rationale for free trade agreements.

¹⁴ Amendment 196 to the European Directive on Medicines for Human Use: "Manufacturing shall be allowed if the medicinal product is intended for export to a third country that has issued a compulsory licensing for that product, or where a patent is not in force and if there is a request of the competent public health authorities of that third country."

5. The deal gives the WTO itself new authority to second guess and interfere in the granting of individual compulsory licenses to generic companies.
6. The United States and other Developed Economies now have greater opportunities to pressure and stop developing countries from issuing compulsory licenses.

The current decision is only a temporary waiver, and a permanent amendment to the TRIPS is scheduled for 2004. We call upon the WTO member countries to draft an amendment to the TRIPS that simplifies and clarifies the procedures and removes unnecessary obstacles to the export of medicines to address public health problems.

We also call upon every country that does not have access to medicines for all to begin to use the TRIPS flexibilities, and the August 30, 2003 decision, to provide affordable medicines to the poor. We urge countries to resist implementation of TRIPS plus obligations in regional or bilateral trade agreements. If the framework imposed on countries by the WTO cannot be used effectively to promote public health and access to medicines for all, then poor countries should not be obligated to issue patents on medicines.

ACT Up Paris
Consumer Project on Technology
Consumers International
Essential Action
European AIDS Treatment Group
Health Action International
Health GAP
International People's Health Council
Médecins sans Frontières
OXFAM International
People's Health Movement
SEATINI
Third World Network
Women in Development

Contacts in Cancún:

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Oxfam: Michael Bailey, (52) 998-107-6335
HealthGAP: Asia Russell, (1) 267-476-2645
HAI: Spring Gombe, (52) 998-8971-814
ActUp Paris: Gaelle Krikorian, (33) 609-177-055
CPTech: James Love, (1) 202-361-3040

APPENDIX C:**A Declaration for a New Direction for
American Agriculture and Agricultural Trade****September 7, 2003**

We stand together at the dawn of the 21st century. We stand together as farmers, workers, religious and development organizations, environmentalists and concerned citizens calling for a comprehensive re-examination of the impact of global trade policy on food security, farmers' livelihoods, and local, sustainable food production. We demand trade agreements that put the good of the people before the trade of goods; trade agreements that value social justice over private profits. The outcomes of these agreements in all participating countries must be access by all to safe, affordable food; access to the resources and technology needed to ensure domestic food security and sustainable livelihoods; an end to environmental degradation associated with food production; and democratic participation by citizens in making decisions about domestic food production.

The World Trade Organization's Ministerial in Cancún, Mexico this month helps to decide who will plant crops and who will be uprooted, and in many cases who will eat and who will starve in the global free trade of food. This is a time to affirm that agricultural trade must support human rights and livelihoods, not overrun or destroy them. Environmentally and economically sustainable agriculture is central to each nation's ability to feed its citizens today and for generations to come.

The challenge to adequately feed the world's inhabitants ultimately depends upon recognizing the fundamental connections between food security and food sovereignty, the health and wellbeing of human societies, and an intact and healthy environment capable of sustaining food production. Indeed, the future of the planet itself depends on how we as a world community meet the global demands for safe, sufficient, sustainable and accessible food for all. We believe that rational and fair trade policies can move our world toward an era of social justice, environmental and economic sustainability, and a generally more peaceful and productive era.

We affirm that international trade agreements must be designed to defend and support these principles:

- Access to safe, affordable food is a universal human right; widespread hunger cannot be acceptable in a world where food is abundant.
- Food production cannot come at the degradation of soil, water, air and biodiversity.
- Family farmers and ranchers around the world must be assured economic justice through fair prices for their production.
- Farm laborers must be assured economic justice through fair wages and contracts.
- All family scale producers, and especially indigenous, minority, immigrant and other excluded farm sectors must be assured access to land and to a

system of agriculture that supports, protects and sustains their culture and communities.

- Corporate profits cannot come at the expense of the livelihoods of farmers and workers in the U.S. or other countries, nor at the expense of access to and diversity of the global seed supply.

Therefore, the undersigned organizations representing U.S. farm, labor, religious, development, consumer and environmental interests issue the following call for action:

To Our Elected Officials:

We place in you a trust that you will carry out the will of the people for the common good. Therefore, we hold you accountable to:

- Support policies which secure family farmers' livelihoods by fair prices for their products and increased capacity to influence decision-making about food systems;
- Support measures that safeguard the health of rural communities and the right of farm laborers to fair wages, contracts, and safe working conditions;
- Support policies that safeguard the capacity to produce food without environmental degradation both domestically and abroad;
- Support trade agreements that honor each nation's right to establish their own food security through food sovereignty;
- Support trade agreements that recognize agriculture as a fundamentally unique industry that requires independent negotiating frameworks emphasizing global cooperation to achieve mutual goals.

To Our Trade Representative Robert Zoellick:

As a world leader, the United States has responsibility to work towards global trade agreements that reflect the basic values of fairness, independence, democracy, and social and economic justice. Therefore, as our trade representative in the global trade negotiations, we urge that you:

- Support trade policies that ensure that family farmers and ranchers around the world receive a fair price for their products;
- Support trade policies that ensure that the wages and working conditions of farm laborers in every nation meet accepted international standards;
- Support trade policies that prioritize the need for long term social, economic and environmental stability and vitality of rural communities over the desire of agribusiness corporations, many based in the United States, to dominate world food production and processing;
- End the pricing and dumping of agricultural commodities at below the cost of production, thereby preventing the displacement and destruction of farmers and rural communities in the U.S. and around the world;
- Press for public information to be made available in each country regarding the cost of production for each export crop;

- Support trade policies that address the growing problem of world-wide agricultural marketplace concentration that distorts agricultural markets and prices;
- Support trade policies that reduce the need for taxpayer subsidies by increasing the marketplace value of agricultural products, thereby raising the standards of living and contributing to the stability and economic development of rural communities world-wide;
- Support public sector funding for agriculture that enables all countries to pursue domestic goals of greater social equity, rural development, and environmental protection.

To Our Allies Around the Globe Fighting for Fair and Just Trade Agreements:

The ever-increasing globalization of communication and economic activity offers all of us the increased opportunity and obligation to work together toward a common vision for fair and just global trade that truly serves our mutual interests of a safe, secure food supply. Therefore we pledge:

- To work with you toward fair international trade agreements that secure farmers' livelihoods and promote rural economic development, environmental protection, and democratic participation in decision-making about food systems;
- To work together as American institutions to educate all Americans about the need to redesign international trade agreements to support and promote rural development, poverty reduction, sustainable agricultural development and food security for all, not only in the United States but across the globe.

Signers (As of Sept 3, 2003)

FARM AID
 AFL-CIO
 American Corn Growers Association
 American Federation of Government
 Employees, AFL-CIO
 Campaign for Family Farms and the
 Environment
 Center of Concern
 Citizens Trade Campaign
 Communication Workers of America
 Consumer's Choice Council
 Defenders of Wildlife
 Federation of Southern Cooperatives / Land
 Assistance Fund
 Friends of the Earth
 Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
 National Campaign for Sustainable
 Agriculture

National Catholic Rural Life Conference
 National Council of Churches of Christ
 National Farmers Union
 National Family Farm Coalition
 Oxfam America
 Presbyterian Church USA, Washington Office
 Public Citizen
 Rural Coalition/Coalicion Rural
 Soybean Producers of America
 United Auto Workers
 United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness
 Ministries
 United Methodist Church, General Board of
 Church and Society
 United Steelworkers of America
 Western Organization of Resource Councils

APPENDIX D:**Call to Cancún: Halt the GATS negotiations
Take essential services, such as water, out of the WTO****Civil Society Submission to the World Trade Organisation's (WTO)
5th Ministerial Conference in Cancún, 10-14 September 2003**

As trade ministers from the WTO's 146 member countries meet in Cancún, we call on them to **halt discussions on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)** and to resist any contrary attempts which seek to speed up these negotiations. The United States and the European Union, whose corporations have most to gain from these talks, are pushing for a political declaration in Cancún calling on all WTO members to submit their services, including essential services, to the GATS. For these corporations, GATS promises access to new markets and enhanced rights.

In Cancún, promises made by developed countries in other WTO areas will be used to extract progress on GATS, even though GATS is not a key agenda item. This puts immense pressure on developing countries to commit more of their services, including basic services such as water, to the WTO's binding trade rules.

The GATS proponents repeatedly frame their ambitions in the context of development. They refer to the "Doha Development Agenda." In water specifically, the EU publicly claims that current negotiations, "could potentially contribute to international efforts to improve access to water." Yet in confidential internal memos between the European Commission and the top three European water companies (Suez, Vivendi and RWE), the EC states that, "one of the main objectives in the current round of negotiations is to achieve real and meaningful access for European service providers for their exports of environmental services [which includes water services]."

In July 2002, as part of ongoing GATS negotiations, the EU submitted demands to 109 countries, requesting ambitious levels of market access for its corporations. This included requests to 72 countries, several of them least developed countries, requesting access to their water services. The US also submitted extensive and controversial demands, which under the guise of "transparency" render domestic decision-making vulnerable to foreign commercial interests.

Developing countries have every reason to resist such far-reaching demands. So far, the liberalization of water services has caused grave problems in countries where the involvement of foreign multinationals has typically made water more expensive than poor households can afford. Any country making GATS commitments in water would bind itself to such liberalization for the future, making it effectively impossible for it to withdraw, even if service provision is unaffordable to the poor, the water service is of poor quality, or a future government wishes to change the policy.

The United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights, concerned with the effect of GATS on universal service obligations, suggests that GATS conflicts with the human rights obligations, of WTO member countries. Barely a year ago at the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, heads of the governments made commitments to halve the proportion of people without access to water and that of

those without access to sanitation by 2015. But the evidence from many communities, especially those in the developing world, is that the global water crisis will worsen if water is subjected to WTO rules that put corporate interests ahead of the fundamental right to water.

In order to make these obligations a reality we call on Ministers meeting in Cancún to **halt the current GATS negotiations and keep essential services, such as water, out of the WTO.**

**To see this call and the list of signatories please visit www.waterobservatory.org
SIGNATORIES AS OF SEPTEMBER 8, 2003**

A SEED, Japan
 Acuerdo General sobre Comercio de Servicios, Switzerland
 Agir ici, France
 Aid Transparency, Senegal
 Alliance for Democracy, USA
 Alliance for One World, Austria
 Alliance of Progressive Labor, Philippines
 Asia/Pacific Movement on Debt and Development, Philippines
 Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association, New Zealand
 ASOCLI, El Salvador
 ATTAC, Austria
 ATTAC, Denmark
 ATTAC, France
 ATTAC, Germany
 ATTAC, Italy
 ATTAC, Spain
 ATTAC, Switzerland
 Auckland/Tamaki Makaurau, New Zealand
 Australian Community Foods, Australia
 Australian Conservation Branch, Australia
 Australian Fair Trade and Investment Network, Australia
 Australian Greens, Australia
 Austrian National Union of Students, Austria
 Biowatch, South Africa
 Blue Planet Project/Council of Canadians, Canada
 Both Ends, The Netherlands
 Brazilian Forum of Civil Entities for Consumer Defense, Brazil
 Brazilian Institute for Consumer Defense, Brazil
 BUND - Friends of the Earth, Germany
 BUND, Germany
 Bureau Vert antwoord, The Netherlands
 Business Watch, Indonesia
 Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale, Italy
 Campaign for the Welfare State, Norway
 Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, Canada
 The Center for Consumers Defense, El Salvador
 Center for Encounters and Active Non-Violence, Austria
 Center for Environment and Sustainable Development, India
 Center for Environmental Public Advocacy, Slovakia
 Center for International Environmental Law, USA
 Center for International Environmental Law, Europe
 Center for Policy Analysis on Trade and Health, USA
 Center for Research on Multinational Corporations, The Netherlands
 Centre for Organisation Research & Education, India
 Centro para la Defensa del Consumidor de El Salvador

Citizens' Network on Essential Services, USA
 Coalition of the Flemish North-South Movement, Belgium
 Coletivo de Comunicação pela Água, Brazil
 Comité pour l'Annulation de la dette du Tiers Monde, Belgium
 Comite Social Pro Vida, Bolivia
 Communication Unlimited, New Zealand
 Community Nutrition Institute, USA
 Concerned Citizens of Newport, USA
 Conservation Council, New Brunswick
 Coordinadora de Defensa del Agua y de la Vida/Coalition for the Defense of Water and Life, Bolivia
 Coordinamento Iniziative Popolari di Solidarietà Internazionale, Italy
 CORE Centre for Organisation Research and Education, India
 Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), Netherlands
 CREE, Pakistan
 Development Visions, Pakistan
 Declaration of Salzburg for Development in Solidarity, Austria
 Democrats for Social Credit New Zealand, New Zealand
 DHAN Foundation, India
 Earthlife Africa Johannesburg, South Africa
 Edmonds Institute, USA
 Environmental Foundation/ Friends of the Earth, Sri Lanka
 Environmental Monitoring group, South Africa
 Equations, India
 Erklärung von Bern, Germany
 Farmers Link, United Kingdom
 Fauna Society and Foundation, Hungary
 Federación de Trabajadores del Agua Potable y Alcantarillado del Perú
 Focus on the Global South, Thailand
 Foro Boliviano del Medio Ambiente (FOBOMADE), Bolivia
 Foro Ecologista de Paraná, Argentina
 Foundation HELP, Tanzania
 Freedom from Debt Coalition, Philippines
 Friends of the Earth, Australia
 Friends of the Earth, Austria
 Friends of the Earth, Canada
 Friends of the Earth, Columbia
 Friends of the Earth, Costa Rica
 Friends of the Earth, Cyprus
 Friends of the Earth, El Salvador
 Friends of the Earth, England Wales
 Friends of the Earth, Europe
 Friends of the Earth, Finland
 Friends of the Earth, Georgia
 Friends of the Earth, Indonesia
 Friends of the Earth, Northern Ireland
 Friends of the Earth, Slovakia
 Friends of the Earth, Sweden
 Geosphere, South Africa
 Global Exchange, USA
 Global Resource Action Center for the

Environment, USA
 Greater Kansas City Fair Trade Coalition, USA
 Greens Movement of Georgia
 Greens NSW, Australia
 Group for Environmental Monitoring, India
 Independant Trade Unionists in Public Services, Austria
 Indonesian Forum for Environment, Indonesia
 Infoespai, Spain
 Initiative Colibri, Germany
 Initiatives de développement stratégiaue, France
 Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, USA
 Institute for Global Networking Information and Studies, Norway
 Integrated Rural Development Foundation, Philippines
 International Committee for the Global Water Contract
 International Forum on Globalization, USA
 International Network on Labour and Development, New Zealand
 International Network on Labour and Development, The Netherlands
 International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development, Indonesia
 International Rivers Network, USA
 Italian Committee For the World Contract on Water, Italy
 Jagrata Juba Shangha. Bangladesh
 Journalists Net for the Human Rights, Nigeria
 La Asociación Soriano para la Defensa de los Recursos Naturales, Uruguay
 La Federación de Funcionarios de OSE, Uruguay
 Les Amis de la Terre, France
 Management and Organizational Development for Empowerment, Philippines
 Manthan, India
 Monitoring Sustainability of Globalization, Malaysia
 National Coalition Against Privatisation of Water, Ghana, West Africa
 National Society of Conservationists/Friends of the Earth, Hungary
 Nature Conservation Council of NSW, Australia
 Network Women in Development Europe, Belgium
 New Voices on Globalization/50 Years Is Enough Network, USA
 New Zealand Democratic Party, New Zealand
 Norwegian ForUM, Norway
 OGM Dangers, France
 Organic Consumers Association, USA
 Organization of Development Policy Organizations, Austria
 Our Bodies Ourselves, USA
 Oxfam International
 Oz GREEN, Australia
 Philippine Water Vigilance Network, Philippines
 Polaris Institute, Canada
 Protect the Future, Hungary
 Public Service International
 RAPAL, Uruguay
 REDES-Friends of the Earth, Uruguay
 Rivers Canoe Club Inc., Australia
 Roba dell'Altro Mondo Cooperative, Italy
 Rylstone District Environment Society, Australia
 Safe Food Coalition, South Africa
 SAROKAAR, India
 School Communities Recycling All Paper, Australia
 Stop the New Round! Coalition, Philippines
 Suedwind Entwicklungspolitik, Austria
 Tearfund, UK
 The Greens, Australia
 Transnational Institute, Switzerland
 Transnational Institute, The Netherlands
 Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco, Mexico
 University of Liege, Belgium
 University of Vienna, Austria
 University of Washington, USA
 Ursuline Sisters of Tildonk, USA
 Vicente Canas Center, Bolivia
 Vitae Civilis, Brazil
 Warrnambool Greens, Australia
 WaterAid, United Kingdom
 Water for All Campaign/Public Citizen, USA
 Water Stewards Network, USA
 Wellington Residents' Coalition, New Zealand
 Wisconsin Fair Trade Campaign, USA
 Working Group Against the MAI and Globalisation, Turkey
 World Development Movement, France
 World Development Movement, United Kingdom
 World Economy, Ecology and Development, Germany
 World Rainforest Movement, Uruguay
 World Wildlife Fund, Australia
 WTO Watch, Australia
 XminusY Solidarity Fund, The Netherlands
 Young Greens, Hungary

For Further Information:

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In USA: Shiney Varghese, (svarghese@iatp.org), Ph: +1-612-870-3471

APPENDIX E:**NO INVESTMENT NEGOTIATIONS AT THE WTO
Declaration of Non Governmental Groups and Civil Society Movements**

We, members of civil society organizations from developing and developed countries, explicitly reject the launch of negotiations on investment and the other Singapore Issues at the Ministerial Conference in Cancún this September.

We have gathered from a broad spectrum of civil society groups, including groups working on development, environment, faith-based, social, labor, human rights, food security, gender, and rural and indigenous community issues. We have met over four days in Geneva in the shadow of global conflict and have reached the following conclusions.

Previous attempts to negotiate a multilateral agreement on investment, including the failed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), have been criticized by civil society around the world as overly focused on investor protections and for failing to adequately address poverty reduction, sustainable development, and corporate accountability and liability.

Discussions to date within the WTO's Working Group on the Relationship between Trade and Investment indicate that some WTO Members such as the EU, US and Japan are similarly focused almost exclusively on granting greater rights to transnational investors to hold themselves above national decisions on development priorities, macroeconomic policy, environmental directives, and implementation of international human rights law and norms.

Foreign direct investment can make a positive contribution to sustainable development when undertaken within a strong regulatory framework that will maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of investment. Most, if not all, developed countries have made use of policy tools, such as performance requirements, to ensure that incoming investment would help to develop infant industries, enhance export capacities, and promote inward technology transfers, and yet many developed countries now seek to "kick away the development ladder" by denying developing countries the right to use identical policies.

Existing international investor protection rules in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and hundreds of bilateral investment agreements, as well as in provisions in contracts and loan agreements, are being used to challenge and seek compensation for governmental actions that are essential to achieving a just and sustainable future. This is a problem that affects both developing and developed countries. The filing of new claims by corporate investors in international arbitration is increasing at an alarming rate.

This statement was initially prepared and signed by more than 40 organisations from around the world which participated at a NGO workshop on "Briefing and Update on WTO Negotiations on Investment and New Issues" in Geneva, Switzerland from 18-21 March 2003.

While the threats to regulatory prerogatives of governments is clear, there is little if any empirical evidence that adopting the types of investor protection rules being discussed at the WTO and negotiated in the Free Trade Area of the Americas and elsewhere will lead to any increase in the amount or quality of investment flows.

The WTO is the wrong forum for global investment talks. Moreover, the WTO is in the midst of a crisis as it is not making progress on issues of fundamental importance to developing countries

and many other constituencies. Moreover, adding the Singapore issues (investment, competition, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation) to an already crowded agenda will prevent the WTO from undertaking the reforms and rebalancing necessary.

Finally, WTO negotiations on investment and the other Singapore issues would result in rules that developing countries in particular do not need and cannot afford.

Therefore, we call upon the Members of the World Trade Organization to:

- **Explicitly reject the launch of negotiations on investment and the other Singapore Issues at the Ministerial Conference in Cancún this September,**
- **Reject the NAFTA/MAI approach to investment liberalization.**

Signatories:

- Third World Network, Malaysia
- Center for International Environmental Law
- Oxfam International
- Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, US
- World Wide Fund for Nature, International
- Public Services International
- Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South Africa
- Greenpeace International
- World Development Movement, UK
- World Economy, Ecology and Development (WEED), Germany
- INESC, Brazil
- Berne Declaration, Switzerland
- Institute for Global Justice, Indonesia
- Gender and Economic Reform in Africa (GERA)
- Third World Network, Africa, Ghana
- Africa Trade Network
- International Gender and Trade Network
- The Norwegian Forum for Environment and Development, Norway
- Action Aid
- The Network for Consumer Protection, Pakistan
- Transform India Group, India
- Society for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, India
- The Danish NGO Coalition (The 92 Group), Denmark
- Women and Development, Denmark (KULU)
- Friends of the Earth, Netherlands
- Swiss Coalition of Development, Switzerland
- Campagna - per la Riforma Della Banca Mondiale, Italy
- Centro para la Defensa del Consumia, El Salvador
- REBRIP, Brazil
- Bisan Center for Research and Development, Palestine
- Consumers Association of Penang, Malaysia
- Friends of the Earth Malaysia
- World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fishworkers
- Coalition of the Flemish North-South Movement - 11.11.11., Belgium
- Instituto del Tercer Mundo (ITeM), Uruguay
- Global Exchange, US
- Focus on the Global South
- Friends of the Earth, England, Wales and Northern Ireland
- Hemispheric Social Alliance
- Red Accion Ciudadana Frente al Comercio e Inversion (SINTI TECHAN) de El Salvador
- California Coalition for Fair Trade and Human Rights, US
- Caribbean Reference Group on External Relations
- Centre du Commerce International pour Le développement, Guinea
- Enda Tiers Monde, Senegal
- Public Citizen, USA
- EcoNews Africa, Kenya
- Solon Foundation, Bolivia
- Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND), Lebanon
- Trocaire East Africa, Kenya
- Social Development Network (SodNet), Kenya
- Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya
- RODI Kenya (Trade Policy Programme)
- Kenya National Farmers Union
- Friends of the Earth Finland
- Institut de recherches de la FSU, France
- Center of Concern, US
- U.S. Gender and Trade Network,
- African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET), Kenya
- Initiative Colibri, Germany
- Sindicato Estadual dos Profissionais da Educação do Rio de Janeiro

- Red Mexicana de Accion Frente al Libre Comercio, Mexico
- Centre du Commerce International pour le Developpement (CECIDE), Guinee
- IRDF - Integrated Rural Development Foundation, Philippines
- Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty [APNFS]
- RCPD -Resource Center for People's Development, Philippines

APPENDIX F:

5th Ministerial Conference Of The World Trade Organisation (WTO)



ICFTU Statements

TRADE UNION* STATEMENT ON THE AGENDA FOR THE 5TH MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION (WTO) (Cancún, 10-14 September 2003)

Introduction

1. Hopes that the 4th WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha had set the agenda for a genuine Development Round are being disappointed as one deadline after another is missed, against a context of slowing economic growth worldwide. All the while, the impact of China's WTO accession on other developing countries, in terms of continual pressure to reduce core labour standards* and, all too often, to increase misery and exploitation (particularly of women workers) often in export processing zones, is continuing to worsen. The rights to food security and to adequate health care in developing countries are increasingly far from being realised, particularly for the world's poorest and again with the worst impact on women.

**TRADE UNIONS
AT THE WTO
Cancún 2003**

2. If the current WTO negotiations are to produce an outcome that could benefit working people, particularly in developing countries, the broken promises from Doha must be resolved and developing countries' concerns dealt with first, before discussion gets underway on the rest of the Doha agenda. WTO members must recognize that trade is only one of the elements in the three pillars of sustainable development endorsed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. Debt relief, democracy, environmental protection, poverty eradication and decent employment (including the respect of fundamental workers' rights) must simultaneously be achieved as part of a wider, far-reaching agenda to achieve development and higher living standards for all people, in accordance with the objectives outlined in the preamble of the WTO Agreement. In addition, WTO agreements must not undermine the rights of democratic governments to conduct their own education, social welfare and public investment policies.

Democracy, Transparency, Consultation and Reform of the WTO

3. The WTO needs urgently to be reformed and made more transparent and democratic, in order to redress the power imbalances evident in recent WTO Ministerial Conferences and to achieve coherence and consistency with the goals agreed through the UN system, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other multilaterally agreed instruments such as the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. The weight of the UN and its specialized agencies, including the ILO, needs to be increased relative to that of the WTO. A closer link and co-ordination between the WTO and other international institutions, including the ILO, with reciprocal observer status, must be agreed before or at the 5th WTO Ministerial Conference.

4. WTO negotiations must progress with due regard to the capacities of smaller and poorer countries, and developing country WTO members must enhance their co-operation and co-ordination. Increased transparency and financial assistance are needed to ensure that all WTO members (particularly the least developed) are able to take part fully in the current negotiations as well as all WTO activities and procedures. Formal commitments to provide such assistance must be made at latest at the 5th WTO Ministerial Conference. The internal negotiation processes of the WTO must be fair, transparent and predictable so as to ensure the effective participation of all its members.

5. The WTO must also be opened up to outside participation and to relevant social issues. A WTO Parliamentary Assembly is needed, to provide direct contact with elected representatives. A formal consultative process should be established to ensure that trade unions, non-governmental organisations and other representative elements of civil society can present their views to WTO committees and discuss issues of mutual concern with trade ministers, and with the WTO General Council, as well as at national level. Environmental and social concerns must be incorporated fully throughout WTO mechanisms and structures, and the scope of the Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) expanded to include relevant environmental, gender and social concerns, including the right of all to food security and respect for core labour standards, with the full involvement of the ILO. WTO members should already begin to include such concerns in the reports they submit to the TPRM meetings of the WTO.

6. In view of its unprecedented powers, the dispute settlement procedure must be opened up for public information and

involvement. In relevant cases, such as those with health, labour and environmental implications, the WTO must involve the UN agencies competent in the areas concerned. Trade unions and other civil society groups concerned by any dispute settlement process should be able to participate directly in the procedures with a right to submit amicus curiae briefs. The experts judging any disputes case must not merely be trade specialists but must include people with varied backgrounds representing labour, environment and development organisations. There should be a swift public release of the findings and conclusions of disputes settlement procedures.

Advancing Development Priorities

7. The missed deadlines from Doha are compromising the credibility of the multilateral trading system. A major effort to boost the sustainable development of developing countries is needed in every area of the multilateral system, including greatly enhanced debt relief, a substantial increase in development assistance (including technical assistance and capacity building on trade issues), and fundamental reform of IMF/World Bank economic adjustment policies.

8. In the WTO negotiations, urgent agreement is needed on a range of issues where developing countries require action, as follows:

- A decision in the TRIPS discussions to define health problems broadly enough for all developing countries to be able to achieve access to low-cost medicines in case of health need;
- Decisions on special and differential treatment to enable developing countries to have increased flexibility in their implementation and interpretation of the various WTO agreements when favourable to their economic and social development, and so that the Uruguay Round implementation deadlines are extended for all developing countries on a multilateral basis;
- Evaluation of non-tariff barriers to developing country exports to ensure they are reasonable requirements for consumer and environmental protection, with the involvement of the specialized UN agencies as well as trade unions and other civil society groups concerned, and provision of technical assistance so developing countries can attain such standards;
- Provision of international funding to support employment adjustment assistance, especially if jobs are lost as a result of trade liberalisation;
- Progress in the industrial tariffs negotiations to provide improved market access for developing countries (addressing tariff peaks and tariff escalation in their areas of interest), particularly for least developed countries, and continued commitment by the industrialised countries to their own implementation requirements under the Uruguay Round, parallel with progress on respect for core labour standards so that workers in developing countries benefit from improved market access.

Making Progress on Workers' Rights at the WTO

9. It is a priority to protect the fundamental rights of workers against unscrupulous governments or companies which seek to gain an unfair advantage in international trade through the violation of core labour standards. Furthermore, respect of core labour standards is crucial to achieving sustainable, equitable, democratic economic development.

10. Before or at the 5th Cancún, therefore, the following measures need to be taken:

- All WTO members must renew and demonstrate their commitment to uphold core labour standards;
- A first-ever meeting of Trade and Labour Ministers must be organised, with the participation of trade unions and employers' organizations;
- WTO members must agree that UN treaties have primacy over trade rules, and must therefore update the WTO agreements (including GATT Article XX and GATS Article XIV) to incorporate human rights standards including the core labour standards;
- To enable a full examination of the relationship between trade, employment and core labour standards, the WTO together with the full and equal participation of the ILO, must establish a formal structure to address trade and core labour standards. Such a body should also address wider trade-related social issues, such as the impact of trade policies on women, and the provision of adjustment assistance for workers displaced by trade. Clearly, such discussions must not result in any arbitrary or unjustified discrimination;
- As noted in para. 5 above, core labour standards should be included in WTO trade policy reviews;
- Agreement that the WTO General Council will give serious consideration to the recommendations, once they are published, of the ILO World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalisation;
- A clarifying statement is needed to the effect that the weakening of internationally-recognised core labour standards in order to increase exports, as in export processing zones (EPZs), is an illegitimate trade-distorting export incentive that is not permissible under WTO rules.

Safeguarding Services

11. Public services and other services of general interest reflect democratically-determined public policy objectives, and it is essential that these not be undermined by private sector competition under WTO disciplines. Governments need to preserve full responsibility and accountability in the area of such services.

12. The Cancún Ministerial should adopt the following measures:

- Building on recent statements by WTO members like the European Union, the 5th WTO Conference should amend the terms of the GATS agreement to exclude formally public services (above all, education, health and essential public utilities) including at sub-national levels of government, and socially beneficial service sector activities from all further GATS negotiations;
- A timetable and deadline should be established for completion, in conformity with Article XIX of the GATS, of a full assessment of trade in services in overall terms and on a sectoral basis, which should be conducted before the completion of the current negotiating round; To protect effectively the ability of governments to regulate and to enact domestic regulatory measures (in accordance with the preamble of the GATS) without possibility of legal challenge, GATS Article VI.4 should be deleted or revised and a clarifying statement adopted that social and environmental concerns have primacy over the principle of 'free trade' and that such regulations will not be subject to any 'necessity test' through the WTO dispute settlement mechanism; Attempts to limit regulations (even when completely non-discriminatory) involving qualifications, standards, and licensing requirements, as is discussed in the GATS Working Party on Domestic Regulation, pose a serious threat to government regulation and it is essential that the Cancún Ministerial eliminate the principle of "no more burdensome than necessary", such that government regulations cannot be subject to any potential challenge by the GATS negotiations;
- Article XXI of the GATS agreement should be amended to include an explicit clause to enable governments to withdraw or diminish their GATS commitments so that they can improve their public services without any risk of challenge under WTO rules (so preventing foreign service suppliers from using the WTO as a tool to maintain market access);
- Article I.3 (b) of GATS should be clarified to make it absolutely clear that 'the exercise of governmental authority' allows, without threat of legal challenge, WTO members to exclude competition from public services and services of general interest;
- Regarding "Mode 3" of the GATS on 'commercial presence' (i.e. investment), GATS negotiations and GATS commitments should incorporate the factors indicated in the section on investment below;
- With regard to "Mode 4" (i.e. temporary cross-border movement of natural persons), GATS negotiations and commitments must ensure: observance of core labour standards, national labour law (incorporating those standards) and existing collective agreements by all parties, with regard to all workers concerned; protection of migrant workers against all forms of discrimination, and of the remittance of their contributions to social security and insurance schemes; and the full involvement of the ILO;
- In media, the GATS negotiations and GATS commitments must not jeopardise domestic measures to protect the cultural diversity and cultural identity of WTO member countries;
- Desirable regulations that are necessary to ensure the continued availability of quality retail trade services and support smaller companies that would be unable to compete with large enterprises in a deregulated environment, must not be dismantled through the GATS negotiations;
- Negotiations in sectors such as post and telecommunications must not jeopardise the provision of universal services at uniform and affordable prices;
- the Cancún Ministerial should take a decision to end the conditions of secrecy under which the GATS negotiations have been taking place, with publication of the details of the access "requests" and "offers" under negotiation.

Investment at the WTO

13. Discussions are on the agenda for Cancún that some governments hope will lead to the opening of WTO negotiations to create a multilateral framework on investment. The status quo concerning foreign direct investment (FDI) is a barrier to sustainable development. An international regime is emerging based on bilateral and regional investment agreements that disproportionately favour investors, entrenching their rights with no countervailing binding mechanism governing their responsibilities. Meanwhile, domestic economic deregulation and liberalisation has led to the explosive growth of export processing zones that exempt foreign investors from compliance with labour and environmental protection, and often offer tax breaks or regulatory loopholes. Multilateral investment rules could in principle help governments avoid engaging in such destructive competition for scarce FDI.

14. The international union movement therefore agrees on the need for multilateral investment rules, that would govern only foreign direct investment, and which would promote, not hinder, sustainable development, in conjunction with the implementation of revisions to the IMF Articles of Agreement to bring order and stability to international capital markets and short-term capital flows. Such investment rules must be built around the promotion and protection of social policies, through binding and enforceable investor obligations covering core labour standards and observance of the provisions of the ILO Tripartite Declaration on Multinational Enterprises and Social Policies, and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, and environmental norms, as well as commitments not to lower domestic labour standards or violate core labour standards in order to attract investment. Any multilateral investment regime must be compatible with the right of governments to regulate in all areas of public interest including investment, and must respect the value of public services and state ownership. Governments must have the leeway to implement legitimate domestically-based economic development strategies, especially to promote decent employment and strong communities, so that they can support domestic industries and investment, and encourage the emergence of new and infant industries. Investment agreements should exclude provisions on expropriation, or National Treatment provisions (whether pre – or post-establishment) that limit the scope to pursue local, regional and national economic and social development strategies, in particular social priorities. Disputes must be solved only through transparent government-to-government procedures that promote the full and active participation of the social partners, and wider civil society groups.

15. Set against these criteria, the current proposals tabled at the WTO fall far short. The international union movement will review its position should new proposals emerge in favour of our vision of a multilateral investment regime. However, as things stand, we cannot support Trade Ministers at Cancún giving a green light to the commencement of negotiations on investment at the WTO.

Trade and Competition Policy

16. The global union movement is extremely concerned by the vast increase in mergers and acquisitions taking place worldwide, frequently under a definition of foreign investment flows, which stand to further increase the concentration of capital at global level. A multilateral negotiation to monitor international mergers (with particular regard to employment, working conditions and respect for core labour standards) and to increase control over them would be welcome, as would increased regulation of hard-core cartels and restrictive business practices of multinational companies (particularly with regard to the trade in primary commodities that is frequently concentrated among a handful of companies).

17. However, any WTO negotiation on trade and competition policy must allow developing countries to continue to apply different treatment to domestic companies (both state monopolies and private companies) as far as market share is concerned, and must allow developing country WTO members to preserve the ability to decide whether or not to legislate a competition policy. Any negotiation must not affect the right of governments to regulate or restrict economic competition, nor include any provision for investor-to-state disputes mechanisms.

18. In view of the above considerations, and in the light of current proposals, we do not believe that the current discussions of competition policy at the WTO are on the right track. While there is a case for international co-operation on competition policy and a need to prevent market abuses by multinational companies, the case has not been made for negotiating a competition policy agreement at the WTO, with its focus on trade liberalisation.

Government Procurement

19. Negotiations on transparency in government procurement have a positive role to play in eliminating corruption. Such negotiations must cover the protection of workers employed on government contracts, including migrant workers, on the basis of the relevant international standards such as the core labour standards as well as ILO Convention No. 94 on Labour Clauses (Public Contracts), the aim of which is to ensure that acceptable labour standards are observed in public contracts.

20. Negotiations should also commence on remedying the flaws in the existing Government Procurement Agreement (GPA). Specifically, the ban in the GPA on the use of "non-economic" criteria should be removed. In order to authorize public authorities to include development, ethical, social, regional and local objectives in their purchasing policies. In addition the GPA must include reference to the application of labour standards when workers are employed on government contracts. There must be no consideration of expansion of the GPA on a multilateral basis until such problems have been addressed fully.

Trade Facilitation

21. The objectives of the trade facilitation debate on minimising unnecessary customs procedures and speeding up movement of goods are worthy of support. At the same time, investing in modern customs equipment and information technology stands to be extremely costly for developing countries. The use of WTO procedures which would leave a choice between paying those costs or facing penalties for non-compliance would be wholly inappropriate in this area. Furthermore, WTO principles such as "least trade restrictive measures" are inappropriate in the context of trade facilitation, which is an issue linked intrinsically to safety and security in the cross-border transit of goods. Attention is needed to ensure that the existing competences of UN specialised agencies such as the IMO and the ICAO, which deal with trade facilitation under the same roof as the regulation of safety and security, are not undermined by WTO negotiations.

22. Given the above, it would be more appropriate for WTO measures to promote trade facilitation to remain of a non-enforceable nature. Large-scale technical assistance should be provided to help developing countries upgrade their trade facilities, rather than negotiations which would introduce WTO disciplines into this complex and costly area. Discussions should instead continue in the WTO working group on trade facilitation.

Sustainable Development at the WTO

23. Sustainable development needs to be incorporated effectively into every aspect of WTO work. This could be facilitated by the following specific measures:

- Agreement on large-scale assistance for developing countries to improve their environmental standards;
- Achieving a clarification in the negotiations on Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) that MEAs, such as the Biodiversity Protocol, take precedence over WTO rules;
- The implementation of sustainability impact assessments (SIAs) at a multilateral as well as national level, covering both environmental and developmental sustainability and social concerns including core labour standards and the effect of trade on women;
- Strengthening of the precautionary principle to ensure that consumers' or workers' health and safety can under no circumstances be threatened by WTO rulings;
- The reorientation of harmful fisheries subsidies to those areas which would promote sustainable and responsible

fisheries practices, address the social aspects of restructuring and improve the life and working conditions of fishers;

- Clarification that eco-labelling schemes such as forestry certification should not be subject to challenge at the WTO.

Agriculture

24. The present levels of agricultural subsidies in many industrialised countries impose heavy costs, often failing to target subsidies on the poorest farmers and boosting the incomes of large wealthy agro-businesses instead. Furthermore, the subsidisation of agricultural exports has artificially depressed prices in many developing countries, leading to the destruction of farms, plantations and rural employment.

25. Therefore, the trade union movement proposes:

- the elimination of all forms of agricultural export subsidies;
- the reduction and reorientation of other agricultural subsidies towards sound rural development through the eradication of rural poverty, the improvement of employment conditions and the promotion of animal welfare and ecological sustainability;
- increased stable and predictable market access for developing countries to industrialised country agricultural markets;
- strong rights for special and differential treatment concerning developing countries so that they have the requisite flexibility to enhance domestic agricultural production, in particular for domestic consumption, poverty eradication, land reform and food security, and to take other measures as necessary to improve the livelihood of farmers, particularly low-income and resource-poor farmers;
- provision of technical assistance to weaker developing countries to ensure their agricultural production for domestic consumption as well as exports can benefit.

Conclusions

26. The Cancún Ministerial finds the WTO at a watershed. The failure so far to meet many commitments in the Doha Round is creating a crisis of trust between the WTO's industrialised and developing country members. At the same time, the WTO's credibility and legitimacy among the general public, including the trade union movement, continue to be widely questioned. The global union movement calls on WTO members to take decisive actions at the Cancún Ministerial and in its preparatory period, in order to reform the WTO to fulfil its commitments to developing countries, to address fundamental social and labour priorities and to achieve a fair world trading system that can provide a balance between the strong and the weak in the globalisation process, help lead to an expansion in world trade, and promote better living standards in both the developing and the industrialised countries.

1. This statement has been endorsed by the GLOBAL UNIONS GROUP - including the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Global Union Federations (GUFs) and the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD); - the WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (WCL); - and the EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (ETUC). The Global Union Federations comprise UNI, IFBWW, IUF, IMF, PSI, EI, ITGLWF, IFJ, ITF and ICEM.

2. Core labour standards are fundamental human rights for all workers, irrespective of countries' level of development, that cover freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining; the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation; the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour; and the effective abolition of child labour, including its worst forms. Minimum wages have never been part of the proposal to protect core labour standards at the WTO.

APPENDIX G:

**THE INTERNATIONAL CANCÚN DECLARATION
OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

**5th WTO Ministerial Conference - Cancún, Quintana Roo, Mexico, 12
September 2003**

We, the international representatives of Indigenous Peoples gathered here during the 5th WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancún, Mexico from 10-14 September 2003 wish to extend our thanks to the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico, particularly the Mayan Indigenous Peoples of Quintana Roo, for welcoming us. We share the concerns of our Indigenous brothers and sisters of Mexico, as expressed in the Congreso Nacional Indígena (CNI) Declaration of Cancún. We join our voices in this International Declaration with the CNI Declaration and its conclusions and recommendations.

We wish to especially recognize and honor the sacrifice of our Korean brother, Mr. Lee-Kyung-Hae, made here in Cancún. His act of self-immolation was a dignified cultural expression profoundly reflecting the daily reality of the effects of Globalization and liberalized trade on peasants and Indigenous Peoples throughout the world.

We have come to Cancún to address critical issues and negative impacts of the WTO Trade Negotiations on our families, communities and nations.

With the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and with the continuing imposition of the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, our situation, as Indigenous Peoples, has turned from bad to worse. Corporations are given more rights and privileges at the expense of our rights. Our right to self-determination, which is to freely determine our political status and pursue our own economic, social and cultural development, and our rights to our territories and resources, to our indigenous knowledge, cultures and identities are grossly violated. Some of the prime examples of the adverse impacts of the WTO Agreements on us are the following:

- Loss of livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of indigenous peasants in Mexico who are producing corn because of the dumping of artificially cheap, highly subsidized corn from the USA and tens of thousands of indigenous vegetable producers in the Cordillera region of the Philippines because of dumping of vegetables. The contamination of traditional indigenous corn in Mexico by genetically-modified-corn is a very serious problem for Indigenous Peoples. All these are due to the liberalization of trade in agriculture and the deregulation of laws which protect domestic producers and crops required by the WTO Agreement on Agriculture (AOA). The structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are the foundations for liberalization, privatization and deregulation. High export subsidies and domestic support provided to rich agribusiness corporations and rich farmers in the United States the European Union have also made this possible.
- The increasing impoverishment of indigenous and hilltribe farmers engaged in coffee production in Guatemala, Mexico, Colombia, Vietnam, etc. because of the drop in commodity prices of coffee.
- The increasing conflicts between transnational mining, gas and oil corporations and Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, India, Ecuador, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, Nigeria, Chad-Cameroon, USA, Russia, Venezuela, among others, and the militarization and environmental devastation in these communities due to the operations of these extractive industries. The facilitation of the entry of such corporations are made possible because

of liberalization of investment laws pushed by the TRIMS (Trade-Related Investment Measures) Agreement and WB-IMF conditionalities, regional trade agreements like NAFTA and bilateral investment agreements.

- The militarization of Indigenous Peoples' lands and territories, and the many cases of assassination and arbitrary arrests and detention of indigenous activists and leaders and people who are supporting them, as well as the criminalization of Indigenous Peoples' resistance, all significantly increased.
- The upsurge in infrastructure development, particularly of mega hydroelectric dams, oil and gas pipelines, roads in Indigenous Peoples territories to provide support to operations of extractive industries, logging corporations, and export processing zones. The infrastructure development, for instance, under Plan Puebla Panama has destroyed ceremonial and sacred sites of Indigenous Peoples in the six States of Southern Mexico and in Guatemala.
- The patenting of medicinal plants and seeds nurtured and used by Indigenous Peoples, like the quinoa, ayahuasca, Mexican yellow bean, maca, sangre de drago, hoodia, yew plant, etc. Such biopiracy and patenting of life-forms is facilitated by the TRIPS Agreement.
- Soaring prices of pharmaceutical products and inaccessibility of cheaper drugs for diseases like tuberculosis, malaria, AIDS which are diseases in Indigenous Peoples communities and decreasing public health services in these communities.
- Privatization of basic public services such as water and energy in several countries which has spurred massive general strikes and protests such as those led by Indigenous Peoples in Bolivia. The General Agreement on Services (GATS) whose coverage is being expanded to include environmental services (sanitation, nature and landscape protection), financial services, tourism, among others, allowed for this.
- The undermining of international instruments, constitutional provisions, and national laws and policies which protect our rights.

All these developments are alarming. This global situation has undermined self-sufficient economies of Indigenous Peoples leading to food insecurity, worsening poverty and loss of land, culture and identity. We, Indigenous Peoples' representatives, present in Cancún during the event of the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the WTO, are asking the governments to do the following:

1. **Recognize and protect our territorial and resource rights and our right to self-determination. The human-rights framework should underpin trade, investment, development and anti-poverty policies and programmes.** Investment liberalization rules like the TRIMS Agreement, conditionalities by the WB and IMF which push countries to liberalize their investment laws, regional trade agreements and bilateral investment agreements which give more protection and rights to corporations than to Indigenous Peoples should be changed. Many of these facilitate the displacement of Indigenous Peoples and the appropriation of our lands, waters, resources and knowledge. Indigenous peoples who have been displaced from their lands because of militarization, infrastructure projects, extractive industries, export processing zones and other development schemes should be repatriated back to their lands or should be justly compensated. International human rights and environmental standards should be upheld by governments and should guide the way trade agreements are formulated and implemented. The free and prior informed consent of Indigenous Peoples should be obtained before any project is brought into their communities. Article 8j and 10c of the Convention of Biological Diversity that protect traditional knowledge and indigenous systems and practices of land use and land tenure should be the framework for WTO Agreements. Governments should support the immediate adoption of the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples that will help ensure the recognition and protection of our rights.
2. **Stop patenting of life forms and other intellectual property rights over biological resources and indigenous knowledge. Ensure that we, Indigenous Peoples, retain our**

rights to have control over our seeds, medicinal plants and indigenous knowledge. We call for an explicit statement for the banning of patents on life-forms in the TRIPS Agreement. We also demand that the patent rights, patent applications and claims of corporations, individuals or governments over indigenous medicinal plants, seeds, and knowledge and even over Indigenous Peoples' human genetic materials should be withdrawn. Biopiracy should be stopped and the free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples should be obtained before access to their resources is granted. The issue of protection of indigenous knowledge should not be dealt with by the WTO TRIPs Agreement because its basic assumptions contradict the concepts, values and ethics underpinning indigenous knowledge systems. This can be best protected under the United Nations and we, therefore, urge the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues to convene a technical meeting to explore how the UN can address the issue of protection of indigenous knowledge.

3. **Ensure Indigenous Peoples' basic right to health. The right of countries to take measures to protect public health and promote access to medicines should take precedence over their obligations to protect intellectual property right of corporations. The patent protection asked by pharmaceutical and biotechnology corporations should be limited in order to protect public health and safety and ensure production and easy access to cheap essential medicines.** Health is a basic human right and Indigenous Peoples should enjoy this right. Governments should be allowed to use the flexibilities allowed in the TRIPS Agreement which are reflected in the Doha TRIPS and Public Health Declaration. An amendment to TRIPS should be done to simplify and clarify the procedures for compulsory licensing and parallel importation and to remove the unnecessary obstacles to the import and export of medicines needed to provide affordable medicines to the poor.
4. **No new issues should be negotiated in this 5th Ministerial Conference.** We support the position of some developing countries to stop the launching of a new round or to expand the WTO by negotiating on new issues such as investments, competition, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation. The WTO should not pursue any negotiation on investment and should change its existing investment rules which provide excessive rights to corporations and allow for their unregulated behavior. Those rules which prevent governments from pursuing rights-based development and environmentally-sustainable policies should be abandoned.
5. **Prevent the expansion of the GATS Agreement and amend the existing agreement to stop the privatization and liberalization of health, education, water, energy, and environmental services.** The liberalization and privatization of services in environmental services (e.g. parks and landscape services), the commercialization of indigenous cultures and the increasing monopoly control of the tourism industry in the hands of international and national travel and tour agencies should be stopped. We must be allowed to be the managers of protected areas, parks, forests and waters found in our territories. We should be able to continue practicing our own indigenous natural management practices in forests, water, biodiversity and ecosystem management.
6. **Stop the negotiations on agriculture which will push for further import liberalization of agricultural products. Drastically end the export and domestic subsidies of the US and the EU for their agribusiness corporations and rich farmers.** States must take decisive measures to promote and protect food sovereignty and food security, and stop the dumping and smuggling of artificially cheap and highly subsidized agricultural products from the US, EU, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Ensure the right of indigenous farmers to sustain their indigenous agricultural systems and to plant and reproduce their traditional seeds. States must not include indigenous agriculture systems in the scope of international trade rules. The rights of Indigenous Peoples to their traditional livelihoods and to food should be recognized and protected, thus trade and investment rules which undermine these rights should be repealed or appropriately amended.

7. **End the militarization of Indigenous Peoples' communities and stop the criminalization of protest and resistance actions of Indigenous Peoples against destructive industries, projects and programs.** There should be meaningful and effective investigation of the many cases of assassinations, arbitrary arrests and detentions, rapes committed against Indigenous Peoples and their supporters. Justice should be accorded to the victims and their families, and the perpetrators punished for their crimes.
8. **Support and strengthen the sustainable trading systems which have existed for centuries between the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas.** Trade routes between the various Indigenous Peoples within the Americas (USA, Canada, Mexico) have been existing for centuries and trading between them is still practiced, Militarization of borders and other destructive practices have greatly limited their scale and utility for Indigenous Peoples. Trade between Indigenous Peoples should be sustained and promoted.

The ministers at this Fifth Ministerial meeting of the WTO have the responsibility to represent not only commercial interests but all of the people of their States, including Indigenous Peoples. Existing human rights, environmental, social and cultural conventions and covenants developed within the United Nations system continue to be the States' legal if not moral obligation. All international law including human rights law binds them.

Indigenous peoples are the subjects of many of these covenants and conventions and their jurisprudence. Our rights cannot be ignored, nor can their observance be diminished or compromised by trade agreements and regimes. We as Indigenous Peoples have the right to participate as peoples and actors in our own development, consistent with our own vision and tradition. Our free and informed consent, free of fraud or manipulation, must be secured through our own traditional means of decision-making. State sponsored development cannot just be imposed upon us. Our rights as peoples to our lands and territories and natural resources must be recognized, respected and observed. Our survival as peoples depends upon it.

APPENDIX H:**Civil Society call to WTO Members for the 5th WTO Ministerial in Cancún**

Development, labour, environment and other civil society groups are alarmed by the lack of democratic process at the WTO. This lack of democratic process, most evident in WTO agenda setting and decision-making, affects WTO outcomes. While we continue to advocate for equitable and sustainable policies in the areas of agriculture, intellectual property, services etc, we realize that unless the WTO decision-making process itself is addressed, we fail to get to the heart of the systemic problems facing the WTO. There is serious cause to consider any substantive outcome of the WTO as illegitimate and unjust on the grounds that negotiations fail to be conducted in a democratic, transparent, and accountable way.

We highlight six key problems of internal transparency that continue to threaten the democratic legitimacy of the WTO:

- 1) WTO draft decisions are formulated in a non-transparent and an exclusionary fashion. This results in draft texts that fail to reflect differences in positions especially between developing and developed country members e.g. in Ministerial Texts. The increasing use of "clean texts" or texts without brackets significantly de-legitimizes the consensus process.
- 2) The WTO is increasingly becoming a chair driven rather than a member driven organization with an increased reliance on chairpersons to draft "in their own responsibility" and thus in their own opinions, texts of high importance such as the agriculture modalities, draft ministerial texts etc. It gives unprecedented powers to individuals. The use of chairs' texts and his/her understanding of undocumented consultations results in biased outcomes, usually in favor of developed country governments.
- 3) The selection of chairs and "Friends of the Chair" in the WTO and at Ministerials and the agenda-setting of Ministerials is often conducted in an adhoc and non-transparent manner rather than in the open and more democratic forum of the General Council or the main negotiating plenary of the Ministerial.
- 4) The increased use of unrecorded informal meetings (in particular in the Ministerial preparatory process) makes the process non-transparent. Most countries are unable to monitor let alone engage in these meetings. Only selected countries are invited to attend many of these unrecorded informal consultations, rendering the process exclusive and marginalizing developing countries. Nor is this process conducive to sharing timely information with capital-based officials for proper and informed feedback.
- 5) Green room exclusive meetings have been "informally" institutionalized at the level of Ministers through "mini-ministerials" which are hosted by one country and to which only a few countries are invited. The mini-ministerial is not part of the official process of the WTO and de facto creates an unelected Steering Group or Executive Council to determine WTO matters. We consider this to be a breach of the multilateral process to which the WTO espouses.
- 6) The WTO Secretariat should be neutral when members are in disagreement, but this neutrality is often not maintained. At or before past Ministerials, senior officials including former Director Generals campaigned for "new issues" even though these were opposed by many developing countries. At past Ministerials, senior Secretariat staff were also involved in organizing the exclusive "Green Room" meetings and processes.

We believe that the above problems of process delegitimise the decisions and outcomes of the WTO.

Whilst multilateralism is supposed to protect the politically weaker Members, the WTO has a very poor record on outcomes that support the weaker Members. This is evident in the lack of progress on issues of concern to developing countries since the inception of the organization itself. Arguments are made that 146 countries cannot be expected to take decisions in an open and formal forum. However, our nations make decisions in parliaments, senates and congresses, the number of whose participants easily surpass the number of WTO members. Given the importance of WTO decisions on domestic policies ranging from food security, health, basic services, the environment and development policy making space, we find it imperative to address the democratic deficit at the WTO.

For this reason, we present the "Cancún Democracy Challenge" to the WTO Membership and in particular to the most powerful members of the WTO as a means to measure the democratic legitimacy of the 5th WTO Ministerial in Cancún. We believe that the 12 points highlighted in the Challenge are the basic and obvious building blocks for more democratic and just decision-making - which until now have been ignored or rejected. Failure to abide by each and every one of these basic procedures for democratic decision-making will continue to delegitimise the outcomes of the WTO.

THE CANCÚN DEMOCRACY CHALLENGE

WTO members have still not resolved a series of fundamental issues regarding decision-making processes at the WTO and at Ministerial Conferences. The negotiation process towards Cancún has been characterised by an increased lack of transparency, fairness and democratic decision-making. It is time for WTO Members, especially the most powerful, to meet the democracy challenge.

Do you believe in a fair, transparent, democratic and just world trading system? If so, will you advocate for the following key conditions for democratic decision-making for the 5th WTO Ministerial in Cancún, Mexico?

- The "informal" green room meetings including "Mini-ministerials" in the preparatory process of Cancún must be stopped. We consider this to be a breach of the multilateral process to which the WTO espouses.
- All negotiating texts which are forwarded to or prepared in Cancún, must be produced by the membership, and all members should have the opportunity to effectively participate in the drafting, revision and approval. Differences in positions should be fairly reflected as options for example by the use of square brackets. Chairpersons must not present any documents 'on his/her own responsibility' since this destroys the 'Member-driven' and multilateral nature of the institution.
- The agenda and any draft texts to be used as the basis for negotiations must be approved by the entire membership at a formal General Council meeting prior to the Ministerial in Cancún, and confirmed at a formal first business meeting in Cancún.
- Members as a whole should decide if there are to be chairs or facilitators to conduct discussions on certain issues at the Ministerial, and if so they should elect these chairs or facilitators at a formal General Council meeting in Geneva before Cancún. Clear rules on the role of these chairs and procedural guidelines on how the Ministerial discussions will be conducted must be decided by all Members in such a formal meeting.
- The assembly of all members i.e. the Committee of the Whole, must be the forum for negotiations at the Ministerial. Drafting of texts and decisions must be made in that forum in a transparent way, for example with the use of a big screen as in some UN conferences, in the presence of the Membership. Differences in positions can be negotiated in break-out meetings which all Members are informed about and which are open to all Members.

- All meetings must be inclusive and transparent. The practice of the "Green Room", or exclusive meetings to which only a few countries are invited, must be stopped. No Member may be excluded from meetings. Each member-state must be free to appoint the officials it wants as its representatives, as well as to decide the number of representatives it wants to have at each meeting.
- All meetings must be announced at least six hours in advance to the entire membership through a daily calendar including necessary information such as the room, the chair and the issues to be covered.
- During Ministerials, there must be cut-off time in the evenings beyond which meetings cannot be held, e.g. 10pm. This is to cater to small delegations that have no capacity to stagger their human resources and to ensure that Ministers of small delegations do not make decisions when they are completely exhausted in order to end the meetings (e.g. 38 hour meetings at a stretch as in Doha).
- When new language is proposed during the Ministerial meeting, the member/s proposing the language must be indicated.
- Any proposal to extend the Ministerial meeting or to amend its agenda or other ministerial processes should be decided upon by all the Members in a General Assembly or Committee of the Whole.
- Issues outside of the WTO's agenda (such as preferential access arrangements, aid, debt etc.) must not be brought into the negotiations and held hostage to achieve a Ministerial outcome.
- The Secretariat should maintain neutrality during the Ministerial.

It is a sad testament to the failure of the most powerful WTO Members to address the institution's un-transparent procedures that the 12 proposals outlined above -the most basic building blocks for democratic decision-making - have until now been ignored or rejected. It is time to learn the lessons from Seattle and Doha. Failing to uphold each of these basic procedures for democratic decision-making will continue to delegitimise the outcomes of the WTO. Moreover, the WTO will continue to be criticized for fundamentally being an organization for the interests of the strongest members of the world trading system.