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FURTHER LIBERALISATION IN AGRICULTURE WILL BE PUSHED BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; OTHER AGRICULTURAL TRADE ISSUES

UNCTAD Secretary-General Rubens Ricupero urged developing countries to quickly forge a positive negotiating agenda for upcoming WTO talks on agriculture (scheduled to begin later this year). The call came at a UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) hosted experts meeting on agricultural trade issues attended by representatives from more than 80 countries on 26-28 April in Geneva. Mr. Ricupero noted that agriculture is of vital importance to developing countries: while agriculture accounts for only 11 percent of world trade in merchandise, agriculture in low-income countries accounts for an average 30 percent of gross domestic product and over 70 percent of employment.

John Cuddy, head of UNCTAD's trade division, urged developing countries to focus on ways to further reduce agricultural tariffs, noting that developing countries' major export products such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and processed foods are frequently hit with some of the highest tariff peaks in developed countries. Mr. Cuddy said also that developing countries may want to press for greater flexibility and special terms under a new WTO agreement on agriculture, taking into consideration the large percentage of people in developing countries dependent on the agriculture sector for a living and the large share of total household income spent on food. Mr. Cuddy also urged developing countries to press for the elimination of agricultural export subsidies.

Towards this, the Cairns Group of agricultural exporting countries - comprised of developing and developed countries last month made a clear statement of opposition toward the EU's recent reform of its Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The Cairns Group said the EU had not gone nearly far

enough to reduce agricultural subsidies for its producers. The Cairns Group intends to use the WTO talks on agriculture as a forum to push for further reform. The Group accuses the EU of hypocrisy as the EU continues to push for liberalisation in other areas (e.g. capital, technology and industrial goods) while protecting a sector vital to Cairns Group interests. In related news, Canada last month added its voice to the chorus of WTO Members calling for the end of agricultural subsidies in the next round of agricultural talks.

Meanwhile, in Argentina last month hundreds of thousands of farmers called a three-day strike to demand measures be taken to ease the burden of collapsed commodity prices. Farmers complained that the collapse in commodity prices is also aggravated by agricultural subsidies provided to competing farmers in the EU and U.S., while Argentine farmers have no subsidies and virtually no profit margin. Elsewhere in Latin America, smaller farmers are hoping to bolster commodities by establishing a single commodities exchange. The Association of Exchanges of Products of Central America and the Caribbean will link farmers in Central America, Colombia, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela, who together hope the unification of exchanges will increase information on prices, and shorten the chain of intermediaries between producer and consumer. "Our aim is to keep globalisation from leading to the disappearance of small farmers," said Alfonso Campos, general co-ordinator of the programme of interconnection of regional exchanges.

At the same time, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) last month issued a distressing forecast for agricultural producers, saying prices will continue to be depressed through 2004. The OECD also warned against the use of export subsidies as a way out of trouble. "There is a danger of increased use of export assistance programs by the main exporting countries and this can further depress world prices and distort trade," the OECD report said.

"Developing nations urged to focus on reducing farm tariffs, subsidies," INTERNATIONAL TRADE REPORTER, 28 April 1999; "Farm nations hit out at EU agriculture reforms," REUTERS, 19 April 1999; "Thailand slams subsidies for agricultural exports," JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, 28 April 1999; "Canada's Marchi to seek end to ag subsidies at WTO," DOW JONES, 19 April 1999; "Economy-Argentina: striking farmers demand boost out of crisis," IPS, 20 April 1999; "OECD cuts agricultural forecasts," FINANCIAL TIMES, 21 April 1999; "Agriculture-Latam: small farmers to benefit from integration," IPS, 23 April 1999; ICTSD Internal Files.

WTO'S D-G SELECTION: COUNCIL ENGAGES IN BAD GOVERNANCE PRACTICES; AD INTERIM D-G APPOINTED

David Hartridge, Director, Trade in Services Division has been appointed Acting WTO Director-General, effective 1 May. Hartridge, a British national, is said to have been selected based on his seniority as a WTO Director.

Renato Ruggiero, former Director-General, left as he had said he would, on 30 April. His U.S., Korean and Indian Deputy Director Generals (DDGs) also left that day. WTO Members, who have been seeking to reach agreement on a new Director-General for several months now, met Friday and over the weekend, but failed to agree on which of the two candidates: New Zealander Mike Moore or Supachai Panitchpakdi, currently Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand, to nominate to the WTO's top post. "The most unexpected and horrible quarrel I've ever witnessed at the WTO was set off at that meeting" exclaimed an ambassador with more than ten-years of experience in Geneva. "Something broke and it will take many years to repair it," he concluded. The tone of the meetings and the

behaviour of delegations have set a precedence in bad governance practice at the WTO. One official described the last official meeting on Saturday as "testy, tense and not terribly pleasant."

Another meeting scheduled for Monday was cancelled amid acrimony before it even began. And as BRIDGES Weekly Trade News Digest goes to press, Members are still at odds on a final outcome. Meanwhile, other WTO Meetings, such as on preparations for the Ministerial Conference, have been cancelled.

Members had entrusted the consultations for selection to the Chairman of the General Council, Ambassador Mchumo (Tanzania) and the William Rossier, Swiss Ambassador to the WTO. In doing so and aiming at a consensus decision, Members had agreed on a three-tier criteria for the consultations so that only one candidate's name would be put forward to the Council for approval. That name would have to: 1) be the preference of a majority of Members; 2) gather support from a broad geographic spectrum of the membership; and, 3) be acceptable to every Member of the organisation. On this basis, Ambassador Mchumo presented the name of Mike Moore on Friday. Several delegations, including the EC delegation on behalf of its fifteen Member-States, Peru, Panama, Brazil and other who had voiced preference for Supachai's, announced their willingness to go with the rules and the consensus. However, the ASEAN group, supported by Japan, Mexico and a large group of African countries, considered the proposal an undue imposition. The main claim being that all along the past months the Thai's candidate had a majority preference and that the Chairman had failed to seek a consensus around his name then. Since that meeting on Friday, polarisation, un-diplomatic behaviour and offensive language have characterised the meetings up to today. On Tuesday this week, Kenya, calling on Article 28 of the Council Rules, brought the name of Minister Suppachai formally back to the negotiating table.

The U.S. has made it clear that it will not support reconsideration of Supachai's nomination. Thai politicians called for reviewing relations with the United States, local papers reported today. Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai was quoted by the Bangkok Post today as saying there was something "fishy" in the WTO selection process.

Observers speculated that a way out might be found in either withdrawal of both candidates or by means of a procedural transitory arrangement which gives time to Members to repair their decision-making process. The former possibility is likely given the hard stance of the Thai and ASEAN governments on one hand, and the possible erosion of domestic political support for Moore in New Zealand. Moore is a political figure of the current government's main opposition party. The latter possibility, might be forced by both bands as ASEAN's stand rigidifies and time turns into further advantage for Moore.

"Business: The Economy Crunch time for WTO," BBC ONLINE, 4 May 1999; "Supachai rejects call to quit," Bangkok Post, 4 May, 1999; "WTO To Try Again To Appoint Leader," AP, 4 May 1999; "WTO paralysed by dispute over leadership," IPS, 4 May 1999; ICTSD Internal Files.

SEATTLE, THE WTO MINISTERIAL AND NGOS

At a meeting with NGOs in Washington DC last month, Alain Frank of the External Relations Division, said that the WTO would be likely to post information on its website, between 15 July and 17 September, as to how NGOs could apply for accreditation to the Ministerial Meeting in Seattle

next November. Alain Frank pointed out, *inter alia*, that NGOs requesting accreditation must be trade-related and able to justify that relation, and that a maximum of four representatives per NGO will be accredited at the Ministerial.

Outside the actual meeting rooms, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club plan major demonstrations at the Third WTO Ministerial 30 November - 3 December in Seattle, Washington. They will have plenty of company as steelworkers and other labour and citizens' groups are expected to descend on Seattle in their thousands, to protest globalisation. Meanwhile, Seattle's city council last month voted unanimously on a resolution to oppose the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), saying the MAI would severely constrain local and state government's ability to regulate corporate behaviour. Several WTO Members have requested that WTO negotiations on investment be launched at the Seattle meeting.

"Seattle is bracing for protesters at a trade meeting in November," WALL STREET JOURNAL, 29 April 1999; "Seattle City Council votes against International investment pact MAI is a threat to local government," PRESS RELEASE (Seattle City Council), 13 April 1999; ICTSD Internal Files.

For further information on accreditation, contact Alain Frank, email: alain.frank@wto.org The website of the Seattle Ministerial Conference Host Committee is at: <http://www.wtoseattle.org/> For further information on NGO/monitoring of Seattle preparations in the U.S. contact Maria Riley (Centre of Concern) at: mriley@coc.org

BANANAS: EU WILL NOT APPEAL WTO RULING

The EU last week said it would not appeal the WTO ruling against its revised banana import regime. (See BRIDGES Weekly Trade News Digest Vol. 3, No. 13-14, 12 April 1999.) Meanwhile EU foreign ministers called on the European Commission to submit by the end of May proposals for complying with the WTO decision. EU sources however said that a complete overhaul of its banana import regime could take months, as it would have to be approved by EU governments and the European Parliament.

The U.S. has reportedly said it would consider accepting an EU tariff on Latin American bananas that is higher than the EU's bound tariff rate under the WTO. The U.S. would require that this regime be void of preferential quotas and licensing systems the EU currently affords banana imports from African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) banana producers.

"EU's Brittan hopes for quick resolution to banana dispute," DOW JONES, 27 April 1999; "EU governments want banana reform plan by end-May," REUTERS, 27 April 1999; "U.S. signals tariff flexibility to EU on new banana import regime," INSIDE US TRADE, 30 April 1999.

CSD MEETS TO DISCUSS MARINE ISSUES

The seventh annual session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) took place 19-30 April. The focus of the session was on ocean issues such as overfishing, marine pollution, and destruction of coral reefs and ecosystems. The CSD also considered issues related to sustainable tourism, and the cross-sectoral theme of consumption and production patterns. It also prepared for the

UN General Assembly's Special Session to review the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

NGOs criticised the CSD's session for having failed to take strong action to halt the expansion of commercial fishing, industrial shrimp farming, or subsidies to fishing vessel owners. CSD Chair Simon Upton, New Zealand's environment minister, acknowledged that governments could not reach consensus on key ocean management issues, including subsidies, eco-labelling, and the transit of hazardous waste. However Upton also pointed to breakthroughs in this year's CSD, such as the fact that the body had called on FAO and the International Maritime Organisation to act against illegal and unreported fishing, including "pirate" fishing.

During the meeting, Netherlands' Environment Minister Jan Pronk proposed the establishment of a so-called Green Interpol to crack down on environmental crimes. Addressing the UN Commission on Sustainable Development Mr. Pronk proposed combining the compliance regimes of all the various environmental conventions to forge a concrete and operational mechanism to handle the inspection, investigation, policing and prosecution of environmental criminals.

Also at the CSD the 15-member International Commission on Sustainable Consumption was launched, to develop "different, determinedly practical" measures to foster lifestyle changes necessary to achieve sustainable development. The Commission will present its findings in 2002 as part of a UN review of progress 10 years after the Rio Earth Summit. Commission members will be private and public sector officials, as well as academics, from industrialised and developing countries.

For more details on the session, see <http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/download/asc/enb05132e.txt>

"Minister Jan Pronk calls for 'green Interpol' to stop rampant eco-criminals," EARTH TIMES NEWS, 23 April 1999; "Privately sponsored international panel to develop action plan for UN Commission," INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT REPORT, 28 April 1999; "Disappointment at progress in sustainable development," IPS, 3 May 1999; "Summary of the Seventh Session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development: 19-30 April 1999", ENB, 3 May, 1999.

NAFTA MINISTERS: CANADA PROPOSES TO NARROW INVESTOR-STATE PROVISION

Trade ministers from Mexico, Canada and the U.S. met last month in Ottawa for a review of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), now in its fifth year. U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky called for increased attention to the needs of environment, labour and other non-government organisations in NAFTA, as well as at the WTO and in negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

At the NAFTA ministerial, Mexico expressed strong opposition to a Canadian proposal to retroactively narrow the interpretation of NAFTA's Chapter 11 investor-state provision. NAFTA Chapter 11 allows an investor to seek compensation if a government acts to directly or indirectly expropriate an investment in that country. At the NAFTA ministerial last month, Canada proposed to limit the definition of what government actions amount to expropriation. Mexico opposed the idea, arguing that to re-open the NAFTA text would be "fatal" to NAFTA. Instead, interpretation of Chapter 11 should be left to the dispute settlement process established under NAFTA, according to

Mexican Minister of Trade and Industrial Development Herminio Blanco. The U.S. had no official comment on the proposal.

Observers note that Canada's proposal was made in response to political pressure from non-governmental organisations (NGOs). NGOs have criticised Chapter 11 as subversive to environmental goals. For example, cases brought against Canada under NAFTA Chapter 11 have sought to reverse Canadian bans on MMT, a gasoline additive with a high magnesium content considered to be a public health risk; and a ban on the export of hazardous waste containing polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs).

Hemispheric NGOs last month warned against adopting NAFTA Chapter 11 as a model for investment rules under FTAA, stressing that such rules threaten the health, environment and sovereignty of nations. In its submission to the FTAA committee on civil society participation, the Centre for International Environmental Law (CIEL) issued a clear statement against NAFTA Chapter 11 as a model for FTAA rules on investment. "The [NAFTA] expropriation provisions are drafted broadly enough to raise concern that corporations will use them to exact compensation from governments for imposing regulations, even when such regulations are promulgated in the normal course of regulating in the public interest." according to the CIEL paper.

"Notes for an address by the Honourable Sergio Marchi Minister for International Trade to the NAFTA fifth anniversary luncheon," Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade - Canada, 23 April 1999; "NAFTA ministers clash over Canadian proposal to modify NAFTA," INSIDE US TRADE, 30 April 1999; "Environmental protection and investment rules in the Free Trade Area of the Americas," CIEL, 31 March 1999; "Trade: NGO concerns over power of foreign investors in FTAA," IPS, 22 April 1999.

ACCESSION UPDATE: CHINA, EU MEET; CHINA BUILDS MISSION TO WTO

The French press has been saying that the Chinese government is optimistically anticipating a favourable conclusion to its WTO accession bid by having started works last February to build its WTO Mission in Geneva, less than a kilometre up the lakefront from the WTO building itself.

This does not mean that the way into the WTO will be plain sailing for China: EU and Chinese trade negotiators met last week to discuss China's accession to the WTO. Negotiators focused on the phaseout of customs duties and quotas, and market access for the telecom, banking and insurance sectors. The EU is keen to ensure that the U.S. does not secure the upper hand with China in any U.S.-China bilateral accord. Talks took place in advance of this week's visit to Beijing by European Commission Vice President Sir Leon Brittan - who is expected to announce a bilateral deal on accession.

China must still conclude bilateral agreements with Australia, Japan and the U.S. Talks last week between U.S. and Chinese trade negotiators brought the two sides no closer to an agreement. Indeed, Chinese negotiators accused the U.S. of being "too demanding."

Last week, outgoing WTO Director-General noted that China has made significant progress in its latest round of offers. Mr. Ruggiero was optimistic that China would be admitted to the WTO no later than January 2000 if not earlier.

"OMC: la Chine négocie avec Washington et Bruxelles," LE FIGARO, 27 April 1999; "Wide open," FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 22 April 1999; "Comme pour forcer le destin, la Chine construit déjà son siège auprès de l'OMC," Le Monde, 30 April 1999; "Zhu's lone crusade," BUSINESS WEEK, 27 April 1999; "China economy: WTO concessions spelled out," ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT, 28 April 1999; "China toughens its stance on WTO," INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 29 April 1999.

IN BRIEF

Responding to concerns over health and environment implications from genetically modified crops, China hopes to complete a National Framework for Bio-Safety Administration from which guidelines and regulations governing the use of biotechnology will be based. Chinese scientists expect biotechnology will be a major growth vehicle for the Chinese economy in the next century. The framework should be complete later this year. "China begins developing regulations to address potential risks of biotechnology," INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT REPORT, 28 April 1999.

Two leading food companies - Unilever and Nestle UK, last week announced they would phase out the use of genetically modified ingredients from their line of food products for sale in the UK. The move is reported to be in response to continued resistance toward genetically modified foodstuffs by European consumers. "Giant companies to phase out biotech foods," ENS, 28 April 1999; "Food industry backtracks on use of modified ingredients," FINANCIAL TIMES, 30 April 1999.

Meeting in Rome from 12-23 April, delegates were not able to conclude the revision of the International Undertaking on Plant Genetic Resources. A main objective of this exercise was to bring the Undertaking into harmony with the Convention on Biological Diversity. ICTSD Internal Files.

"Substantive progress" was made on a Liability Protocol to the Basel Convention on Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes, according to delegates at the most recent negotiating meeting, held from 19-23 April, in Geneva. Another negotiating meeting is likely to be held in September, before the Protocol is due to be adopted at the Conference of the Parties to the Basel Convention, in December 1999. ICTSD Internal Files.

WTO IN BRIEF

The Clinton Administration is planning to bring seven new complaints of unfair trade practices before the WTO, including two cases against the EU (on French subsidies to Airbus, and on labelling requirements regarding geographical indications for agricultural products and foodstuffs), two against South Korea (on U.S. beef exports, and government procurement practices for airport construction). The seventh case is against an alleged Canadian violation of the TRIPs Agreement, regarding duration of patents. The U.S. is also arguing that Argentina has failed to comply with the TRIPs Agreement regarding protection of undisclosed test data submitted to gain marketing approval for agricultural chemicals. "Administration to bring seven trade complaints to WTO," CONGRESS DAILY, 30 April, 1999.

Australia last week announced it would withdraw its WTO complaint against Japan's rice tariffication scheme. (See *BRIDGES Weekly Trade News Digest* Vol. 3, No 12, 29 March 1999). Australia will instead pursue bilateral discussions with Japan to resolve issues related to the scheme. Japan

implemented its scheme on 1 April, although it must still resolve remaining objections registered by three other WTO Members: the EU, Argentina and Uruguay. "Australia to retract objection to Japan's rice tariffs," DOW JONES 26 April 1999.

Norway tabled last week a document with proposals on Trade and Environment in the context of the postponed session of the General Councils Preparations for the 1999 Ministerial Conference. The paper calls for taking account of environmental concerns in all fields of negotiations; singles out the use of trade-measures in pursuance of Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) as well as the issue of voluntary eco-labelling programmes as subjects which need to be addressed during the upcoming negotiations; and, makes specific proposals of elements on trade and environment to be included in the Seattle Ministerial Declaration, including the objective of sustainable development, the precautionary principle, the polluter pays principle and the right to development. WTO Document WT/GC/W/176, 30 April 1999.

EVENTS & RESOURCES

▪ EVENTS

For a more complete list of events in coming months, please refer to ICTSD's web calendar at: <http://www.ictsd.org/html/calendar.htm>

WTO Meetings

An updated list of forthcoming WTO meetings is posted at <http://www.wto.org/wto/about/meets.htm>. Please bear in mind that dates and times of WTO meetings are often changed, and that the important informal meetings of different WTO bodies are not always announced.

6 May: DISPUTE SETTLEMENT BODY. For information contact Nuch Nazeer, WTO, tel: (41-22) 739-5393.

18 May: COUNCIL FOR TRADE IN SERVICES. For information contact Nuch Nazeer, as above.

20-21 May: SPECIAL GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING, on the 3rd Ministerial Conference. For information contact Nuch Nazeer, as above.

Other Events

9-10 May, Berlin: EU TRADE MINISTER'S MEETING. On the agenda: the proposed WTO Millennium Round. For information on NGO activities around this event, contact Olivier Hoedeman at paxaran@antenna.nl

10-11 May, Brussels: THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY (CAP): FINDING COMMON GROUND - PUTTING HEALTH, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AT THE CORE OF A FOOD POLICY FOR EUROPE. For information contact Jeanette Longfield, e-mail: nationalfoodalliance@compuserve.com

26 May, London: CONFERENCE: FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL: EXPLORING THE ALTERNATIVES TO GLOBALISATION. Organised by the Ecologist Magazine in association with the International Society for Ecology and Culture (ISEC). For information contact Ms. Renske van

Staveren, International Forum on Food & Agriculture (IFA), c/o Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), 2105 First Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN, USA 55404-2505, tel: (1-612) 870-3423, fax: 4846, rvanstaveren@iatp.org, web: <http://www.iffah.org>

Postponed meeting: UNCTAD/ICDA/CENNT NGO BRIEFING FOR UNCTAD X has been postponed to 10 June. For information contact Hisako Nomura, ICDA, Rue Stévin 115, B-1000, Brussels, tel: (32-2) 230-0430, fax: 230-5237, e-mail: icda@skynet.be, web: <http://www.icda.be>

14-15 June, London, UK: IMPLEMENTING THE KYOTO PROTOCOL. Hosted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The issues to be covered will include both governmental and industrial implementation initiatives, impacts on international trade and the GATT, and the issues concerning developing countries, the clean development mechanism and technology transfer. Registration fee: £934.13. For information contact Georgina Wright, RIIA Conference Unit, Chatham House, 10 St. James's Square, London SW1Y 4LE, UK, tel: (44-171) 957-5700/957-5754, fax: 321-2045/957- 5710, e-mail: gwright@riia.org

18 June, BRUSSELS: 4TH ANNUAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN THE WTO CONFERENCE. Speakers include Deputy USTR Rita Hayes and former Chairman of the General Council of the WTO John Weekes. For information contact Nick May, Cameron May Ltd., 69-71 Bondway, London SW8 1SQ, UK, tel: (44-0) 171-582-7567, fax: 793-8353, e-mail: conferences@cameronmay.com, web: <http://www.cameronmay.com>

5-8 July, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION SYMPOSIUM. For information contact the Conference Secretariat, fax: (27-331) 420246, e-mail: soil&pol@sprs.co.za, web: <http://www.sprs.co.za/>

▪ RESOURCES

AVAILABLE ON THE WTO WEBSITE: Summary of Symposium on Trade and Environment, at <http://www.wto.org/wto/hlms/sumhlenv.htm>; and Trade and Development, at <http://www.wto.org/wto/hlms/sumhldev.htm>; by the International Institute for Sustainable Development.

LABOUR REPORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU). These can be viewed at <http://www.icftu.org/english/sclause/escllstwtocs.html>

DARK VICTORY: THE UNITED STATES AND GLOBAL POVERTY, SECOND EDITION, 1999. By Walden Bello. Looks at impacts of the North's strategy to dominate the international economy and reassert corporate control. Discusses consequences of removal of barriers to foreign investments, privatisation of state-owned activities, reduction in social welfare spending, wage cuts and devaluation in local currencies. 162 pp. US\$14.95. For information contact The Institute for Food and Development Policy, 398 60th St., Oakland, CA 94618, USA, tel: (1-510) 654-4400, fax: 4551; e-mail: foodfirst@igc.org, web: www.foodfirst.org

THE PARADOX OF PLENTY, 1999. Douglas H. Boucher (ed.). Examines new paradigms of food security, shifting focus from ability to produce enough food to issues of access to resources, equity and consumption. Looks at impact of global economy on global food systems. Examines cases from developing countries and examples of alternative food systems. 342 pp. US\$18.95. For information contact The Institute for Food and Development Policy, as above.

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