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LEAD STORIES

WTO IN MIDST OF NEGOTIATING FLURRY

WTO Members are in the midst of two busy weeks of negotiations prior to a final pre-Cancun General Council meeting to be held from 25-26 August. General Council Chair Perez del Castillo has been conducting Heads of Delegation (HOD) meetings every morning, beginning on 11 August after a two-week WTO recess. These meetings focus on all issues up for negotiation -- including agriculture, non-agricultural market access, the Singapore issues and special and differential treatment (S&D) for developing countries (see related stories, this issue) -- allowing Members to make their way through the items included in the draft Ministerial text for the fifth WTO Ministerial meeting in Cancun from 10-14 September. Smaller groups are meeting during the afternoons and into the night, and groups of Members have tabled a number of key proposals, most significantly in the area of agriculture. As such, real negotiations are -- finally -- taking place. According to sources, Chair Perez del Castillo plans on releasing a revised Draft Ministerial Declaration text on 22 August (see <http://www.ictsd.org/ministerial> for the latest version issued on 18 July).

Montreal "mini-ministerial" puts pressure on US, EC

During the WTO recess, 25 Members met in a "mini-ministerial" organised by the Canadian government in Montreal from 28-30 July. The main focus of the meeting was on bridging gaps over agriculture, which has been the stumbling block of the Doha Round. Ministers urged the US and EC to find a compromise to unblock negotiations on agriculture, which would provide impetus for negotiations in all other areas as well. The US and EC met informally in bilateral meetings around the mini-ministerial, which itself did not lead to any breakthrough, and continued to work together, finally tabling a proposal on 18 August (see related story, this issue).

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The way forward

While trade diplomats have expressed some optimism on the possibility of reaching a broad agreement at Cancun, some are still highly concerned with the process itself. A number of African countries, including Kenya, Benin, Botswana, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, made a submission on 14 August proposing improvements to the decision-making process before and at Cancun (WT/GC/W/510, searchable at <http://docsonline.wto.org>). They emphasised the need for a transparent, democratic, inclusive and consultative process, and called for the adoption of procedural rules to ensure such a process.

Chair Perez del Castillo indicated that he would issue a revised draft Ministerial text on 22 August, incorporating the most recent developments in various negotiating areas. The new draft will be discussed in the resumed 25-26 August General Council meeting (the last meeting, held from 24-25 July, was formally suspended to allow for further negotiations. See BRIDGES Weekly, 28 July 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-07-28/story1.htm>). The General Council is also expected to deal with the issue of modalities for the Singapore issues -- investment, competition, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation -- since these have not been resolved in informal and HOD meetings (see related story, this issue).

ICTSD reporting.

AGRICULTURE: REAL NEGOTIATIONS START AS EC, US TABLE JOINT MODALITIES

In a long-awaited move, and in an attempt to break the longstanding deadlock in the WTO agriculture negotiations, the two major players in the debate -- i.e. the European Communities and the US -- on 13 August presented Members with a "Joint Text" setting out approaches and parameters for a possible modalities framework for further reform of the agricultural trading system. In reactions so far, many -- both developed and developing -- countries criticised the text for, inter alia, lacking specificity and ambition, as well as for its failure to appropriately address special and differential treatment (S&D) for developing and least-developed countries (LDCs).

Other new coalitions in the negotiations have started to prepare counterproposals to the EC-US. A group of six like-minded countries, and a coalition of nine Cairns Group countries plus China, India, Mexico and Peru both drafted counterproposals. Further contributions are

expected from a group of newly acceded Members, as well as from the core multifunctionality camp spearheaded by Japan, Norway, and Switzerland. Negotiations are entering a new, hot phase, with the Chair of the General Council, Ambassador Carlos Perez del Castillo (Uruguay), aiming to circulate a new draft Cancun declaration with agriculture modalities attached by the end of the week.

EC-US Joint Text "galvanises" process

The new EU-US paper was circulated at a 13 August informal heads of delegation (HOD) consultation. This marked the first time -- since the agriculture talks reopened in 2000 -- that Members showed they were willing to move away from starting positions and seriously negotiate a compromise in the main areas under negotiation. In the words of WTO spokesperson Keith Rockwell, "this input from the US and EU has galvanised the process in a way that we have not seen in three-and-a-half years of agriculture negotiations". Many Members had been urging the two key players in the debate to show leadership and consolidate their contradictory stances, as many felt that only intensified dialogue between Brussels and Washington could break the near-total standstill in the negotiations. On the other hand, Members had made it clear that they could not accept a bilateral fait accompli deal, and that the many differing concerns of the other 129 (counting the EU as 16) Members needed to be reflected in any possible framework text. Accordingly, the EU and US have been keen to emphasise that their joint initiative was not exclusive and that additional issues such as special and differential treatment (S&D) for developing countries needed to be inserted in the proposed text.

In terms of detail, the Joint Text -- which does not contain any numbers for reduction -- proposes a "blended" market access formula that combines both the Uruguay Round (UR) formula (which could be applied to some "import sensitive" products) and the Swiss formula. The UR formula would allow the flexibility sought by European countries and others as it sets an average reduction, with a minimum reduction per tariff line. On the other hand, the Swiss formula would bring down all tariffs horizontally to a certain maximum ceiling -- a demand repeatedly brought forward by the US and the Cairns Group of agricultural exporters.

On S&D for developing countries, the text offers lower tariff reductions and longer implementation periods. However, the text does not mention the concept of special products as introduced in the Harbinson modalities (see BRIDGES Weekly, 13 February 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-02-13/story1.htm>). However, observers noted that the concept of "import

sensitive" products introduced by the Joint Text, with lower tariff reduction commitments under ordinary S&D, could provide developing countries with similar flexibility. The text also limits the eligibility of a new special safeguard mechanism (SSM) for developing countries to "import sensitive" products, while noting that the current special agricultural safeguard (SSG) "remains under negotiation". So-called "significant net food exporting countries" would only be subject to "adjusted" (or less comprehensive) S&D treatment.

On domestic support, the text differentiates between "trade-distorting domestic support," which would be reduced, and "less trade-distorting domestic support" which would be limited to five percent of total agricultural production. This new category matches the current Blue Box, with the significant difference that it does not require production limitations (set asides) or other supply management programmes. Sources noted that under this new design of the Blue Box, the US would be able to exempt from its reduction commitments the countercyclical payments it is making under the 2002 farm act. Moreover, according to the text, trade-distorting and less-trade distorting support would be reduced to an amount "significantly less" than the sum of Amber Box, Blue Box and de minimis support in 2004. Additionally, the proposal states that Members with higher levels of trade distorting subsidies would have to make greater efforts than others. Notably, the joint EU-US text does not at all address the Green Box (that covers only minimally trade distorting support).

Export subsidies would be eliminated over a certain period on "products of particular interest to developing countries," while remaining subsidies would be merely reduced. To provide for an equally effective process for export credits, the latter would be eliminated or reduced in parallel to the proposed commitments for export subsidies. Disciplines would also be established for food aid and single desk operators (used for example by Cairns Group members Australia and Canada).

Finally, the Joint Text lists a number of "issues of interest but not agreed", including: the Peace Clause (Article 13 of the Agriculture Agreement); non-trade concerns (NTCs); implementation period; sectoral initiatives (e.g. the cotton initiative by Benin, Burkina, Faso, Chad and Mali); the continuation clause (Article 20 of the Agriculture Agreement); geographical indications (GIs); and "other detailed rules".

Like-minded countries affirmative, but add S&D

At another HOD meeting on 19 August, a group of six like-minded countries -- the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Kenya, Nicaragua, Panama and Sri Lanka --

tabled an alternative Joint Text, which mainly focuses on the market access dimension of the EC-US paper. While accepting the general approach taken in the EC-US text, the six Members make additional proposals with respect to the tariff reduction commitments for developing countries. Under their proposed approach, developing countries have access to the UR formula across-the-board, with the option to self-designate a number of special products that would be exempted from any reduction commitments. The new SSM would not be limited in its general applicability. The group further presents a modality on how to tackle tariff escalation (higher tariffs on more highly processed products), which protect developed country markets.

Cairns et al. seek more ambition

In their 20 August "joint proposal for a framework document", a group of nine Cairns Group developing countries, plus China, India, Mexico and Peru, in principle follow the structure of the EU-US Joint Text, but demand a significantly higher level of ambition in all three pillars of market access, export competition and domestic support. On market access -- while reiterating earlier proposals such as scrapping the Blue Box and capping the Green Box -- the group of 13 developing countries introduced a notable differentiation between trade-distorting subsidies in general (which should be reduced) and domestic support on products designated for export, for which Members should envisage total elimination.

With regard to market access, the proposal uses a blended formula, but modifies the UR element by suggesting a simple uniform tariff cut (instead of average reduction plus minimum reduction per tariff line). Tariff rate quotas would be expanded, and in-quota tariffs reduced to zero. The current SSG (used by the EU and Japan) "shall be discontinued". In return, developing countries would be given a new SSM, the scope of which would "depend on the impact of tariff cuts" required from developing countries. In this respect, developing countries would have access to the UR formula across the board, with the option to establish special products "under conditions to be determined in the negotiations". From the perspective of the Cairns Group, this development marks a major shift. The group has so far been reluctant to agree to significant flexibilities for developing countries in the area of market access.

According to the proposal, export subsidies would be phased out using a two-pronged approach along the lines of the modalities set out in the Harbinson drafts, and export credits and food aid would also be disciplined. The proposed framework was signed by Cairns Group members Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile,

Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Paraguay, the Philippines, South Africa and Thailand, along with China, Ecuador, India, Mexico and Peru.

The texts, as well as other new contributions, will be discussed during daily informal HOD meetings until Friday 22 August, by which date Chair Perez Motta hopes to circulate a revised draft Cancun Ministerial text.

All three Joint Texts can be downloaded from the ICTSD website at <http://www.ictsd.org/issarea/ag/index.htm>.

Additional resources: Initial remarks by the African Group to the joint EU-US paper on agriculture (TN/AG/GEN/8, 19 August 2003), searchable at http://docsonline.wto.org/gen_search.asp?searchmode=simple.

ICTSD reporting.

OTHER NEWS

SINGAPORE ISSUES: STAUNCH OPPOSITION, NEW AFRICAN PROPOSAL

Opposition to commencing talks on the so called Singapore issues -- investment, competition, trade facilitation and transparency in government procurement -- remains strong among many WTO Members as the date for the Cancun Ministerial Conference draws near. An informal Heads of Delegation (HOD) consultation on 15 August failed to bridge Members' sharply polarised positions. General Council Chair Ambassador Carlos Perez del Castillo (Uruguay) said work on modalities on the Singapore issues had to be moved to the General Council level, as the Working Groups had not touched on this issue. He added that their mandate was to "develop modalities for the consideration of the Ministers". Acknowledging the need to develop substantive and not just procedural modalities, he tried to guide the session into a discussion of the specific modalities of each issue. The discussions were reportedly politically charged -- especially those on investment. There was little agreement on the substance of each issue, nor on how to treat the issues in general.

While demandeurs of talks, including the EU and Japan, consider the Doha mandate to imply that negotiations will start after Cancun and a decision on

modalities has to be taken, many other Members disagree. More consultations by the Chair, with the "Friends of the Chair," are set to follow.

African countries oppose negotiations

Also at the 15 August HOD meeting, Kenya, on behalf of eleven African countries (Benin, Botswana, Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe) presented a paper outlining their position on a decision on the Singapore issues. The paper also contains the countries' proposed text on these issues, to be included in the draft Cancun Ministerial text (see WT/GC/W/510, searchable at <http://docsonline.wto.org>). The submission clearly indicates the unwillingness of these countries to begin negotiations on the Singapore issues, reflecting the views of a larger group of developing and least-developed countries including the African, Caribbean and Pacific group as well as India, Egypt, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cuba, Venezuela and Bangladesh (see BRIDGES Weekly, 17 July 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-07-17/wtoinbrief.htm#1>). Many of these countries supported the Kenyan paper at the HOD meeting.

The paper also follows the line taken on these issues in an ACP ministerial "Declaration on the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the WTO," adopted in Brussels on 1 August as well as the declaration from an African Union meeting in Mauritius on 20 June and the Dhaka Declaration adopted at the Second LDC Trade Ministers' Meeting at the beginning of June. The text notes the "peculiar aspects and complexities" of each Singapore issue and that WTO Members "...had not reached a common multilateral context."

Recognising the concerns of many developing countries about the potential serious implications of these issues on their economies, the African paper goes on to add that "the benefits of negotiating a multilateral framework for each of these issues is not evident to them." It further notes that "many developing countries have scarce resources and limited capacity to meaningfully negotiate these issues, especially as they grapple with implementation of existing WTO rules and the expanded work programme after the Doha Ministerial Conference." Consequently "...the situation did not provide a basis for commencement of negotiations in these areas" and called for a continuation of the clarification exercise on these issues in their respective working groups. The paper is indicative of the concerns of most African countries, as well as many other developing countries, about the unclear development implications of these issues apart from the strain put on their existing negotiating and implementing capacities.

Thailand, Chile, link investment and agriculture talks

While developing countries have not officially linked agreement to negotiate the Singapore issues -- individually or as a group -- to progress in other negotiating bodies, many trade sources have pointed to the link (see BRIDGES Weekly, 28 July 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-07-28/story3.htm>).

Reportedly, Cairns group members Thailand and Chile made the link between investment and agriculture at the informal HOD meeting of August 15. According to sources, they indicated their willingness to open negotiations on investment provided there was progress on agriculture. South Africa stressed that Ministers at Doha had deliberately sequenced negotiations in order to ensure that developing countries' issues were addressed first. Therefore agreement on implementation issues, S&D, TRIPS and public health, agriculture, non-agricultural market access should come first and only then on Singapore issues.

EC, Japan prepare draft texts on modalities

According to trade sources, the EC and Japan have prepared draft texts on the modalities of the Singapore issues, which however have not yet been submitted to the WTO. These texts place the Singapore issues within the single undertaking and set a 1 January 2005 deadline for completing negotiations. The texts reportedly include 'organisation and management' among the procedural elements for modalities. On substance, the Japan text states that the review and clarification work carried out so far forms the basis for the negotiations.

The EU and Japanese texts consider the issues listed in the Doha Declaration and their subsequent clarification as sufficient to constitute substantive modalities. This is not a view shared by many developing countries, who want to see a sufficient degree of convergence and clarification on the substantive aspects of the issues themselves, as well as additional aspects, before taking a potential decision on modalities. Both the Japan and EU texts reiterate their commitment to technical assistance and capacity building during and after the negotiations, and the EU paper also reportedly states that the negotiations "shall" take fully into account the principle of special and differential treatment for developing and least developed countries.

ICTSD reporting; "WTO Members Remain Polarised On Singapore Issues", THIRD WORLD NETWORK, 17 August 2003; "EC AND Japan's New Draft Texts On

Singapore Issues Modalities For Cancun", THIRD WORLD NETWORK, 6 August 2003.

MEMBERS STRUGGLE TO REACH PRE-CANCUN S&D EARLY HARVEST

Returning after a two-week break, WTO Heads of Delegations met informally on 13, 18, and 19 August to discuss the review on special and differential treatment (S&D) provisions for developing countries (see BRIDGES Weekly, 28 July 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-07-28/story5.htm>). The talks resulted in the number of specific proposals agreed upon growing from 15 to 17. The new agreed proposals deal with technology transfer and Article XVIII:C of GATT 1994 (which sets out certain measures related to governmental assistance to establish an industry). A new text from General Council Chair Pérez del Castillo was released on 19 August (available at [http://www.ictsd.org/issarea/development/resources/JO B\(03\)-161.pdf](http://www.ictsd.org/issarea/development/resources/JO B(03)-161.pdf)).

Like most of the 15 'agreed' proposals that preceded them -- aimed at forming an integral part of the 'development' agenda -- neither of these new proposals confers more favourable treatment for developing countries. The former "reaffirms" a 19 February 2003 decision of the TRIPs Council (see BRIDGES Weekly, 27 February 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-02-27/story2.htm>), and the latter "instructs" the Council for Trade in Goods to develop procedures for recourse to Article XVIII:C. One trade observer speculated that if no meaningful S&D provisions were agreed in coming days, having an early harvest ready for Ministers in Cancun would be "rather difficult".

Technology Transfer

The new 'S&D provision' agreed in this area reaffirms a decision taken on 19 February 2003 by the TRIPs Council (IP/C/28), which aims at putting in place a mechanism for ensuring the monitoring and full implementation of developed country obligations in Article 66.2 (Technology Transfer). The TRIPs decision also sets out the arrangements for the annual reports by developed country Members and their annual review by the TRIPs Council.

It differs quite markedly however from the original proposal by the Africa Group (TN/CTD/W/3/Rev.2, <http://docsonline.wto.org>), which aimed not only at putting in place a mechanism for monitoring the 'obligations' of Article 66.2, but also sought to define what could be construed as technology -- an omission in the original article that makes its implementation, and more importantly its enforcement, difficult.

As of August 2003, only eight Members had submitted reports on measures in place to meet their obligations under this article (IP/C/W/388 and addenda).

Article XVIII:C

At the 18 August meeting, Members agreed to "instruct the Council on Trade in Goods to develop and adopt procedures for recourse to Article XVIII:C". Article XVIII, entitled Governmental Assistance to Economic Development, recognises that it may be necessary and justifiable for certain developing country Members, under certain conditions, to take measures affecting imports in order to implement programmes of economic development. Section C in particular, deals with "other measures" relating to governmental assistance to establish an industry.

In their new decision, Members noted that developing country concerns related to the suspension of concessions "shall" be addressed. These concerns deal primarily with the chilling effect on Members using the Article, which results from the potential requirement to make compensatory concessions and/or face similar concession removal from affected Members (see TN/CTD/W/4/Add.1, W/8 & WT/GC/W/363, searchable at <http://docsonline.wto.org>). Proponents of updating Article XVIII support their claim by pointing to the fact that only one Member has used Section C since the WTO came into force.

As has been the rule rather than the exception in this S&D review, the language agreed upon differs vastly from the original two proposals (from St. Lucia and the Group of Least-Developed Countries respectively). Generally speaking, both were aimed at making Article XVIII:C a meaningful S&D provision that developing countries could resort to (not only as a last recourse) to help them build much-needed supply capacity. The final language agreed contains nothing concrete on how these concerns might be addressed, but rather forces the debate to start from scratch in a new forum.

ICTSD reporting.

NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE PERSISTS AS WTO MARKET ACCESS TALKS MOVE TOWARDS CANCUN

Gaps between developed and developing countries on how to structure negotiations on liberalisation of industrial goods continue to hold back agreement on a modalities text prior to Cancun. As BRIDGES Weekly went to press, market access talks were revolving around a 1.5-page informal paper that would appear as

an annex to a new draft Ministerial Declaration expected to be released on 22 August. The draft Ministerial text and any annexes will ultimately be forwarded to trade ministers at the fifth WTO Ministerial Conference from 10-14 September in Cancun, Mexico.

The annex, prepared by the Chair of the Negotiating Group on Non- Agricultural Market Access (NAMA), Amb. Pierre-Louis Girard, earlier this week, is a compromise option that provides general guidelines based around a draft modalities paper he released earlier on 16 May (see BRIDGES Weekly, 17 July, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-07-17/story3.htm>). The annex is designed to elicit guidance from ministers at Cancun on how to proceed with the market access talks and bridge outstanding North-South differences.

Disagreement centres around both market access formulas and provisions on special and differential treatment (S&D) for developing countries. The US, New Zealand and other developed countries are pushing for stronger, more specific language on market access in the annex, while India, Brazil and other developing countries are concerned that too much specific content would prejudice an outcome at the Ministerial. The Chair's annex text, according to trade sources, is an attempt to find a balance between the high level of ambition of some Members on the one hand, and S&D, less than full reciprocity and equal participation in the process on the other.

Developed country modalities proposal meets with resistance

At an informal Heads of Delegation meeting on 12 August, many developing countries rejected a contribution from Canada, the EC and the US on modalities (JOB(03)/163, available at <http://www.ictsd.org/ministerial/cancun/docs/163.pdf>) that suggests more drastic cuts than those contained in Girard's 16 May paper and would require steeper tariff cuts in developing countries than in industrialised states. The Canada/EC/US paper forwards an ambitious tariff reduction formula designed to harmonise tariff lines by reducing high tariffs by a significantly greater margin than low tariffs. Pakistan said that the proposal was inequitable, as developing countries -- which tend to have higher tariffs on industrial goods -- would be required to cut their tariffs drastically, while developed country Members would only need to make marginal cuts.

On S&D the Canada/EC/US paper suggests that credits could be granted to developing countries that either bind more than 95 percent of their tariffs or bring their bound rates closer to the level of applied rates. Credits would be put toward a reduction in these countries' tariff

formula cut. Here again developing countries opposed. Mexico's ambassador Eduardo Perez Motta told other Members that such an approach uses S&D "as a reward," while Pakistan said that the provisions were for developed, and not for developing, countries. India said that the S&D component of the industrialised countries' paper was "unclear" and doubted whether there were any benefits for developing countries.

At a formal meeting of the NAMA on 13-15 August, Members for the most part discussed a 'Possible Options' paper drafted by Chair Girard (available at <http://www.ictsd.org/ministerial/cancun/docs/155.pdf>), which attempted to integrate some of the concerns expressed on his draft modalities paper since May. A number of developing countries said the Options paper complicated things by adding another variable requiring negotiation in the tariff reduction formula, and by requiring higher tariff cuts from developing countries. The Chair responded by saying the second introduced variable (the average of the base tariff rates, which could be capped at a certain level to be determined by Members) was in fact a way to compensate the effects of the first. Developing countries also reiterated their concerns that sectorial tariff elimination as specified in the original draft be made voluntary, not mandatory, as currently specified. On 19 August, Chair Girard released a revised version of his May draft (TN/MA/W/35/Rev.1, available at <http://docsonline.wto.org>) which to a great extent reflected the changes suggested in his Options paper. However, since talks have now shifted to discussing the content of the annex paper, this revised modalities paper has been put on the back burner until after Cancun.

Kenya indicated that the Chair's Options paper had not given enough attention to the concerns expressed by African countries. In a paper circulated on 11 August on behalf of a number of developing African states (TN/MA/W/40), Kenya said that the Chair's proposed tariff reduction formula would lead to a worsening balance of trade in poorer countries, as tariff cuts on their generally higher rates would not be matched by reductions in rich economies. Kenya added that the Chair's modalities on S&D should be based on objective criteria, instead of ambiguous language.

Links to agriculture

Some Members are now making more explicit links between the NAMA talks and negotiations on modalities in agricultural liberalisation. Brazil, India, Mexico, South Africa and Malaysia all said last week that they are reluctant to move on NAMA until there are concrete results in the agriculture negotiations. Brazil has taken

this one step further by saying there should be a link between market access and talks under the Rules Negotiating Group, for instance on anti-dumping.

Mexico asked the EC how it could expect developing countries to make deep commitments in industrial tariffs while it continued to stall in the removal of its agricultural subsidies.

ICTSD reporting; "Trade: Rich Countries Stake Bets on Industry," IPS, 12 August 2003; "US-EC-Canada Proposal On Non-Agricultural Market Access Draws Angry Response From Developing Countries," THIRD WORLD NETWORK, 12 August 2003.

IN BRIEF

ACP TRADE MINISTERS ADOPT DECLARATION ON CANCUN

The trade ministers from the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of countries convened in Brussels from 31 July to 1 August to discuss their positions on the issues on the agenda for the fifth WTO Ministerial conference in Cancun in September. They adopted a declaration that will be included as an official document at the Cancun conference. Ministers expressed concern about the slow progress in implementing the Doha Work Programme and warned that "the lack of meaningful progress on these issues has the potential to undermine the confidence of ACP States in the multilateral trading system". They reiterated the need to improve market access for agricultural products from ACP states, and the need for developed countries to eliminate subsidies in this area. EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy, who attended the meeting, stressed that the development dimension was key to the Doha agenda, and that the concerns and expectations of developing countries should meet with a response. The ACP ministers underscored that they were not in a position to accept the launch of negotiations on the Singapore issues -- investment, competition, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation -- mainly because they lack the capacity and resources to effectively negotiate. They also urged WTO Members to ensure that the decision-making process was transparent, democratic, all-inclusive and consultative, and expressed their wish to be represented at all formal and informal meetings.

The ACP Declaration can be viewed at: http://www.ictsd.org/ministerial/cancun/docs/acp_decl.htm

"ACP Ministers today adopted a declaration for the next WTO ministerial meeting (Cancun) and decided the whole Group will have a single overall spokesman at this meeting," ACP PRESS RELEASE, 1 August 2003; "ACP Trade Ministers say there is no basis for negotiating Singapore Issues, Call on WTO to adopt rules for inclusive decision-making in Cancun," TWN, 3 August 2003; "Poorest countries highlight issues for Cancun meeting," TERRAVIVA, 6 August 2003.

NEW HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS FOR TNCs

On 13 August the UN Sub-Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights adopted a set of guidelines for businesses worldwide to ensure their compliance with international human rights treaties and conventions. The document, "Draft Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises With Regard to Human Rights," includes principles of equity and non-discrimination, rejection of hard labour, and respect for the environment. It also calls for trans-national corporations (TNCs) to be "subject to periodic monitoring and verification" by the UN or independent agencies. The norms should apply not only to multinational corporations but also to private businesses. NGOs and international human rights groups hailed the new UN norms for they represent a major potential breakthrough in the development and expansion of international human rights. According to Arvind Ganesan, director of the Business and Human Rights Program at New York-based Human Rights Watch (HRW), this new and innovative should encourage multinational corporations to support and promote the effort. The document will be transmitted to the 53-nation Commission for Human Rights in March 2004 for approval.

"U.N. Rights Committee Considers Monitoring Corporations," UN WIRE, 13 August 2003; "Les multinationales priées de prouver leurs engagements éthiques," LE MONDE, 14 August 2003; "Rights Groups Hail New UN Guidelines for Business," ONE WORLD UNITED STATES, 14 August 2003.

FRENCH ACTIVISTS PROTEST WTO MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE

On 8 August, more than 100,000 people attended a three-day protest against the WTO in Larzac in Southern France. The leader of the mass, veteran

French anti-globalisation campaigner Jose Bove, called on participants to denounce next month's round of trade liberalisation talks in Cancun, Mexico. Bove, who was released from jail early August after serving part of a 10-month term for uprooting genetically modified crops, warned that the month of September will "not be hot, it will burn". The three-day Larzac 2003 Festival, which included speeches, debates, street theatre, film shows, and a rock concert aimed at drawing attention to the dangers to democracy posed by the WTO, trade liberalisation and multinational corporations. "Since 1995, the WTO has tried to impose its authority, but the people have never been consulted about this organisation, the undemocratic nature of which we condemn," Bove told participants. He said he is determined to put pressure on the decision-makers at Cancun, and invited protesters to mobilise to make it a failure.

"French WTO protest movement grows," BBC NEWS, 11 August 2003; "100,000 attend overnight 'anti-globalisation Woodstock' in southern France," AFP, 9 August 2003; "Bove returns to fray at anti-WTO rally in southern France," AFP, 8 August 2003; "French Protester Bove to Step Down as Spokesman," REUTERS, 10 August 2003.

SOUTH ASIAN AGENDA FOR CANCUN MINISTERIAL

South Asia Watch on Trade, Economics & Environment (SAWTEE) and Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) jointly organised a conference on 24-25 July in Kathmandu, Nepal, focussing on the South Asian agenda for the Cancun Ministerial. During the conference, which gathered more than 60 persons, participants discussed common positions on issues of interest to member countries for all WTO negotiations, and ways to strengthen the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Shankar Sharma, Vice-Chair of the National Planning Commission, Kathmandu, Nepal recognised that "South Asian economies are diverse in terms of their status but that they can still make a difference if they properly use the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) forum and go together with a common agenda at the Cancun Ministerial". Ratnakar Adhikari, Executive Director of SAWTEE, underlined the important role of civil society organisation. At the event, representatives of the civil society -- including academia, public interest non-governmental organisations, the business community and media from South Asian countries -- adopted a declaration on the forthcoming fifth WTO Ministerial meeting in Cancun in September. The declaration urges, inter alia, developed countries to improve market access for all developing countries and to give effect to bound commitments on

zero quota - zero tariff market access to all goods from least-developed countries. The conference was a part of a three-year project that seeks to address various changes occurring in the areas of trade and economics, and provide linkages between civil society groups in South Asia on issues concerning trade and sustainable development.

SAWTEE PRESS RELEASE, 24 July 2003; "Kathmandu Declaration of South Asian Civil Society on the Cancun Ministerial," 25 July 2003.

US AND SACU CONCLUDE SECOND ROUND OF FREE TRADE TALKS

On 6 August, the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and US negotiators concluded their second round of free-trade talks. The two parties exchanged information and discussed principles and provisions in areas such as agricultural and industrial trade, standards, rules of origin, and services. Assistant US Trade Representative for Africa, Florie Liser, told a press conference at the end of the talks that parties still had to decide on the scope of the agreement. "We want an ambitious free trade agreement. We want to open our markets as much as possible," she said. During the talks, negotiators also raised "areas of sensitivity": SACU lead negotiator Xavier Carim identified two areas of sensitivity, namely agricultural subsidies and anti-dumping measures. He said the free trade agreement should go beyond the trade opportunities generated by the US Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), due to expire in 2008. The AGOA Agreement allows 38 sub-Saharan Africa countries to export about 6,100 products duty-free to the US. The Bush Administration has indicated its intention to renew the AGOA -- however, as there is no guarantee that the US Congress will ratify the renewal, Florie Liser expressed the urgency of "locking in" the benefits of AGOA in a free trade agreement. "In both directions we are very important to each other," Liser said. The next round of talks is scheduled for October in Washington, and the agreement is due to be completed in 2004.

"Hope for free trade deal in US-Sacu talks," NAMIBIAN, 7 August 2003; "SACU to Spell Out Position On Areas of Free Trade," ALLAFRICA.COM, 7 August 2003; "US, SACU trade negotiations to be completed next year: official," AFP, 7 August 2003.

WTO IN BRIEF

US REQUESTS WTO PANEL IN US-EU BIOTECH DISPUTE

The US at the 18 August meeting of the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) requested the establishment of a panel to rule on its complaint against the EU's de facto moratorium on the approval of new genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and a number of marketing and import bans in certain EU member states (see BRIDGES Weekly, 14 May 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-05-14/story1.htm>).

Requests were also submitted by Argentina, a third party to the US case, and Canada, which is initiating a separate dispute. The US requested that the complaints be assessed by a single panel. The request comes at the end of consultations initiated in May. According to US Ambassador Linnet Deily, the consultations had proven inconclusive and the EU did not "offer any scientific justification for its measure". The EU, in contrast, contended that it had been prepared to continue the consultation process, but that "to the EU's dismay" the US had declared that the consultations had failed and immediately submitted its panel request. The EU continues to insist that its measures are justified under international law, citing inter alia the recently adopted Codex risk analysis principles and the precautionary approach provided for in the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety (to enter into force on 11 September) in support of its measures.

The EU is expected to block the request. The US can then make a second request at the 29 August DSB meeting -- just prior to the fifth WTO Ministerial meeting in Cancun -- which the EU cannot block.

For further information on the dispute, see http://www.ictsd.org/issarea/environment/biotech_case.htm.

ICTSD reporting; "European Commission regrets the request for a WTO panel on GMOs," EC PRESS RELEASE, 18 August 2003.

NEPAL READY TO ENTER WTO

The last meeting of the WTO Working Party handling Nepal's membership negotiations approved all documents containing Nepal's commitments on 15 August. The final approval of Nepal's membership will be made at the fifth WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun in September. According to Dinesh Pyakural, Nepal's Chief Negotiator, the WTO membership will

enhance the country's capacity and competitiveness on the international market through policy and legislative reforms that will be carried out. Nepal's tariff rates have been bound at around 42 percent for agricultural products and around 24 percent for other products. Nepal concluded bilateral talks for the entry with India, New Zealand, the US, Australia, Japan, the EU, Canada, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and others. During talks, the US raised questions regarding Nepal's proposed plant variety protection law, and whether Nepal would adopt the 1991 Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants Convention (UPOV 91, which contains extensive protection for plant breeders to the prejudice of farmers' rights). Dinesh Pyakural said Nepal rejected the kind of "WTO-plus" commitment the adoption of the UPOV 91 would entail. Nepal will become the 148th WTO Member 30 days after ratifying the agreement. Nepal and Cambodia, whose accession process was finalised in July (see BRIDGES Weekly, 28 July 2003, <http://www.ictsd.org/weekly/03-07-28/wtoinbrief.htm>), will be the first two least-developed countries to become WTO members.

"Nepal nears WTO membership," NEPALNEWS.COM, 16 August 2003; "We rejected WTO-plus terms: Commerce Secretary," NEPALNEWS.COM, 18 August 2003; "Nepal set to join WTO at Cancun Ministerial Conference," WTO PRESS RELEASE, 18 August 2003.

ON THE MOVE

WILLIAM KENNEDY NEW CEC EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

On 19 June, the Council of the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC) announced the appointment of William V. Kennedy for a three-year term as Executive Director of the Secretariat of the CEC. Kennedy has held international environmental policy and management positions through most of his career, including with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, UNEP and the OECD.

"Commission for Environmental Cooperation of North America Announces New Executive Director", CEC PRESS RELEASE, 19 June 2003.

TRUDI HARTZENBERG APPOINTED TRALAC EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

On 1 June, Trudi Hartzenberg took over as the new Executive Director of the Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa (tralac). Hartzenberg has worked extensively in the field of economics where she has held positions at various universities, most recently the University of Cape Town where she was Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Development Policy Research Unit at the School of Economics.

"Tralac appoints new Executive Director," TRALAC PRESS RELEASE, 17 June 2003.

EVENTS & RESOURCES

EVENTS

For a more comprehensive list of events in trade and sustainable development, please refer to ICTSD's web calendar at: <http://www.ictsd.org/cal/index.htm>. If you would like to submit an event, please email events@ictsd.ch.

ICTSD Event

11-12 September, Cancun, Mexico: CANCUN TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT SYMPOSIUM. ICTSD and El Colegio de Mexico will be co-convening the Cancun Trade and Development Symposium (CTDS) in parallel to the Fifth Cancun Ministerial Conference, to provide a platform for intellectual enquiry and dialogue on issues related to trade and development and to address key concerns afflicting development in the trade policy arena. The main objectives of the CTDS are to encourage innovative thinking on issues related to trade and development to be translated into inputs for negotiations, and to build greater understanding of the positive and negative development-related impacts and concerns of trade policies/rules and the current agenda. Over 15 different organisations will be convening sessions at the Symposium. For further information, please visit <http://www.ictsd.org/ministerial/cancun/tds/index.htm>.

Coming Up: 21 - 28 August

18-21 August, Geneva, Switzerland: 19TH MEETING OF THE CITES ANIMALS COMMITTEE. The meeting is organised by the CITES Secretariat. For further

information contact: CITES Secretariat; tel: (41 22) 917-8139; fax: 797-3417; email: cites@unep.ch; Internet: <http://www.cites.org/eng/ctee/animals/19/index.shtml>.

23-24 September, Dubai, United Arab Emirates: 2003 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WORLD BANK GROUP AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND: The Boards of Governors of the World Bank and the IMF will meet to discuss the work of their respective institutions. For more information contact visit: <http://www.dubai2003.org/>.

28-29 August, Almaty, Kazakhstan: INTERNATIONAL MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES. This conference was mandated by the UN General Assembly in 2002. The Second Intergovernmental Preparatory Committee will be held just prior to the conference. Events on trade facilitation measures and trade and transport facilitation, as well as a High Level Investment Forum will be held in parallel. For more information contact: Sandagdorj Erdenebileg, Office of the High Representative for the LDCs, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States; tel: +1-212-963-7703; fax: +1-917-367-3415; e-mail: erdenebileg@un.org; Internet: <http://www.un.org/special-rep/ohrls/imc/default.htm>.

WTO Events

An updated list of forthcoming WTO meetings is posted at: http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/meets.pdf. Please bear in mind that dates and times of WTO meetings are often changed, and that the WTO does not always announce the important informal meetings of the different bodies. Unless otherwise indicated, all WTO meetings are held at the WTO, Centre William Rappard, rue de Lausanne 154, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland, and are open to WTO Members and accredited observers only.

22 August, Geneva, Switzerland: WTO COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT.

25-26 August, Geneva, Switzerland: WTO GENERAL COUNCIL.

Other forthcoming events

4-6 September, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA: CONFERENCE ON CLIMATE POLICY AFTER MARRAKECH: TOWARDS GLOBAL PARTICIPATION. The conference aims to bring senior technical bureaucrats, well respected policy analysts and experienced practitioners together to: 1) discuss and share views on recent developments in climate policies and initiatives around the globe; 2) advance the

understanding of actions and policy frameworks that can contribute to compliance with Kyoto emissions targets; and 3) facilitate discussion on how, when, and under what conditions a climate regime could develop into to a global regime of wider participation and deeper emissions cuts. For further information contact Penny Higa, tel: +1 808 944-7131; fax: +1 808 944-7380; email: higap@eastwestcenter.org; Internet: <http://ewcraql1.eastwestcenter.org/~marrakech/>.

21-23 September, Miami, Florida, USA: 7TH EMA ANNUAL FALL MEETING & INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. The seventh Annual Fall Meeting & International Conference held by the Emissions Marketing Association (EMA), will focus on assessing the implementation of environmental markets around the world. It will cover the implementation of greenhouse gas markets in the EU, North America and under the Kyoto Protocol; the worldwide markets developing for renewable energy credits (RECs); and the US NOX and SO2 markets. The EMA's dual-track conference features 31 technical presentations and 9 poster presenters. For additional information contact: David Feldner, tel: +1-414-276-3819; fax: +1 414-276-3349; email: dfeldner@emissions.org; Internet: <http://www.emissions.org>.

22-26 September, Braunschweig, Germany: WORKSHOP ON INVASIVE ALIEN SPECIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL PLANT PROTECTION CONVENTION. This workshop is being organised jointly by the IPPC Secretariat and the German government. The intent of the workshop is to improve the understanding of how the IPPC can be used in the management of invasive alien species. Themes to be presented and discussed include: review of existing phytosanitary measures (including legislation, regulation and official procedures); scientific and technical needs as well as delivery capacity of National Plant Protection Organisations. For more information visit: <http://www.ippc.int/IPPC/En/Archive/IAS2003/IAS-WORKSHOP-Home.htm>.

30 September to 2 October, Cairo, Egypt: ENVIRONMENT 2003 "THE GATEWAY FOR PROFITABLE ENVIRONMENTAL COMPLIANCE". Organised by the Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs and its Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency, the 4th international conference and exhibition on environmental technologies will act as a gateway for profitable environmental compliance, showcasing business opportunities posed by environmental legislation. Topics to be discussed include various ecoefficiency concepts, the relation between trade and environment, funding of environmental compliance and novel technologies in various environmental fields. For more information contact Magicx, tel: +20 2 3368183; fax: +20 2 736 3663; email: magicx@ahk-mena.com;

Internet:

<http://www.eeaa.gov.eg/English/main/Env2003.asp> or
<http://www.ahkmena.com/>.

3-5 October 2003, Loccum, Germany: ENVIRONMENT FOR PEACE: THE ROLE OF THE BUSINESS SECTOR. This international conference is organised by Inwent (International Capacity Building) and supported by the UNEP Finance Initiative. The goal of this high-level international consultation is to identify and put into motion practical and effective strategies for helping the private sector, government and civil society work together to address the links between environmental precaution and conflict prevention. It will explore, inter alia, the following questions: Is there measurable value to be gained by the private sector in investing in environmental security? What kind of activities should governments and civil society actors undertake, to contribute to targeted corporate investment in environmental security? For further information contact Demetrio Polo-Cheva, tel: +49 30 25482 109; fax: +49 30 25482 103; email: demetrio.polo-cheva@inwent.org.

RESOURCES

WHEN WORLDS COLLIDE: IMPLICATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT AGREEMENTS FOR NON-PROFIT SOCIAL SERVICES. By Andrew Jackson and Matthew Sanger (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and Canadian Council of Social Development, 2003). This new study concludes that government support for non-profit social services in Canada could be at risk, despite government assurances that social policies will not be adversely affected by international trade obligations. The authors explain that there are loopholes built into trade agreements such as NAFTA and the GATS. The report is available at <http://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/wwc.pdf>.

STRENGTHENING LINKAGES BETWEEN US TRADE POLICY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CAPACITY BUILDING. By John Audley and Vanessa Ulmer (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2003). The paper examines US efforts to work with its trading partners in building their trade-related capacities for environmental protection and sustainable development. The authors argue that whereas the US has made a great deal of progress linking technical assistance and capacity building initiatives to trade negotiations with developing countries, it must do more to address environment and public health concerns. Despite a mandate from the US Congress in the Trade Act of 2002 that gave explicit instructions to negotiate environmental issues into US trade agreements, the authors find that translating good intentions into effective policy is difficult. They contend that the US can

improve its efforts to expand environmental capacity building through trade. The paper is available online at <http://www.ceip.org/trade>.

THE WTO'S PROBLEMATIC "LAST RESORT" AGAINST NONCOMPLIANCE. By Steve Charnovitz, August 2003. The author examines the method used by the WTO to address non-compliance, and in particular, the WTO's endorsement of trade-restricting remedies. The paper evaluates the experience so far in the authorisation and use of trade measures in response to noncompliance. It also discusses some alternative procedures that the WTO might employ to promote national compliance with trade rules. It concludes that the WTO needs to better utilise the power of public opinion. The paper can be downloaded at <http://www.worldtradelaw.net/articles/charnovitzlastresort.pdf>.

DON'T WORRY [IT'S SAFE TO EAT]: THE TRUE STORY OF GM FOOD, BSE AND FOOT AND MOUTH. By Andrew Rowell (Earthscan, June 2003). This book exposes the inherent anomalies of our food production system, using three of the most potent issues of our time - BSE, GM and foot and mouth disease - as examples. Presenting the untold story of these crises, the author uncovers how critical scientists were marginalised as commercial interests, macro-economic policies and trade concerns overruled common sense, precaution and health protection. This book exposes the myths of the GM revolution and the commercial and scientific manipulation of the food we eat. For further information see <http://www.earthscan.co.uk/asp/bookdetails.asp?key=3981>.

VITAL SIGNS 2003-2004: THE TRENDS THAT ARE SHAPING OUR FUTURE. By the Worldwatch Institute (Earthscan, June 2003). This book provides up-to-the-minute information on global warming, population growth, military spending, HIV/AIDS, economic equity, the trade in drugs and a whole range of other environmental, developmental, social, political and economic issues. By distilling the 'vital signs' of our times, from thousands of governmental, industrial and scientific sources, this annual report allows readers to track key indicators that show our social, economic and environmental progress - or the lack of it. Each trend is presented in both text and graphics, providing an overview. For further information see <http://www.earthscan.co.uk/asp/bookdetails.asp?key=3988>.

THE PLANETARY BARGAIN: CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY MATTERS. By Michael Hopkins (Earthscan, June 2003). Drawing on case studies of international companies and analysis of research from

the past two decades, the book shows how corporations can preserve their profitability while treating all stakeholders ethically and responsibly. It suggests a cooperative CSR strategy which creates prosperity for corporations and for the people they serve. It presents the case for a worldwide agreement, or 'planetary bargain', between private and public sectors, arguing that it is good for business and essential for future prosperity and stability. For more information visit <http://www.earthscan.co.uk/asp/bookdetails.asp?key=3982>.

"Trade liberalisation and the fiscal squeeze: implications for public investment". By Barsha Khattri in *DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE* 34 (3, 2003). This article examines the impact of trade liberalisation on the level and structure of government expenditures across countries, with particular emphasis on low-income countries. It develops the argument that the policies employed during trade liberalisation have resulted in a fiscal squeeze as a result of declining tax revenues and rising interest expenditures. To surmount this fiscal hurdle, expenditures on physical capital, which have negligible political ramifications, have been reduced. The statistical analysis carried out to examine the evidence uses panel data for eighty developing and industrialised countries over the period 1970-98 and employs a fixed-effects regression framework to account for country-specific characteristics. The results indicate that trade liberalisation has indeed resulted in declining revenues and higher interest expenditures and that these factors have contributed to the observed decline in infrastructure spending.

"International financial volatility". By Stephany Griffith-Jones and Jenny Kimmis in the *JOURNAL OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT* 4 (2, 2003). The authors argue for reforms in the international financial system to deliver sufficient and sufficiently stable private and public flows, and to sustain more rapid growth and investment in developing countries. The paper begins with an analysis of the way in which international financial volatility impacts on developing countries, and how financial and economic crises often become social crises with devastating consequences for human security, giving illustrations from Indonesia and Argentina. The authors then critically analyse current plans for reform of the international financial system, and make recommendations to strengthen global regulation, provide liquidity, arrange for orderly debt workouts, democratise global governance, and protect the poor during periods of financial disturbance.

"A Biotech Approach To Global Climate Change". *AGBIOTECH BUZZ*, July 2003. This article by the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology in discusses the possibility of using biotechnology to help prevent the

potential onset of global warming. It notes that researchers are studying several ways in which biotechnology could be used either to reduce the amount of carbon released into the air or to sequester more carbon in plant material, soil, or the oceans. Ideas that are currently being explored include: growing wind-resistant crop plants with thick, woody stalks that store more carbon; and using herbicide-resistant genetically modified (GM) crops to reduce tillage, which releases carbon from the soil. The article can be viewed online at <http://pewagbiotech.org/buzz/index.php3?IssueID=22>.

"Agriculture and Environmental Issues in Free Trade Agreements". By Dale Colyer in the *ESTEY CENTRE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TRADE POLICY*, July 2003. The paper explores the implications for agriculture and the environment of international trade agreements, such as those of the World Trade Organisation, the Free Trade Area of the Americas, and other regional and bilateral trade agreements. Agriculture is and will continue to be a major contributor to environmental degradation, inducing through the conversion of natural ecosystems to agricultural production as the sector responds to increased demand for food and fibres due to increases in population and wealth. The paper can be viewed at <http://128.233.156.252/estey/>.

PERFORMANCE OF BT COTTON IN INDIA: DATA FROM THE FIRST COMMERCIAL CROP. By Dr. Suman Sahai and Shakeelur Rahman (Gene Campaign, 2003). Bt cotton is the first genetically modified crop to be cultivated in India. The NGO Gene Campaign conducted a small field study to collect data on Bt. cotton and non-Bt. cotton performance in selected locations in the Indian states of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, which are two of the six states that have been granted permission to commercially cultivate Bt. cotton. Suman Sahai and Shakeelur Rahman of Gene Campaign evaluated the results of the field survey and found out that net profit from Bt cotton was lower per acre compared to non-Bt cotton in all types of fields (low to high yielding. The complete study is available at <http://www.genecampaign.org/btcotton.html>. For more information contact Cara Santos Pianesi, +91 11 202-939-2211; email: csantos@ceip.org.

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