

Documentation of the Conference on the Harbinson Draft Modalities

Held at the World Council of Churches
Geneva, 19-21 February 2003

FARMERS, FOOD AND TRADE
AGRICULORES, ALIMENTACIÓN Y COMERCIO

**A Hearing on the Draft of
the WTO Agriculture Agreement**
19 to 21 February 2003

An International Workshop of NGOs, Farmers' and Church Groups

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Program of the Conference

Wednesday 19 February

- Pre-meeting event: Introduction to the Agreement on Agriculture and the current negotiations by Sophia Murphy
- Welcome by the World Council of Churches, Rogate Mshana
- Keynote Speech by B. Lal Das (former Indian ambassador to Geneva, Vice-Director of UNCTAD, agricultural advisor to Third World Network)
- Statement on the Harbinson-Modalities from small farmers perspective by Nettie Wiebe (Canadian National Farmers Union)
- Statement on the Harbinson-Modalities from landless labourers perspective by Iris Munguia (COLSIBA, Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Sindicatos Bananeros, Honduras)
- Statement on the Harbinson-Modalities from rural women`s perspective by Arze Glipo (IRDF, Integrated Rural Development Foundation, Philippines)
- Four simultaneous workshops to prepare questions for the WTO-delegates: The Right to Food. Global Rules to Prohibit Dumping. The WTO-Debate on Food Security. Agriculture in the Doha Development Agenda.

Thursday 20 February

- Reflections for the day by Reverend Seong-Won Park
- First Session with WTO-Delegates: "Keeping Dumped Agriculture Production out of World Markets" with the WTO-Agriculture Negotiators from the USA (Mary Revelt), Philippines (Maria Fe Alberto), Brazil (Flavio Damico) and Barbados (Nicole Clarke).
- Regional Workshops: Asia, Africa, Europe, Americas
- Second Session with WTO-Delegates: "Doha Development Round – Rethoric or Commitment?" with the WTO-Agriculture Negotiators from the European Communities (Jesus Zorrilla), Australia (Mary McCarter) and India (Rejesh Aggarwal).

- Assessment of the Hearing/Brain-storming on strategizing: Based on last two days, what is your expectation of the current negotiations? What issues will mobilize your constituencies pre Cancun? What actions are necessary?
- Reports from the Regional Meetings in the Plenary
- Plenary Discussion on Dumping/Balancing Measures

Friday 21 February

- Review of the Participants Expectations of the Conference
- Discussion of Press-Release for Sign-On
- Three Working Groups: Campaigning against Harbinson Draft Modalities. Road to Cancun/ Activities in Cancun. Working towards an alternative modalities text.

The Steering Committee

- Rudolf Buntzel-Cano (Church Development Service [EED], Germany, on behalf of APRODEV)
- Sophia Murphy (Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy [IATP], USA)
- Linda Hartke (Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance, Geneva)
- Rogate Mshana (World Council of Churches, Geneva)
- Martin Khor (Third World Network, Malaysia)
- Bob van Dillen (CCIDSE, Brussels)
- Rainer Engels (Germanwatch, Germany)
- Stuart Clark (Canadian Foodgrains Bank, Canada)
- Meena Raman (Penang Consumers Association, Malaysia)

Aim and Focus of the Conference

The following introductory comments by the Steering Committee were meant to make clear the focus of the conference.

Why Are We Here? Now Is The Time:

- Since 1995 we have been living with a highly unbalanced Agreement – undermining farmers, women, landless
- Since Nov 2001 many proposals tabled
- Last week the first draft of new agreement revealed.
- Modalities – end March, agreement – Sept

What Are We To Do?

1. Get *informed* about the draft text
2. *Exchange perspectives* on new agreement.
3. Conduct an *analysis* of the draft text
4. Move towards *international and national strategies* for effective engagement based on our various perspectives (e.g. prepare analysis of Harbinson draft modalities)

Welcome and Keynote Speeches and Statements

The welcome speech was delivered by Mr. Rogate Mshana, representing the World Council of Churches and thereby being the host of the conference. Mr. B. Lal Das (former Indian ambassador to Geneva, Vice-Director of UNCTAD, agricultural advisor to Third World Network) delivered the keynote speech (see: <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title/das8.htm>). In the following three major affected groups presented statements on the Harbinson Draft Modalities: Nettie Wiebe from the Canadian National Farmers Union spoke from the small farmers perspective, Iris Munguia (COLSIBA, Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Sindicatos Bananeros, Honduras) gave a speech on the impact for landless labourers and Arze Glipo (IRDF, Integrated Rural Development Foundation, Philippines) commented on the Harbinson Draft with its impact on the gender question and the lives of rural women.

Preparation of Questions for the WTO-Delegates

In preparation of the debate with the invited WTO-delegates on the next day four workshops were formed to generate questions.

Workshop I: The Right to Food

- Do you know if your country has signed the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (which includes the Right to Food/Food Security?)
- If it has, to what extent do you consider that the current draft text is compatible with this obligation?
- What is your response to the Mauritius' proposal of the Right to Food as an important non trade concern?

Workshop II: Global Rules to Prohibit Dumping

- Why does the AoA legalize food dumping (in light of the GATT prohibition on dumping)?
- How has this problem been addressed in the current negotiations given the ongoing disputes on cotton and sugar?
- Given that the Harbinson Modalities text doesn't address food dumping at source, why have counterbalancing measures not been included?

Workshop III: The WTO-Debate on Food Security

- The concept of food security in the AoA is inspired by an economic model that seeks to maximise production and takes a commodity perspective of farming: How can this concept be re-visited to embrace a wider framework of what agriculture means to rural communities, especially in many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America in terms of self-reliance and control resources, methods and practices of production?
- How can a new AoA guarantee the livelihoods and dignity of family farmers, preserving and enhancing their contribution to national culture and the environment and encouraging local production for local markets?
- SP (Strategic Products) are mentioned in connection with food security and rural livelihoods. Why are they restricted to developing countries? What criteria should be used to distinguish SP from other non-strategic products?

Workshop IV: Agriculture in the Doha Development Agenda

- Trade-off Agriculture – Singapore-Issues?
Should not be decided in Cancun?
- How will AoA be restructured/ rebalanced?
- Better a bad than no agreement in Cancun?
- What proposals of the last two years are in the Harbinson Draft?
- Process in the last months (Mini-Ministerials): Example of Good Governance?

First Session with WTO-Delegates

“Keeping Dumped Agriculture Production out of World Markets” with the WTO-Agriculture Negotiators from the USA (Mary Revelt), Philippines (Maria Fe Alberto), Brazil (Flavio Damico) and Barbados (Nicole Clarke).

The Steering Committee presented the following key questions to the WTO-delegates. They are the result of the workshops on the day before.

Key Questions:

- Why does the AoA legalize food dumping (in light of the GATT prohibition on dumping)?
- How has this problem been addressed in the current negotiations given the ongoing disputes on cotton and sugar?
- Given that the Harbinson Modalities text doesn't address food dumping at source, why have counterbalancing measures not been included?
- Do you know if your country has ratified the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (which includes the Right to Food/Food Security?)
- If it has, to what extent do you consider that the current draft text is compatible with this obligation?
- What is your response to the Mauritius' proposal of the Right to Food as an important non trade concern?

Second Session with WTO-Delegates

“Doha Development Round – Rethoric or Commitment?” with the WTO-Agriculture Negotiators from the European Communities (Jesus Zorrilla), Australia (Mary McCarter) and India (Rejesh Aggarwal).

Key Questions:

- Popular movements prefer the concept of food sovereignty over food security as it includes the importance local control, self reliance and the cultural importance of food. Will these concerns be addressed in the current negotiations and how?
- Given the importance of protecting livelihoods in developing countries and the reliance by developing countries on border measures, is the proposed alternative of an unspecified safeguard or reduced but continuing tariff cuts on a few commodities a credible development response? If not, what else is possible?
- Given the devastating effect on small farmers in developing countries of continuing highly subsidized exports, why is there no balancing mechanism proposed?

Regional meetings of the conference participants

Regional Workshop: Asia

The Asian delegates concentrated on further question-finding:

- What are the consequences on the Indian dairy sector in the context of Harbinson`s draft?
- What are the benefits and costs that India has reaped or suffered from AoA in the past years? What should be the starting point of the present and future agricultural negotiations?
- How can the problems of developing countries be addressed? In what ways can the political will of developing countries be organized and mobilized?
- How do you address the competition among developing countries in agricultural production under the current market access regime?

Regional Workshop: Africa

The African delegates were able to draft the following declaration:

AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY POSITION ON THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS ON AGRICULTURE

Preamble

The representatives of African civil society met in Geneva on 20th February 2003 to discuss the African negotiating priorities on agriculture for the forthcoming WTO Conference in Cancun.

Brief overview of what we have heard from the negotiators

- The Africans have noted that the negotiating framework is narrow and limited to three issues namely : Market access, export subsidy and domestic support. This is inadequate. We need a much wider framework which places development in the center of negotiations.
- We as a civil society do not accept NEPAD as the defining document for African Objectives at Cancun. We specifically do not accept the Ministerial Statement issued by the African Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development in Jo'burg on October 21, 2002 that 'deeper integration into the global market' remains a priority in our efforts. Africa has been integrated in the global system for the last 100 years and is more integrated than any other continent.
- The question is not 'deeper integration' but the **quality of integration**. Africa's integration has impoverished the people of Africa and made Africa dependent on food imports and hostage to aid and capital from developed countries.

Demands of African civil society for our trade negotiators are thus:

1. Priorities: Our priorities are
 - Food Sovereignty and sustenance of the livelihood of our

farming communities

- Stabilization of commodity prices for our export commodities
 - Market access for processed agricultural and food products
 - Protection of our biodiversity, indigenous knowledge systems that are threatened by trade liberalization and genetically modified organisms from the north
2. In the light of the above priorities, we urge our trade negotiators, not to surrender our food sovereignty for the sake of trade liberalization.
 3. Africa is hostage to dumping of subsidized products from Europe and the US. We call for elimination of subsidies. Domestic support should also be eliminated by developed countries.
 4. Women being the most producers of food in Africa, we demand that their recognition and inclusion in the negotiating framework

African comments on what to be done. Way forward:

- Send a strong negotiation message reiterating that for the purposes of protecting our peoples livelihoods, we negate the African ministerial statement made in October 2002 in Johannesburg to integrate Africa through NEPAD into global financial markets.
- We call for the strengthening of African farming and civil society networks.
- Before and after Cancun mobilize the civil society to adequately understand the issues and challenge negotiators to represent their views.
- Push for the introduction of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCs) box in short ESCs Box.
- Work for development of commodity base pressure groups such as cocoa growing countries in order to have a greater negotiating power at the WTO.
- Reformulate the new WTO agreement on Agriculture by taking into consideration ESCs as criteria.

- Campaign for the redefinition of dumping and for its elimination in international markets.
- Build strong negotiating block for purposes of having a stronger and audible voice in the negotiations

Regional Workshop: Europe

- EU-Proposal is poor and disappointing.
- There is no consensus among European NGOs on the question of market-opening in the EU. Some believe this is crucial for development and will give small farmers in developing countries new opportunities, some think the argumentation for and the implementation of market-opening will just widen the power of the WTO and TNCs.
- But there was a consensus on the negative effects of dumping of agricultural products. An agreement could be reached that developing countries need effective instruments to be secure from EU-Subsidies. They must be guaranteed in the WTO agreements.
- A common problem in the EU is the possibility of trade-offs between agriculture and the Singapore Issues in Cancun, what especially the EU is pushing for.
- Common actions until March 31st are already planned and implemented: Rallies, common letters etc.
- After deadline actions should focus on attacking the weak points in the new modalities draft.
- A problem of the European NGOs is: What to do in the accession countries?
- ETN (European Trade Network, Brussels) shall be strengthened.
- A new e-mail list will be introduced to make continuous working of the group that met possible.

Regional Workshop: Americas

- No consensus could be reached in the question whether an alternative modalities-paper is necessary or whether the Harbinson draft can be a basis for reforming the AoA.
- There has to be some way, how access-production can be limited, prices can be stabilized, especially for small producers, and internal crisis between trades can be stabilized. Research should be done on this issue.
- Outcomes of new AoA are not assessable yet but the NAFTA-experience doesn't give a optimistic view.
- Consensus is that a push for better conditions in the WTO is needed. But: "We cannot convert the tiger into a vegetarian."

Assessment of the hearing and brain-storming on strategizing

In small groups an assessment of the situation in agricultural world trade was made. Two questions were answered:

1. Based on last two days, what is your expectation of the current negotiations?

Failure:

- Collapse of AoA negotiations
- Failure due to different interest
- Negotiations will fail to meet the deadline . EU/US will push for delaying the process
- Missing of deadline: if US doesn't com out with something concrete
- No outcome better than bad outcome
- US will turn up the heat
- AG to be sorted out AFTER Cancun
- Forget March deadline on Modalities

- Missed deadlines

Fears

- come out with a new AoA that will further strengthen the inequities
- more hunger / unemployment
- the distorted sugar and dairy market threatens Indians markets
- trade off with Singapore issues

Positive Expectations

- new agreement with Food Sovereignty
- Gender
- Taking into account local realities
- Protecting small farmers communities
- Livelihood-security
- No dumping

Disappointments

- No development Round in sight
- No fundamental change
- Proposals from developing countries have not been respected so far.
- No fundamental change
- Only small improvements like SSG
- Agri-business will gain
- Peace clause will be extended

Actions

- Put pressure and lobby to push aside the Harbinson Draft
- Mobilize people to voice concern on Harbinson Draft – Developing countries can be encouraged to resist the draft

2. What issues will mobilize your constituencies pre Cancun? What actions are necessary?

Actions

- Mobilize the whole society (farmers, workers, environmentalists...) in our country and between north and south
- Strengthening networking
- Comprehensive new text
- Coordinated regional-level activities
- Intensify national campaigns
- Peoples mobilizations
- Capacity-building (training and research)
- Development education in China

Strategy

- simple messages: winner-looser stories, who is deciding, ...
- disgust at European selfishness
- denounce the proposals
- media
- lobbying (national, in Geneva)

Constituencies

- Ecumenical advocacy alliance (global)
- Global Trade Campaign "Trade for People 2002-2005"
- More equal trade rules (church based)
- Local governments
- Women farmers exchanges
- Publicize the case of Mexican farmers by Cancun

Issues

- Enforced market access in the south

- Human rights issues
- Stop Dumping
- WTO is only for trade, not for the people.
- Livelihoods
- Dairy sector protection (EU, China, USA, Caribbean, ...)
- Peace clause extension (especially in Developing Countries)
- Transparency and local control over trade agreements
- "agriculture is an exit industry"
- Harbinson against environmental subsidies
- In Europe: External effects of Cap, corporate Globalization, GMOs, loss of democracy
- European sugar and dairy policies
- NAFTA fall-out / El Campo No Aguarta Mas!
- Reduction of Export Subsidies to zero in 5, not 10 years.
- Big Companies benefit at the expense of poor farmers (Dumping).
- Counterbalancing

Review of the participants' expectations of the conference

The following points were pointed out by the participants as their expectations from the conference:

- Networking and cooperation, meet people from other continents
- Better understanding of modalities paper, improve analysis capacity
- Hope to have an impact on negotiation to reach better agreement
- Forum to push ahead main ideas, threat from globalization for small farmers, agriculture out of WTO etc.
- Make clear lobby agenda, make road to Cancun clear

Geneva-Declaration – Press release for sign-on

The steering committee presented a declaration of the conference as a press release for sign-on. In a short discussion it was decided to take up the points corporate globalization, Right to Food and UN Covenant on Economic, social and Cultural Rights.

Statement from an International Hearing on the WTO Agriculture Agreement

On the eve of a crucial discussion on the world agricultural trade system, civil society groups from 30 countries gathered in Geneva to take stock of the WTO negotiations on a new Agriculture Agreement. The discussion centred on the draft text issued on 17 February by Stuart Harbinson, Chair of the Agriculture Committee.

Participants at the hearing rejected the current Harbinson draft modalities text as an acceptable basis for negotiations. Why?

- It reveals the emptiness of the Doha Ministerial Declaration's stated intention of placing development, food security and rural livelihoods at the heart of the Doha Round.
- It does not change the underlying structure of the AoA, which has caused widespread hardship for farmers around the world and discourages sustainable models of agriculture.
- Developing countries face a world in which developed countries, particularly the European Union and United States, continue to dump underpriced exports on world markets. Dumping artificially lowers world prices, destroying local food production and farmers' livelihoods.
- The current structure of the Agreement and the Harbinson text both legalise dumping, at the same time as they erode developing countries' only defence against dumping – tariffs and other border

measures.

- It fails to recognize the central role played by women in food production and the nutritional well-being of the family and community, as well as the particular impact of trade liberalization on women.
- It ignores the increasing stranglehold exerted on agricultural trade by a small number of transnational corporations, which in turn depresses farmgate prices around the world.
- The AoA continues to be driven by a 'you liberalize, we subsidize' approach from the EU and US, as shown by the US farm bill and the glacial pace of CAP reform.
- It conflicts with countries' commitments under the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights, and in particular the right to food.

What participants heard from a number of agricultural negotiators, from both developed and developing countries, convinced them that the agriculture negotiations are still business as usual: the outcome determined by horse trading based on economic and political clout.

We the undersigned call on our governments to reject the current Harbinson draft modalities as an acceptable basis for negotiations. Instead, they should work to create new trade rules that:

- Address the real source of distortions in world agricultural markets – the monopolistic power of global agri-business
- Take food security and food sovereignty fully into account, in particular in allowing developing countries to protect their poor farmers against low world prices and to recognize the special cultural role of food in many communities.
- Allow countries to introduce import controls and tariffs on dumped agricultural products
- Act on governments' multilateral commitment to increase employment

by promoting rural livelihoods. In particular, taking into account the needs of vulnerable groups and women, who produce the majority of the world's food.

- Rectify the imbalances between rich and poor countries in agricultural trade

Geneva, February 21, 2003

Signatories of the declaration as of 22 February 2003

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Comhlamn, Ireland | 28. Broederlijk Delen, Belgium |
| 2. Friends of the Earth Europe | 29. EED, Germany |
| 3. Third World Network, Malaysia | 30. Institute for Global Justice,
Indonesia |
| 4. Consumers' Association of
Penang, Malaysia | 31. SCIAF, Scotland |
| 5. Friends of the Earth, Malaysia | 32. Institute for Agriculture and
Trade Policy, USA |
| 6. RODI-Kenya (FATNEA) | 33. Center of Concern/ US Gender
and Trade Network, USA |
| 7. Kerkinactie, Netherlands | 34. CIDSE, Belgium |
| 8. Oxfam International | 35. RMALC, Mexico |
| 9. ActionAid UK | 36. Canadian Foodgrains Bank,
Canada |
| 10. IBON, Philippines | 37. CIOEC, Bolivia |
| 11. Action for Economic Reforms,
Philippines | 38. Germanwatch, Germany |
| 12. Task Force Food Sovereignty,
Philippines | 39. Anglican Church of Kenya |
| 13. IRDF, Philippines | 40. International Centre on Trade
and Sustainable Development,
Switzerland |
| 14. Asia-Pacific Network on Food
Sovereignty, Philippines\$ | 41. AMIHAN, Philippines |
| 15. Social Watch, Philippines | 42. Southeast Asian Council for |
| 16. SEATINI, Zimbabwe | |
| 17. Asia Gender and Trade Network | |

18. ROPPA (West African Peasants' Network)	Food Security and Fair Trade (SEA Council), Malaysia
19. CAFOD, UK	43. APRODEV, Belgium
20. PARC, Palestine	44. Justice and Peace Coalition, World Council of Churches
21. DanChurchaid, Denmark	45. Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance, Switzerland
22. NGO Coordinating Committee on Development, Thailand	46. Michael Starck, Germany
23. Swadeshi Jagran Manch, India	47. J.C. Michellod, Switzerland
24. Bhartia Kisan Sungh, India	48. Luk Tak Chuen, Hong Kong
25. Simalungun Protestant Christian Church (GKPs), Indonesia	China
26. Institute of World Economics and Politics	49. Agricultural Christian Fellowship, UK
27. Parto Tekerani-Kronner, Germany	50. Michelle Cano, Germany

Working Groups for Coordination of Civil Society Action

Working group on campaigning against Harbinson Draft Modalities

Working title: Stop Dumping, Dump the Draft

National Strategy Elements

1. Political lobbying
2. National Alliance Building
3. International Cooperation
4. Media Strategy
5. Public Engagement
6. Study Work/Policy Analysis

Different Timeframes

1. Next six weeks – up to end March
2. End March – September (Cancun)

Ideas

- Translate the text into simple language
- Individual Letter on the basis of our statement to our own delegations
- Use press release in national media
- Seek intervention at International Cooperation meeting in the Hague (6 March)
- Organize public debates in national capitals, possibly networked in global campaign
- Submission or proposals on key aspects of Harbinson text
- Organize national/Geneva action day (March 25, 31) against Harbinson Text. (March 8 protest by women in Latin America)
- Make sure that important documents are released in French and Spanish.
- Have list of various local actions available.
- Establish linkage with popular movements
- Connect with Advocacy Alliance

National Strategies

Time Frame	Action	Responsible
As soon as possible	Prepare a translation of HDM in simple language in English, French, and Spanish	IATP coordination?
Next week	Template letter to national governments based on our statement in English, French and Spanish	Oxfam
By March 25	Work on template letter in response to second draft	IATP?
By March 25	Plan a single day for a simultaneous press release	IATP?
By March 25	Action Day in Geneva	Oxfam (in consultation

		with Via Campesina)
March	Lobby international development ministries about development failure of Harbinson	National networks
Up to Cancun	Post list of international activities	Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance, IATP, other websites
Before Cancun	International Action Day	Various to contact farm organizations
Up to Cancun	Evangelical Action Alliance Campaign – human rights, environmental stewardship in trade	EEA

Do we need a coordinator?

Working group “Road to Cancun/ Activities in Cancun”

Planning for Cancun Sept. 10th till 14th 2003

Central question: What are people doing – What do we want to do?

Question: What is happening in Cancun?

- Mexican Community responsible for Cancun:
- Civil Society Global Forum and simultaneous teaching
- Big “Fair trade Fair”: large space in the middle of Cancun. A kind of expo. As a counterpart to what is happening next door.
- Big Concert
- Big mobilization
- Media activities: linking activities in Cancun with the activities outside Cancun.
- Lobby activities
- First days of May: last international Coordination meeting

- Criminalization of mobilization is a very important issue: As there will be hard harassment: The international civil society needs to include that in the press-work worldwide
- Date for major rally is not fixed yet. Sept. 11 is a problem. Some can only mobilize on weekends, some only on workdays. – Global Days of Action planned by Our World is not for Sale.
- No slogan yet: Shrink or sink. Stop WTO. Stop WTO-Round. Etc.
In Mexico: No to FTAA
- Sept. 11 2003 is the 30th year from murder of Salvador Allende.
- For labour-mobilization: GATS and New Issues are important to include them.
- Cancun: as most of the hotel rooms will be blocked by the governments or are too expensive we will sleep mostly in tents.
- Everybody who MIGHT go to Cancun: Apply for visa now! A critical mass of rejected visa can help as a political tool.
- Detail will be posted at: www.ourworldisnotforsale.org

Who does what for Cancun?

- Oxafam: Make trade fair-Campaign is the overall-Banner. Get people to sign up to a petition. Millions should sign it. They want to deliver the petition in Cancun to the ministers. 4 Key days in terms of dumping. March deadline, G8 (Africa Focus), 50 Days before Cancun: Mobilization to be mirrored all around the world using Agriculture as an example of unfair trade rules, Cancun itself: NGO-Forum?, Petition, Concert.
- Our World is not for Sale: Agri-Trade group (www.peoplesfoodsouverignty.org). Mexico-Case will be example for liberalization world wide. Global Day of Action at the end of March (31st?). Towards Cancun: Road-Blocks, Boat-Blocks. Dramatization of Agri-Business.
- India: 15th -30th April: Foot-mach through India: especially to raise the villagers awareness.

- Asia: Asia-Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty: Campaign is to reject the text and to have Food out of WTO. Regional simultaneous mobilizations (especially March 31st-April 17th).
- CIDSE-Network (Catholic Agencies): Campaigning as member organizations with focus on Agriculture. Lobby activities.
- Thailand: Going slowly because of some internal conflicts. Relation to the government was disturbed.
- Attac: Trying to get a big simultaneous mobilization in the global days of action in Europe.
- Britain: 24 hours of fair trade: mass lobbying in regional scale (in June)
- Asian women: organizing regional conferences
- Again: peoples caravan in Asia.

Websites for Communication of Civil Society:

- IATP Trade observatory (www.tradeobservatory.org). Cancun-update-newsletter (subscribe at www.iatp.org).
- www.ourworldisnotforsale.org
- www.peoplesfoodsovereignty.org -- peasants
- www.rmalc.org.mx

Working group “Working towards an alternative modalities text”

Decisions:

- To develop an Alternative Document to be used both to critique the WTO processes and negotiations on the AoA and to form the basis of our campaigns. An inside-outside strategy.
- To use Food Sovereignty as the frame for the Alternative Document.

Working Outline of Alternatives Document

I. Introduction

- Who we are
- Why alternative
- Critique of the WTO Process and its failure address the needs and demands of the small farmers around the world.

II . Preamble

- Definition of Food Sovereignty
- Focus on people's food sovereignty, national policy, government's responsibility, Right to food
- Principles to ensure Food Sovereignty
- Technical means to ensure Food Sovereignty (Modalities)

Follow-up:

- Focal Point: Dennis Olson (dolson@iatp.org) – IATP; Small Committee
- Invitation: Anyone interested in joining this working committee are invited to join them right afternoon session.
- Question to the coordinating committee: Is there a process for communication to be set up as follow-up to this meeting?

List of Participants

Revised Version

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