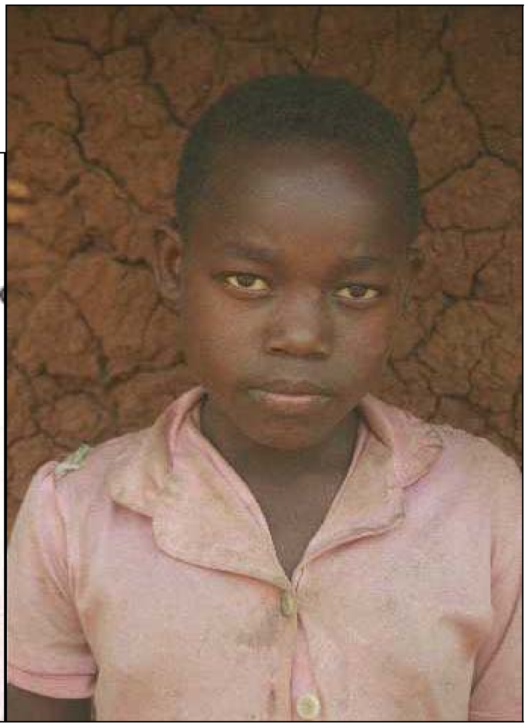
globalisation:

the poor must come first



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globalisation: the poor must come first

introduction

'*Globalisation puts the world's vulnerable, hungry and hurting poor at my doorstep. I must not ignore their cries*'[1]

For World Vision's ministry to be effective we need to understand certain global forces in order to ensure they work to benefit the lives of people living in poverty. Globalisation, and especially the promotion of trade liberalisation, remains a 'hot topic' internationally, due to its sheer size, speed and impact on billions of people's lives. This internal paper:

- provides information on the key elements of globalisation and relates them to World Vision's work. In a complex, highly contested debate it is a starting point for critical engagement.[2]
- focuses principally upon *economic* globalisation, recognising that there are many facets to this wide ranging debate that will not be covered.

background to globalisation

historical perspective - Globalisation is not new. The processes that led to a more interconnected, interdependent world were experienced as far back as the thirteenth century[3], with Marco Polo opening up trade routes in spices, and Christopher Columbus in tobacco. The next phase of globalisation took place from the mid 1800s up to World War I. Colonies were built up with investments in infrastructure, such as road and rail networks, ports and cities. Technology advanced, shipping costs fell, and trade flourished, built on the colonies' primary resources and labour. World trade boomed to levels not reached again until 1970[4]. During the World Wars and the Great Depression, countries went into a period of protecting their economies and restricting money flows. From 1945 onwards, the current wave of globalisation took hold.

features of globalisation – elements of the current wave of globalisation include:

feature	examples
the integration of national economic systems, including greater trade in goods and services	-creation of trading blocks e.g. the European Union, with the ability to move goods and services freely across borders. -substantial, and increasing, volumes of world trade. From 1980-1999 world trade in goods tripled from £1trillion to over £3 trillion[5]. Our supermarkets stock strawberries from Kenya and grapes from Chile. -trade in services, e.g. UK residents using customer helplines based in India -the rise of consumerism, and a backlash movement against the perceived negative effects of globalisation
movements in capital and the integration of financial markets	-an ability to invest and move money across different stock exchanges for profit -specialist stock exchanges such as the Nasdaq (dealing in technology shares).
movements of labour, migration and travel	- economic migration to Europe, America and strong regional economies, e.g. South Africa in Southern Africa, facilitated by mass air travel and driven by an awareness created through global television and the Internet that other countries have better living standards.
rapid advances in technology	-international banking systems, enabling 24 hour banking. -the Internet, satellite telephones and television, speeding up and expanding global communications and leading to the cross fertilisation of cultures. A dramatic reduction in costs – in 1960 a three minute call from New York to London cost $60.42, in 2000 it cost $0.40. -ability to mass produce goods and services

[1] Hirsch, D, *Globalisation: The poor must come first* in *Global Future*, First Quarter 2001, p. 25
[2] See the glossary for the definitions of some key terms used in the debate, and in this paper.
[3] Some authors identify an additional period of 'pre-modern' globalisation, between regions or civilisations. For a more detailed examination of the history and elements of globalisation, see Held, D, et al (1999), *Global Transformations, Politics, Economics and Culture*, Polity Press: Cambridge, pp. 414-452.
[4] Aninat, E, *Surmounting the Challenges of Globalisation* in *Finance & Development*, March 2002, p.5
[5] CAFOD, (2001), *The Rough Guide to Globalisation: A CAFOD Briefing*. The figure does not include services.

driving and regulating forces Economic globalisation is driven by the need for businesses to increase profit margins and for markets to grow. Recent trends include:

- the emergence and dominance of transnational corporations (TNCs)[6]:
    - the ten largest TNCs have a total income greater than 100 of the world's poorest countries. The revenue of the largest company, Wal-Mart is close to that of the Swedish economy[7]. Other companies like Coca-Cola, Ford, and Microsoft are known brands with substantial economic influence and lobbying powers.
    - two-thirds of international trade is accounted for by just 500 corporations.
    - a third of world trade is between subsidiaries within the same parent company

- a large increase in investment flows and currency speculation (the movement of money to make profit due to differences in exchange rates). Between 1990-2000 the daily turnover of the world's foreign-exchange markets increased from around $500 billion to $1.2 trillion[8]. In 2000, movements in global capital flows, including Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) reached $ 7.5 trillion, a four-fold increase over 1990[9].

- a substantial increase in world trade from an average of $2.3 billion per year between 1983-92, tripling to an estimated $7.6 billion in 2001[10]. There is a predominant view that poor countries can export their way out of development, yet the share of world trade in terms of real income is uneven. Currently, for every $1 generated through export activity, $0.75 goes to the world's richest countries. Low income countries receive around $0.03[11].

- the emergence of bodies committed to trade liberalisation, for example, the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995 (superseding the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to oversee the multilateral trading system, and with the power to impose sanctions on countries that do not abide by agreements on trade-related issues. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) supports continued liberalisation and analysis of trade policy. In addition, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, created at Bretton Woods in 1944 for post-war reconstruction, now encourage trade and market liberalisation through their lending and debt relief policies.

the positive and negative effects of globalisation

The positive and negative effects of globalisation are highly contested. Here are some of the points most frequently raised:

positive effects

trade	-allows countries to gain from trading those goods and services which they produce most efficiently and have 'comparative advantage' relative to other countries. -competition stimulates efficiency and productivity. Mass production can bring the price of goods down, making them affordable to more people and therefore increasing their real incomes and improving their quality of life. -wealth creation boosts the economy and may create 'ripple' or 'trickle down' effects that benefit the poor. -increases consumer choice. For example, we can have fruit and vegetables in our shops when they are not in season in the UK.
increased access to information technology	-more people can choose to use the information and knowledge supplied by the Internet and through other sources. In Latin America and the Caribbean an estimated 13-16 million people are now on line, with the numbers doubling each year[12].

[6] Statistics from: Valerio, R, (May 2001), *Globalisation and the poor*, Tearfund, p.1; New Internationalist, (July 2002), *Corporate Influence – The Facts*, pp. 18-19
[7] New Internationalist (April 2001), *Megalomania, The Voice of Globalisation*, p.17
[8] Häusler, G, The Globalization of Finance in *Finance & Development*, p.10
[9] Ibid
[10] Ibid
[11] Watkins, K, (March 2002), *Making Globalisation World for the Poor* in *Finance & Development*, p. 24
[12] Vargas, J, *Bridging the digital divide in Latin America* in *Global Future*, First Quarter 2001, p.16

technology to face new challenges	-advances in technology can improve people's quality of life e.g. in healthcare, agriculture or education. Channelled effectively, it can rise to meet global challenges e.g. the fight against HIV/AIDS or climate change. It can also promote transparency and accountability if used to reveal anti-democratic practices or governments.
increased investment	-transnational corporations (TNCs) can provide access to new technologies, widen employment skills, improve infrastructure, and generate income for investment in local services and national projects (as Foreign Direct Investment).

fairer trade in Brazil

World Vision has been working with farmers in Brazil, developing organically grown melons, peppers, bananas, cashews and other crops to sell to expanding markets in developed countries. The scheme aims to give the farmers access to appropriate technology, technical help, business and marketing skills, and opportunities for export.

Previously, the farmers received $1.06 for each box of melons they produced. This was not enough to cover the costs of production and provide food for the family. Now, as a result of the World Vision scheme, a box of melons sells for an average of $2.30.

This scheme rewards the farmers fairly for the value of their production and the extra income raised helps improve their quality of life in areas such as health, education and food security. In addition, consumers in other countries are benefiting from the organic produce and a clearer conscience!

Source: World Vision Brazil, programme document/Jon White, June 2001

negative effects

trade	-unfair trade practices discriminate against the poor. For example, the richer countries secured Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), which give companies a monopoly on knowledge beyond the useful life of most new technologies. This widens the knowledge gap between richer and poorer countries, undermines technology transfer and limits the availability of cheap, essential drugs to tackle pandemics such as HIV/AIDS. -the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)[13] is designed to allow services to be privatised and open to unrestricted foreign investment. The definition of services is broad and includes 160 sectors, such as tourism, transport, water delivery and health care. GATS threatens to override a government's capacity to plan, build institutions and reinvest revenues locally. It also puts at risk poor people's access to affordable essential services, such as water, healthcare and education.
lack of stability and 'contagion'	-a lack of confidence in an economy can mean that investors move their money out of an economy (capital flight), leading to the collapse of that economy. This crisis of confidence can spread to other countries or regions, a process known as contagion. For example, there is concern that the current Argentinean economic crisis will spill over into Brazil and other Latin America countries.
global crimes	-the lack of regulations on markets can lead to money laundering, black market dealing and the free movement of arms, landmines and other weapons, all of which undermine global security.
lack of equality, increase in poverty	-the unequal distribution and unfair use of economic power in favour of the TNCs, the market and the richer nations, has led to increasing inequality between rich and poor. At the end of the 1990s high-income countries, representing a sixth of the world's population, received two-thirds of the world's income[14]. Developing countries: o receive proportionately less for their labour and resources. For every $1 generated through export activity, $ 0.03 goes to low-income countries[15]. o receive a low proportion of total FDI. This is also unevenly spread between regions, Africa receives just 3% FDI[16]. Cost-benefit analysis shows that as much as 30% of FDI actually costs developing countries more than they gain from it[17].

[13] World Development Movement, (April 2001), *General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS),* MP Briefing
[14] Watkins, K, (March 2002), *Making Globalisation Work for the Poor* in *Finance & Development*, pp. 24-27.
[15] Ibid, p24
[16] Currah, K, *Donors in the dock – rethinking ODA effectiveness* in *Global Future*, First Quarter 2002, p.17-18
[17] World Vision, (May 2002), *Obuntu: Eight for the G8, New Directions for the Action Plan for Africa*, p. 4

lack of equality, increase in poverty (cont.)	○ have seen a reduction in levels of aid (ODA). The level of ODA has fallen from 0.3% GNP[18] in 1996 to 0.24% in 1999. The UK Government has reversed previous trends by increasing its ODA to 0.33% of GNP. The UN recommended target is 0.7%. ○ are unable to participate in decisions that affect them. 25 developing countries have no representative in Geneva to lobby the WTO. Japan has 25 representatives, and Bangladesh only one.
bypassing the poverty reduction agenda	-due to the profit/growth motive, economic globalisation can bypass the holistic approach to development that encompasses respect for human rights, and for sustainable development to be based on communities participating in and 'owning' their own development. -certain economic policies and practices may have a neutral effect on poverty reduction, or they may cause direct harm, e.g. the insistence on repayment of levels of debt much higher than the country's ability to create wealth (unsustainable debt). -the failure to regulate TNCs, who possess significant economic power, leads to poverty. For example, conflict in Sudan, which has displaced millions of people and destroyed their livelihoods has been linked to the unethical practices of oil companies.

livelihoods in Indonesia

Mariana, aged 10, lives near the port in Jakarta, Indonesia. In 'good times' she went to school. Her family made a living collecting and supplying sea sand to the construction industry. When Indonesia's economy collapsed in 1997, the weekly family income dropped from $10 to $1, while the price of rice, the staple food, rose several times, putting the family into extreme hardship.

The collapse of Indonesia's economy was partially triggered by fears of overinflation in the housing market industry. Foreign investors were afraid that their investments would drop in value and withdrew their internal investment. Previous rules that had allowed Indonesia to keep capital in the country to provide stability against such 'economic shocks' had been lifted. This was on the advice of members of the global financial community who urged lifting restrictions on money flows and the market. Yet the result had a devastating effect upon the economy and upon the lives of everyday people.

Source: Dean Hirsch, *Global Future,* First Quarter 2001

debt in Tanzania

Helen Kataga, aged 12 and her two brothers, Stanslaus, 10, and Edson, 9 live in Tanzania. The family were orphaned by the HIV/AIDS epidemic and Helen now worries about finding the school fees to send Stanslaus to school. Helen can't go to school herself, even though she would love to - she has to take the time to work so that the family have enough to eat. Even if she had the time to study, it could be difficult to pay the fees.

Helen might not be in such poverty if Tanzania was able to spend the money used to service the country's debt on health and education. According to Jubilee Research, half of the population is living on less than US$0.65 per day, and in 2001 they will pay $141 million to the richer nations. This illogical system of global wealth distribution is maintained by the World Bank, who are insisting on repayment, while admitting that Tanzania will have an 'unsustainable' debt burden until at least 2007. To do this, Tanzania will have to double its government revenues and its growth rates. But how?

Source: World Vision Scribe, www.jubileeplus.org

perspectives on globalisation, and on its relationship to poverty reduction

Approaches to economic globalisation fall into three broad perspectives. Some people may share views from more than one approach.

The **first approach** believes that globalisation can be harnessed for the benefit of the world's citizens:

- To maximise the benefits of globalisation, states should open their markets to trade and minimise the regulations placed on trade and interventions in financial markets (trade liberalisation). The role of government should be to provide stability for the market, by being transparent, accountable and building institutions that increase business confidence. These measures, if properly adopted, would free the market to allocate resources in areas of economic growth and get rid of wasteful and

[18] Gross National Product. See glossary.

inefficient industries. Over time, as nations become wealthier and more efficient, the benefits of trade will 'trickle down', reducing poverty levels.

- Countries that wish to open their markets are more likely to be supported by the World Bank and IMF, who will assess financial stability and provide appropriate loans linked to specific financial measures (conditionality). One recent innovation is the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), designed to be a blueprint for donor aid and lending, leaving governments to focus upon poverty reduction[19].
- The most active advocates of this view are the Group of 7 largest industrial economies (the G7), the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and transnational corporations (TNCs).

The **second approach** is opposed to globalisation in its present form:

- It believes that globalisation is used to oppress and disempower citizens. The movement places emphasis on the 'true' costs of globalisation, for example, deterioration of the environment and perceived assaults on human dignity.
- Another, quieter but insistent, part of this movement advocates 'localisation', where local people develop local solutions without large scale external intervention[20].
- This approach may allow violent confrontation as a necessary method of achieving change. It also criticises voices that are perceived to be too moderate, e.g. international NGOs such as World Vision and Oxfam[21].
- The movement has been quick to use the tools of globalisation, such as the Internet, to mobilise support, exchange ideas and create new innovations, e.g. Indymedia, an independent media website 'offering grassroots, non-corporate, non-commercial coverage of important social and political issues'[22].

The **third approach** sees globalisation as a tool that should be used for poverty reduction, and calls for critical engagement with the issues:

- It seeks to critically engage with the main international institutions and governments, providing a link from constituents who feel marginalised and exploited by the processes of globalisation. Most operational and large NGOs take this advocacy approach. There is influential inter-NGO debate on policies, campaigns and programme interventions and their impact on reducing poverty[23]. Some international NGOs would recognise that they themselves are a product and contributor of globalisation.
- This movement has the popular support of those who feel uneasy and anxious about the effects of globalisation and who are prepared to organise to raise awareness and lobby decision makers e.g. World Development Movement (WDM) or Christian Aid campaigning groups.
- It believes that globalisation in its current state allows too many policies that are not specifically pro-poor. Redressing the balance is necessary to achieve a 'level playing field' between those who can exercise power and choice and those who, as a result, cannot. It involves:

    - reforming the institutions of globalisation to make them transparent and accountable, and to ensure all policies are pro-poor.
    - ensuring that developed countries abide by the rules they advocate, for example, by opening their markets to developing countries.
    - allowing governments the sovereignty to choose policies that will alleviate poverty, based on their country's context, culture and aspirations. Trade rules must not prevent developing countries from pursuing pro-poor development strategies. Profit must not be at the expense of human rights.
    - regulating corporations to ensure they do not exploit developing countries, stabilising international financial flows within fair, accountable, transparent global financial systems.
    - Providing debt relief for the poorest countries and increasing levels of well-targeted development assistance.

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[19] Whaites, A, (Ed), (2002), *Masters of their own development? – PRSPs and the Prospects for the Poor*

[20] Shiva, V, *How free is free India?* in *Resurgence*, June 1997

[21] Currah, K, (2000), *Putting TNC-NGO partnerships into a civil society context*, in *Buy in or sell out? Understanding business-NGO partnerships*, World Vision Discussion Paper Number 10, p.24-28

[22] New Internationalist (April 2001), *Megalomania, The Voice of Globalisation*, www.newint.org, uk.indymedia.org, www.zmag.org

[23] Oxfam's stance on trade has been openly debated by both those who take the first and second approaches. See Bond. P, (17th April 2002), *Moderates Wilt But Radical South Africans Struggle On,* (UK Trade Network e-group/Znet commentary), and Dollar, D and Kraay, A, (March 2002), *Response to Making Globalisation Work for the Poor* in *Finance & Development*, pp. 24-28.

The **Christian perspective** looks at both the *process* and the *outcome* of seeking profit and growth. The Christian perspective also asks challenging questions: is it underpinned by Christian values which place love and justice at the heart of human relations in God's world? How will it further Christian witness and ministry? Profits must be used to further the Kingdom, for example, by transforming lives from poverty, empowering local communities or providing useful services. Growth must not be achieved at the expense of people or environments.

globalisation and World Vision's work

> '*World Vision recognises that poverty is not inevitable… and works for a world which no longer tolerates poverty…We are called to challenge those unjust structures which constrain the poor in a world of false priorities, gross inequalities and distorted values…*'[24]

The reality of globalisation has led World Vision to recognise the importance of increasing our capacity for advocacy towards the IMF, WTO and other key institutions. This section outlines ways in which governments, IFIs and civil society need to take steps to make globalisation work as a more powerful force for poverty reduction and social justice.

- **rejection of a 'one size fits all' model of economic development** – countries should be able to adopt a more nuanced approach, appropriate to their context. Rapid trade liberalisation should not be considered as a universal panacea, equally applicable to all times and places. Comparative advantage is dynamic and can be acquired. For example, Rodrik[25] points to countries such as South Korea and Taiwan, whose governments took advantage of world markets, yet pursued protectionist policies for a time, e.g. putting quotas on imports, insisting on the purchase of local goods, breaking patent rules and subsidising exports.

- **building strong national institutions *before* embarking on full trade liberalisation** – Strong institutions include effective, transparent and accountable government, the rule of law and contract enforcement. Failing to have such institutions in place before substantial liberalisation occurs can lead to crime and poverty, e.g. in Russia.

- **create a fairer rules based trading system, that allows *special* and *differentiated* treatment for developing countries** – for example:
    - Developed countries' trade barriers have been estimated to cost developing countries $700 billion in lost annual export earnings, or 12% of their combined GDP[26]. Agricultural tariffs are among the highest barriers, yet agricultural growth is a strong determinant of overall growth and poverty reduction in poor countries – on average 60% of people in developing countries are involved in food production[27]. WTO rules could be amended to put a 'development box'/food security clause in the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), to release developing countries from certain trade liberalisation commitments that would damage their country's food security position.
    - Build the capacity of developing countries to participate more fully and negotiate more effectively in the discussion about trade rules, subsidies, liberalisation and corporate regulation.
    - WTO intellectual property rules, such as TRIPs, should be changed to allow developing countries to retain the right to make, sell or import the cheaper generic medicines they need.
    - GATS negotiations should be halted until questions surrounding its impact and negotiating procedure have been answered. The provision of basic services should be explicitly excluded from any WTO agreement to liberalise services.

- **PRSPs** – ensure that national PRSPs, which are intended to be the main policy documents guiding poverty reduction, include strategies for guiding trade and investment decision making, including appropriate institution building. World Vision is concerned about the process, content and resources of the PRSP and especially the often limited levels of participation of civil society representatives within the design phase.

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[24] Extracts from World Vision's Global Future magazine, on globalisation and poverty alleviation issues
[25] Rodrik, D, May (2002), *Is Globalisation Good for the World's Poor?*
[26] Oxfam Briefing Paper, (2001), *Harnessing Trade for Development*
[27] Phillips, W, (2001), *Why children stay hungry – Agricultural Trade, Food Security and the WTO*,pp 4-5

- **aid** –
    - Loans from donors should not be made conditional on trade liberalisation. Whaites argues for a 'hands-off rather, than a hands-free, conditionality' for the World Bank and IMF [28], suggesting a way forward based on consistent policy setting and flexibility in times of crisis.
    - Developed countries should set a timetable for meeting the UN target of 0.7% GNP Overseas/Official Development Assistance (ODA).

- **debt** – Many developing countries continue to be crippled by debt. This diverts resources from vital services such as basic health care and education. According to Jubilee 2000[29], 52 countries owed $372 billion in 1998, of which at least $300-350 billion was widely considered unsustainable i.e. beyond the ability of the country's wealth creating abilities. The Highly Indebted Poor Country initiative (HIPC) and other pledges are only set to relieve approximately 15% of this debt.

- **manage damaging capital flight -** Traders rapidly moving money across markets to make profit on exchange rate differences can provoke instability and the collapse of economies. World Vision UK is part of the *Tobin Tax Network* which is campaigning for a small levy on currency transactions that would be sufficient to dampen currency speculation. The revenues, estimated at $50 billion per year could be used for projects tackling global poverty[30].

- **greater international co operation to tackle crime**, money laundering, trade in small arms and light weapons, and landmines as well as child trafficking.

- **promote corporate social responsibility** – World Vision is increasingly aware of the need to engage with transnational corporations and to understand their way of operating in relation to NGOs.

  Businesses have the potential to improve people's quality of life. For those intent on bad practice, such as abusing workers' rights, destroying local lands and livelihoods or breaking national laws and undermining local democracy, an international framework for investment should be set up[31]:
    - an international investment agreement, promoting quality investment and core standards for corporate responsibility
    - regulation by specialist bodies such as the World Health Organisation (WHO)
    - national development strategies to promote pro-poor growth
    - domestic legislation holding companies to account for their operations overseas
    - 'self-regulation' by corporations promoting best practice

selected reading

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[28] Whaites, A, *From hands-free to hands-off conditionality* in *Global Future*, First Quarter 2002, p.17-18
[29] www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk/media/factsheets/jdc_factsheet_1-may_2002.doc
[30] War on Want, New Economics Foundation, (2001), *The Robin Hood Tax*
[31] World Development Movement, (February 1999), *Briefing on regulating TNCs*

glossary[32]

acronym	term	explanation
BWI	Bretton Woods Institutions	The World Bank and International Monetary Fund
BWP	Bretton Woods Project	Monitors projects, policy reforms and the overall management of the Bretton Woods institutions, with special emphasis on environmental and social concerns.
capital	capital	Resources that can be used to create further income.
contagion	contagion	The spreading of a financial crisis from one country into other countries or regions
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)	Investment in the foreign operations of a country through acquisition of foreign operations and assets.
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade	Established in 1948. Became a negotiating body on trade liberalisation. Predecessor of the World Trade Organisation.
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services	A WTO agreement that allows services to be privatised and open to unrestricted foreign direct investment (FDI)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	A measure of the total flow of goods and services produced by the economy over a specified time period, normally a year or a quarter.
GNP	Gross National Product	Gross domestic product plus the income accruing to domestic residents arising from investment abroad, less income earned in the domestic market accruing to foreigners abroad.
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative	World Bank initiative on debt relief for the poorest countries. HIPC is dependent upon the writing and implementation of the PRSP and economic reforms.
G7	Group of 7	Forum of the world's largest seven industrial economies: the US, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, UK and Canada. With Russia called the G8.
IFI	International Financial Institution	Principally the IMF, World Bank and the regional development banks, e.g. the Asian Development Bank (ADB)
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment	The MAI was to be a comprehensive, high-standards agreement establishing a legally binding multilateral framework for investment liberalisation and investor protection. Negotiations began at the OECD in 1995, but were dropped in the face of strong civil society and member state opposition.
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement	Established in 1994. A free trade area comprising Canada, the USA and Mexico
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development	Established in 1961. An organisation of wealthier countries advocating multilateral trade.
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper	A national poverty reduction strategy paper. A World Bank/IMF initiative, used in qualifying for HIPC and other concessions.
tariff	tariff	Taxes imposed on commodity imports
trade liberalisation	trade liberalisation	Opening up of markets to trade.
TRIPs	Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (WTO)	An series of protectionist agreements on property rights. Issues surrounding TRIPs include bio-piracy and the inability of countries to afford necessary drugs at affordable prices.
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development	A conference, held every three to four years. Set up in response to developing country concerns over trade and investment.
Uruguay Round	Uruguay Round	The last round of trade negotiations, begun in 1986, concluded in 1993
WTO	World Trade Organisation	Set up in 1995, following the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. Replaced the GATT. International Secretariat based in Geneva. Able to legislate in trade disputes, set trade sanctions etc.

[32] Bannock, G, Baxter, R E, and Davis E, 1998 (6th Ed), *The Penguin Dictionary of Economics,* London: Penguin