


WTO & Livestock: Starving small farmers, feeding large agribusinesses

Taking a closer look at the WTO and its free trade model, and how it negatively impacts on the livestock and feedstock industries production model





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Published in April 2017 by Global Forest Coalition

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Back cover: Benny Kuruvilla/Flickr

This report was made possible with the support of Misereor.
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Introduction

In our report, 'What's at Steak?: The Real Cost of Meat' [1], we illustrate the many different impacts of the industrial livestock sector and how its unsustainable methods of production of meat and dairy products and feedstock crops negatively impact communities, Indigenous Peoples, small farmers, biodiversity, natural resources and animals.

In this briefing paper, we look more closely into the role that the free trade model and the rules imposed by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in particular have played in imposing an industrial agricultural model that is skewed to favour large agribusinesses, while pushing out small farmers and their sustainable and agro-ecological practices.

It is also a model that re-orientes developing country markets for exports, relegating them to the

lower-value ends of global commodity and value chains. Locking small economies into exporting feedstocks such as soy has left them unable to produce food for themselves, as is detailed in the case studies featured in 'What's at Steak?'. Here, we delve into the trade rules and economic model that perpetuate this system, and reflect on ways in which current WTO negotiations might create further livestock-related impacts.

Genetically modified soy extends to the horizon in Paraguay. Stella Haller/CIC

The WTO as the mother of all mega-deals

There are strong pro-free trade and pro-protectionist interests seeking to shape trade rules and restrictions in different ways, but all with a view to benefiting large corporations. Because of fears that some have about protectionism, it would be quite easy to fall into a trap of defending multilateral trade fora in which negotiations and decisions are supposed to include or allow for the participation of smaller, less powerful and less economically developed countries. But in practice the arena of free trade still empowers the biggest industrial agricultural corporations, so this is no solution. In fact, this kind of choice is akin to jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

Furthermore, it is important to understand that the WTO, even though it has not been in the spotlight recently—unlike mega-trade deals such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)—has been quietly reviving its negotiations and ambitions. For example on 22 February 2017, the first multilateral agreement in the WTO since it was established in 1995 [2], was ratified by two-thirds of the 164 WTO members. The ratification of the Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) is seen as a major victory within the WTO by the developed countries and transnational corporations [3] who had pushed for this as part of the 'new issues' they wanted to

introduce into the WTO all the way back in 1996 at the WTO's Singapore Ministerial. [4] The TFA is a wide-ranging deal that is expected to have significantly more costs than benefits for developing countries. [5]

The WTO, in spite of being somewhat in the shadow of the above-mentioned 'megadeals', has been making strides in certain areas, including the liberalisation of environmental goods and services and other areas. Critically, these strides take the WTO further and further away from the original promises of 'fair' rules and 'development' for the developing and least developed countries.

The Transparency Mechanism: The danger ahead

A seemingly harmless decision in the WTO'S Nairobi declaration states:

"28. We reaffirm the need to ensure that Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) remain complementary to, not a substitute for, the multilateral trading system. In this regard, we instruct the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements (CRTA) to discuss the systemic implications of RTAs for the multilateral trading system and their relationship with WTO rules.

With a view to enhancing transparency in, and understanding of, RTAs and their effects, we agree to work towards the transformation of the current provisional Transparency Mechanism into a permanent mechanism in accordance with the General Council Decision of 14 December 2006, without prejudice to questions related to notification requirements."

Simply put, this paragraph opens the door for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and other regional free trade agreements to be brought under the WTO, and possibly multilateralised. Meaning in turn that the far-reaching deals on investment, agriculture and other areas reached in these agreements can potentially be implemented on a multilateral level forcing other countries to agree to them.

In the run up to the 11th Ministerial of the WTO, which is scheduled for December 2017 in Argentina, it is critical to understand that the WTO has been quietly breaking promises and moving towards agreements that would benefit large and rich corporations primarily from the industrialised

North but also from the South. It is of utmost importance to join forces across the many issues and struggles impacted by these trade deals. With respect to agriculture, including livestock production, proposals on the table that are going to threaten food sovereignty, livelihoods and our right to food

need to be stopped. And most importantly, farmers' and other social movements' long-standing demand that the WTO get out of agriculture needs to be firmly reiterated.

The WTO as the bastion of free trade

The establishment of the WTO in 1995 was a moment of crowning glory for neoliberalism. The WTO was, and still is, the first of its kind—a multilateral body that has the ability to legally implement and sanction member countries if they are found not to be applying any of its 60+ agreements.

Evolved from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the establishment of the WTO was part of a broader overall plan to create a multilateral financial and economic system that would deepen trade liberalisation. The 'Washington Consensus' as it was dubbed, included the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the GATT. These were to be the bastions of global trade and monetary rules. The overall goal of the GATT, which became the WTO, was to ensure and guarantee that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and as freely as possible.

WTO has two key elements that empower it, making it a much more encompassing agreement

than its predecessor. The first is the Dispute Settlement Mechanism (DSM). This gives the WTO its power. The DSM is unique and makes the WTO the only multilateral body with a legally enforceable system. Sanctions can range from economic sanctions to an outright order for the erring member country to change its law or policy if it is deemed to contradict any of the trade rules under the WTO. As of 1 April 2017, there are 524 cases of varying status under the DSM. [6] Compared to the total of 300 cases filed in the 48 years of the GATT, the DSM is clearly a tool that is used much more actively by member states.

The second is the inclusion of agriculture as a sector. The GATT had previously dealt with a few aspects of agriculture but had never covered it as a whole. Bringing food production and trade under the auspices of the GATT had long been resisted, precisely because food is vital to life, and of much more importance than commodities simply traded

for economic gain. The impacts of including agriculture in the WTO are now being felt by farmers and small food producers around the world. [7]

It is also crucial to point out that the WTO's establishment in 1995 followed a long period in the 1980s when the World Bank had given out loans to developing countries with a whole host of strings attached. These forced governments to implement Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that had a one-size-fits-all prescription of conditionalities designed to turn developing countries into more market-oriented economies. Basic elements included deregulation of the economy, liberalisation of trade and investment, privatisation of state-owned enterprises, cuts in government expenditures, and currency devaluation. The impacts also served to turn countries into the cash-crop exporting economies they are today, a situation which has been exacerbated by the rules of the WTO, particularly its Agreement on Agriculture (AoA).

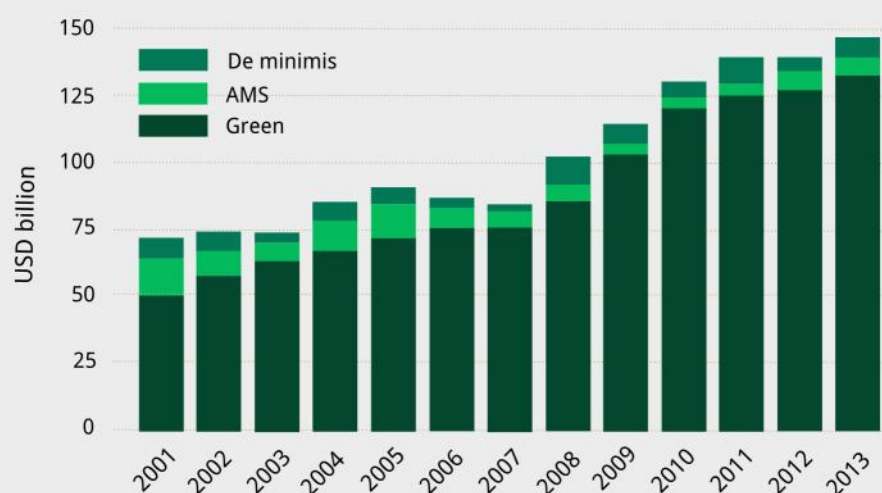
WTO conference centre, Hong Kong ministerial. World Trade Organization/Flickr

The WTO Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) and its impacts on food, small farmers and the livestock sector

When the AoA was being negotiated, a list of promises was made to developing countries to induce them into agreeing to include this sensitive sector as one of the 60+ agreements under the planned WTO. These promises included the removal of trade-distorting export subsidies for agriculture in developed countries, with a view to stopping the practice of 'dumping'. This is the export of subsidised agricultural products in other countries' markets at below the cost of production, meaning that farmers in those countries simply cannot compete. It was promised that the AoA would bring discipline and reform to the sector and create a fair and level playing field in agriculture that would allow developing countries to participate. Developing countries were additionally promised market access to the developed countries (where they expected to be able to compete following the end of agricultural subsidies).

None of this has happened. Instead of eliminating trade-distorting subsidies, the AoA has actually allowed the US and the EU to increase their subsidies, as the following tables illustrate. ('De minimis', 'AMS' and 'Green' are different kinds of subsidies, with 'Green', the largest category, being subsidies that are exempted from reductions). [8]

Composition of US domestic supports as notified to the WTO (USD billion)



Composition of EU subsidies as notified to WTO (USD billion)

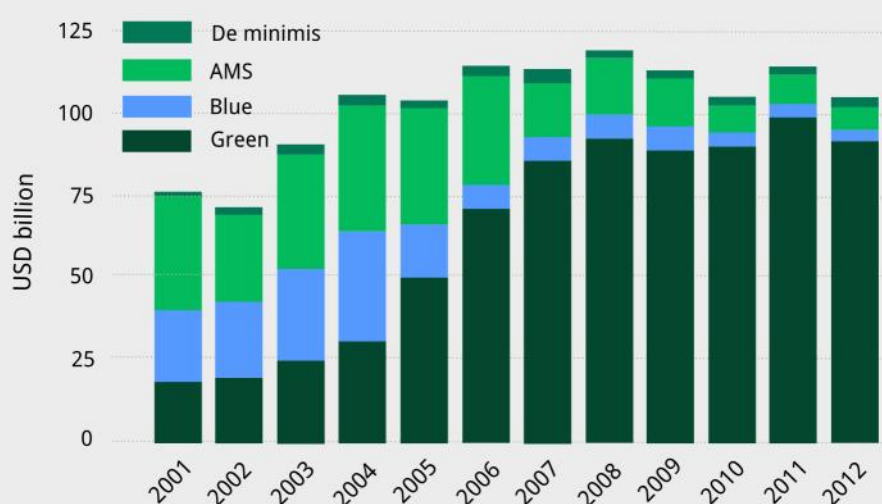


Figure 1: South Centre (2017). The WTO's Agriculture Domestic Supports Negotiations. https://www.southcentre.int/wpcontent/uploads/2017/01/AN_TDP_2017_1_The-WTO%E2%80%99s-Agriculture-Domestic-Supports-Negotiations_EN.pdf

Ghana's poultry imports

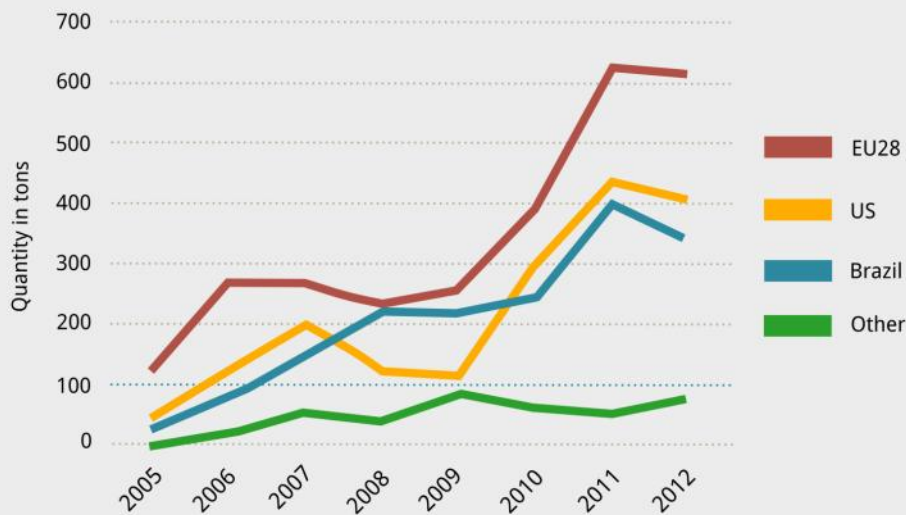


Figure 2: South Centre (2017). The WTO's Agriculture Domestic Supports Negotiations. <https://www.southcentre.int/analytical-note-january-2017/>

Figure 1 Illustrates US supports from 2001 to 2013, showing the complete contrast with the promise to eliminate trade-distorting subsidies. According to a forthcoming study conducted by the Institute for Agricultural and Trade Policy (IATP) and cited by the South Centre, "the US is exporting below the cost of production" and, in particular, "in 2015, exports were indeed being sold below the cost of

production in all the 5 commodities they studied – wheat, maize, rice, cotton and soybeans." [9]

Similarly, again as illustrated by the South Centre, EU subsidies have also increased significantly under the exempt 'Green' category, and continue to cause unfair distortions in trade that are impacting severely on small farmers and livestock producers. For the African

Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, there is an estimated distortion (dumping rate) of 10% in dairy products, 18% in pig products; 23% in poultry and eggs; and 210% for bovine meat. [10]

A stark example of the impacts of these often massively subsidised imports entering a developing country economy is that of Ghana's poultry sector. Once a thriving

Subsidies to the EU exports extra-UE28, to ACPs and West Africa (WA) in 2013

1000 euros	Extra-UE	ACPs	WA	Benin	Ivory Coast	Ghana	Nigeria	Senegal
Cereals	2898049	300288	173794	5728	35790	8347	36005	31125
Poultry and eggs	406208	146579	75467	35968	193	19269	149	114
Pig meat	707127	55565	15192	270	9325	1959	176	53
Bovine meat	495071	105196	81769	254	22492	35977	428	626
Dairy products	945597	106584	67951	3868	5951	5357	31660	2989
Total	5452052	813212	414173	46088	73751	70909	68418	34907

Figure 3: Eurostat. Berthelot 2014 'The EU28 subsidies in 2013 to its exports of cereals, meats and dairy products to extra-EU28, ACPs and West Africa', <https://www.sol-asso.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/The-EU28-subsidies-in-2013-to-its-exports-of-cereals-meats-and-dairy.pdf> as cited in South Centre (2017) The WTO's Agriculture Domestic Supports Negotiations

industry, it has been negatively impacted by the influx of cheap heavily subsidised poultry from the EU, US and Brazil, such that since the year 2000, it has suffered a steady decline. "Many, if not all, the commercial poultry farms that were established in the late 1960s and early 1970s have collapsed and/or are on the verge of collapsing." [11] As the South Centre details, the "EU remains the main exporter of poultry to Ghana. EU exports of poultry are subsidised also as a result of subsidies provided to feed." [12]

Similar impacts have been felt in other countries in West Africa, as the study of Jacques Berthelot, cited by the South Centre, demonstrates (see Figure 3). For example, "In September 2016, Burkina Faso milk farmers appealed to the EU to bring milk over-production under control as subsidised EU milk powder was destroying local production and jobs." [13] The over-production of

subsidised cereals, meats and dairy which are then dumped into developing country markets, negatively impacts small, local producers.

A further critical point to note is that these subsidies do not go to small farmers in need of support. The World Bank, in its study, 'Global Economic Prospects 2004: Realizing the Development Promise of the Doha Agenda' [14] pointed out that "The largest farm operations, which generally are also the most profitable and the wealthiest, receive most of the benefits of support systems. In the United States, the largest 25 percent of farms have average gross farm receipts of more than 275,000 USD and average farm net worth of more than 780,000 USD. They receive 89 percent of all support. The small family farms or cash-strapped growers receive very little support as they share the remaining 10 percent that has not gone to

subsidizing large agribusiness." In the EU, the support goes to those who do not need it as well: "the largest 25 percent of farms have average gross farm receipts of more than 180,000 euros and average farm net worth of almost 500,000 euros. They produce 73 percent of farm output and receive 70 percent of support."

In the Heinrich Boell Foundation (HBF) and Friends of the Earth Europe (FOEE) report the 'Meat Atlas: Facts and figures about the animals we eat' [15], the authors clearly illustrate that livestock production, including eggs, beef and veal, pigmeat, milk, poultry, sheep and soybeans, is massively subsidised. As exemplified by the 'What's at Steak?' case study on Brazil [16], most of these industries are controlled by large agribusinesses. Unsustainable growth in this sector is also being fuelled by the growing consumption of meat. As the Food and

Direct subsidies for animal products and feed

Industrialised countries (OECD members), estimates for 2012, in billion dollars

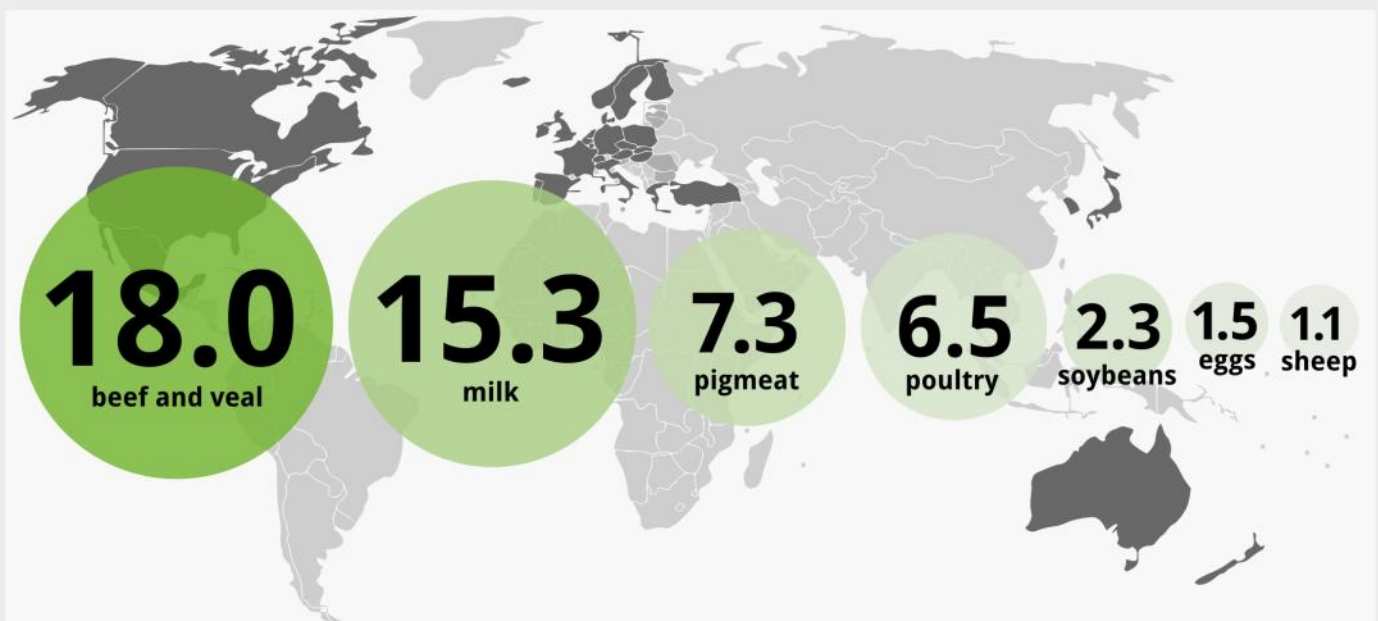


Figure 4: HBF & FOEE (2014). Meat Atlas: Facts and figures about the animals we eat. Heinrich Boell Foundation and Friends of the Earth Europe

Total (notified) Domestic Support and Domestic Support Per Farmer

Country Group	WTO Member (year)	Total Domestic Support (USD bln)	Total Domestic Support per farmer (USD)
Developed countries	Australia 2013/2014	1.8	537
	Canada 2013	5.2	16,562
	EU27 2012/2013	130.4	12,384
	Japan 2012	33.9	14,136
	United States 2013	146.8	68,910
Developing countries	Botswana 2014/2015	0.1	486
	Brazil 2014/2015	2.1	486
	China 2010	97.2	348
	Gambia 2013	0.0	35
	India 2010/2011	58.4	306
	Indonesia 2008	3.2	73
	Madagascar 2012	0.1	8
	Morocco 2007	1.0	229
	Namibia 2009/2010	0.0	272
	South Africa 2014	1.7	2,265
	Tunisia 2015	0.1	148
	Zambia 2012	0.2	77

Figure 5: South Centre (2017). The WTO's Agriculture Domestic Supports Negotiations.
<https://www.southcentre.int/analytical-note-january-2017/>

Agriculture Organization (FAO) details, global demand for livestock products is expected to increase by 70% by 2050. [17]

The South Centre also gives a detailed breakdown showing the disparity between domestic supports provided to farmers in developing countries versus developed countries. This is important because the US and EU are insisting, in the WTO agriculture negotiations, that they will only eliminate export subsidies if developing countries lower or remove their domestic supports to farmers. However, as shown in the table below, a farmer in Indonesia receives on average around 73 USD

per year, and a farmer in India an average of 306 USD per year. But a farmer in the EU receives an average of 14,136 USD and one from the US 68,910 USD per year. If one bears in mind the World Bank's conclusion that the largest farms receive the highest proportion of these subsidies, one can also infer that small farmers are receiving even less than these averages.

The G33, a grouping of developing countries that includes India, Indonesia and the Philippines have been demanding an amendment to the AoA since before the 2013 WTO Ministerial in Bali. They want it to be changed so that they are allowed to provide price supports for public

food stockholding for food security and domestic food aid. This is particularly relevant for India which introduced a National Food Security Bill as of 2013—a bill that aims to provide subsidised food grains to poor constituents and farmers, an estimated two-third's of India's 1.2 billion population. Under the current WTO AoA rules however, these policies could be seen as illegal and could be challenged under the WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism (DSM).

Developed countries had stonewalled the G33's request for an amendment, citing that it is too big a change to be made. Instead, the small producer countries have

been allowed a temporary solution: a 'peace clause'. This is an agreement that while negotiations towards a permanent solution continue—a solution that can include amending the AoA—countries agree that they will not file WTO cases against these small producer countries. This peace clause was agreed as part of the Bali package and reiterated in the 2015 WTO Ministerial in Nairobi.

However, there is no clear deadline for a permanent solution and the temporary peace clause seems like

a paltry trade-off that was accepted in exchange for approving the Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA). The TFA, which was also agreed in Bali and ratified earlier this year, requires massive changes in policies and creates financial burdens for developing countries. After ratification of the TFA, the WTO will need to include it as an Annex in the 'Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO'. It will then be legally binding, enforceable and guaranteed by the all-powerful WTO dispute system. [18]

This illustrates how the WTO often works in practice: promises of agriculture reforms critical to small farmers and hungry people remain unfulfilled, while a major agreement benefiting large exporting companies sails through.



Costs vs Benefits of Trade Facilitation for Developing Countries

Promised 'Gains'	Promised Assistance	Estimated Costs and other Implications
1 trillion USD gains in global GDP (based on calculations questioned by other economists)	2 kinds of grants from WTO Trade Facilitation Facility: a) project proposal grants (up to 30k USD only) b) 'soft' infrastructure implementation grants (up to 200k USD only)	Financial burnen from both 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructure (from modernisation of regulations, administration, information systems, training of officials to construction of building and rehabilitation of ports, border offices, roads)
21 million jobs (does not factor in job destruction)		Maintenance costs of implementation
10-15 percent reduction in trade costs	Pledges of support from donor Members (no concrete amounts yet)	Potential loss of government revenue from limiting of fees that can be collected at borders
		Potential cutting of other government public programmes (such as healthcare, education, poverty alleviation) as government funds are diverted in order to finance implementation costs of trade facilitation
		Debt creation as governments may take loans to finance implementation costs
		Potential job destruction in other areas
		Loss of national policy space

Figure 6: Malig, Mary Louise (2014) *Big Corporations, the Bali Package and Beyond: Deepening TNCs' gains from the WTO* (data in table collated by the author).

A protest by peasant farmers in Paraguay blocks roads to prevent crop spraying. Hugo Hooijer/CIC





Remembering farmer Lee: a vigil is held in Bali at the WTO ministerial to commemorate the death of Korean farmer Lee Kyung Hae. Benny Kuruvilla/Flickr

Why Agriculture should never have been in the WTO

The biggest impacts of the AoA's unfair trade rules have been on small farmers, whether growing staple crops or raising livestock in mixed farms. They do not receive the massive subsidies provided to agribusiness, and they are hindered from competing in global markets because the trade rules are skewed against them. There is no fair and equal level playing field—it is the biggest and the richest who win.

The imbalances are so great that it has always been the call of small farmer movements and many other organisations that the WTO has no business making trade rules on agriculture. This is also the position of many social movements. No matter what concessions might

eventually be negotiated (in return for 'deals' in other areas), small farmers are likely to remain vulnerable to import surges, price fluctuations, climate change in the forms of typhoons or droughts, and the dumping of imported products in local markets at costs below production. More often than not, they are also trapped in a cycle of debt and hunger. Modern livestock breeds for example, require heavier financial investments and risks, drawing small farmers deeper into the vicious cycle of indebtedness.

Farmer suicides are still prevalent today. The incidence of suicides in India as shown in Figure 7 is a tragic reality.

Incidence of Suicides in India

Year	Total number of suicides
2010	134,599
2011	135,585
2012	135,445
2013	134,799
2014	131,666

Figure 7: Source: National Crime records bureau of India (2016). <http://ncrb.nic.in/StatPublications/ADSI/ADSI2014/chapter-2%20suicides.pdf>



WTO kills farmers!

Food and agriculture are central to our lives as peasants and small farmers. Agriculture is not only our livelihood; it is our life, our culture and our way of relating to Mother Nature. The logic of free trade runs counter to this, as it makes food a commodity; a mere product to be bought and sold. This principle of free trade is embodied and pushed forward by the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO's Agreement on Agriculture aims to make agricultural policies the world over more market oriented in order to facilitate greater trade flows. This is why we in La Via Campesina have been at the forefront of the struggle against the WTO since its launch in 1995. Since the beginning, we have

consistently called for 'WTO out of agriculture'. We were in the streets of Seattle, Cancun, Hong Kong, Geneva and in Bali. The commodification of food and agriculture through the WTO has caused the death of farmers—farmers' livelihoods have been wiped out by cheap agricultural products being dumped in their markets below their costs of production. Korean farmer Lee Kyung Hae killed himself on the fences of the WTO Cancun Ministerial wearing a sign that said 'WTO Kills Farmers'. That still carries true today as hunger grows, lands are grabbed by transnational corporations, peasants go into vicious debt cycles as they are

unable to sell their produce, family farmers are wiped out by large agribusiness and food is poisoned by genetically modified organisms. We in La Via Campesina believe that the only way forward is to fight for Food Sovereignty. All peoples should have the right to culturally appropriate, nutritious and healthy food, and their food and agricultural systems should not be determined by the whims of the free market. We need to call for an end to the WTO and fight for an economy based on justice with food sovereignty at its heart.

Henry Saragih, Chairperson of Serikat Petani Indonesia. Nyéléni newsletter 16 - Peoples Struggle against WTO <https://nyeleni.org/spip.php?article412>

Conclusion

Although the WTO seems to have evaded the limelight in recent years, key recent developments indicate that it is regaining momentum, and that this may have significant impacts in terms of agriculture and livestock production, as well as other sectors. Citizens and farmers around the world need to come together across sectors and issues, to stop it. The recent ratification of the Trade

Facilitation agreement is a very clear example of how the agenda of the developed countries and transnational corporations is moving forward.

The upcoming Ministerial in Argentina, in December 2017, is critical to the WTO's momentum. If it succeeds in furthering its negotiating agenda, it will empower and further

embolden the entire free trade agenda and system. Bilateral or regional free trade agreements may have far-reaching agreements on investment and other areas, but the WTO with its multilateral membership and unique ability to legally enforce and economically sanction members, is still the prized jewel of trade liberalisation. In the same way a failed Ministerial in



[1] Hall and Malig (2016) What's at Steak: The real cost of meat. <http://globalforestcoalition.org/resources/unsustainable-livestock-production/>

[2] https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news17_e/fac_27feb17_e.htm

[3] International Chamber of Commerce. (2013) "ICC hails Bali agreement as welcome news for the world economy" Bali, Indonesia, December 7 <https://iccwbo.org/media-wall/news-speeches/icc-hails-bali-agreement-as-welcome-news-for-the-world-economy/>

[4] ibid

[5] Capaldo, Jeronim. (2013) "The Uncertain Gains from Trade Facilitation" GDAE Policy Brief 13-02. Global Development and Environment Institute, Tufts University. Medford, MA.

[6] World Trade Organization Dispute Settlement page https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/dispu_status_e.htm

[7] Jafri (2015) Trade Liberalization and WTO: Impacts on Agriculture and Farmers https://focusweb.org/system/files/WTO%20Book_0.pdf

[8] https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/agric_e/ag_intro03_domestic_e.htm

[9] Institute of Agricultural and Trade Policy (IATP), forthcoming paper on agricultural distortions due to subsidies by the US as cited by the South Centre in its 2017 paper.

[10] Jacques Berthelot 2014 'The EU28 subsidies in 2013 to its exports of cereals, meats and dairy products to extra-EU28, ACPs and West Africa, <https://www.sol-asso.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/The-EU28-subsidies-in-2013-to-its-exports-of-cereals-meats-and-dairy.pdf>



Protest at the Bali WTO ministerial. Benny Kuruvilla/Flicker

Argentina could deal a strong blow to this system of ever expanding free trade regimes that favour large producers, including in the livestock sector, rather than small-scale, sustainable producers.

The WTO's Agreement on Agriculture threatens to inflict ever more damage on small farmers and communities across the world. This

must not be allowed to happen. The demand of small farmers, social movements and activists—since the WTO was established—needs to be reiterated: WTO out of agriculture!

For that matter, the WTO and the current free trade agenda needs to be stopped in its tracks, challenged and replaced with the many alternatives already in practice such

as small-scale sustainable mixed farms of livestock and crops that feed the community instead of the free market; agroecology; and the principles of food sovereignty that put people and nature first.

OF AGRICULTURE,
SOVEREIGNTY NOW

[11] Source: Kusi L, Agbeblewu S, Anim I, Nyarko K 2015 'The Challenges and Prospects of the Commercial Poultry Industry in Ghana: A Synthesis of Literature', International Journal of Management Studies, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279059994_The_Challenges_and_Prospects_of_the_Commercial_Poultry_Industry_in_Ghana_A_Synthesis_of_Literature

[12] South Centre (2017). The WTO's Agriculture Domestic Supports Negotiations. https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/AN_TDP_2017_1_The-WTO%E2%80%99s-Agriculture-Domestic-Supports-Negotiations_EN.pdf

[13] South Centre (2017). The WTO's Agriculture Domestic Supports Negotiations. https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/AN_TDP_2017_1_The-WTO%E2%80%99s-Agriculture-Domestic-Supports-Negotiations_EN.pdf

[14] The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank. Washington DC, USA. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRGEP2004/Resources/gep2004fulltext.pdf>

[15] HBF and FOEE (2014) Meat Atlas: facts and figures about the animals we eat. <http://www.foeeurope.org/meat-atlas>

[16] Schlesinger (2016) Few Champions, Many Losers: The Concentration and Internationalization of the Brazilian Beef Industry <http://globalforestcoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/brazil-case-study.pdf>

[17] Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) page on livestock and the environment (accessed on April 5, 2017) <http://www.fao.org/livestock-environment/en/>

[18] Malig (2014) Big Corporations, the Bali Package and Beyond: Deepening TNCs gains from the WTO. <https://www.tni.org/en/briefing/big-corporations-bali-package-and-beyond>



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