

WTO

STUDY GUIDE

POWER OF THE PAST
PEOPLE OF THE FUTURE



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1. Letter from Secretary General

Most Esteemed Participants,

I, the Secretary-General of GITOMUN'24, am deeply honoured and privileged to welcome you to the seventh edition of our Model United Nations conference which will take place on 21-22-23-24 November 2024. I am delighted to see our journey continue as much as you, growing stronger each year to provide participants a conference that is fulfilling every aspect. From the earliest stages of planning, our academic and organizational teams have been working relentlessly to ensure that GITOMUN'24 upholds the high standards and enriching experiences that have come to define our conference. Our seventh edition marks not only a continuation but an evolution of what we aim to achieve, harnessing **the power of the past** to empower **the people of the future**.

This year, we are proud to host eight diverse committees, each providing a platform to delve into the pressing issues facing our world today. We are offering seven committees in English: the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Disarmament and International Security Committee (DISEC), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Maritime Organization (IMO), the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the Joint Crisis Committee (JCC). Additionally, we are honoured to present our sole Arabic committee: جامعة الدول العربية (the Arab League.)

In the light of reuniting for GITOMUN'24, we are lectured by the wise words of a world peace advocate: "If the United Nations is to survive, those who represent it must bolster it, those who advocate it must submit to it; and those who believe in it must fight for it."

On behalf of the entire GITOMUN'24 team, I wish you all a fruitful, challenging, and rewarding experience. May this conference inspire you to continue your journey as advocates for peace, justice, and equality.

Welcome to the seventh edition of our Model United Nations. Let us make it a memorable one.

Yours in service,
Secretary-General
Meryem Sönmez



2. Letter from Under Secretary General

Dear delegates,

First of all, I would like to point out that I would be happy to see you as part of our committee at this conference. I would like to thank the secretariat, academic and organization team who will enable us to have a great experience by taking on the burden of organizing this conference before we start to introduce the committee. All of you are GITOMUN'24 Welcome to our World Trade Organization committee

During the 4 days we will spend in the committee, we will focus on one agenda item together: "Strategies for Equitable Trade and Sustainable Development"

We will discuss this agenda item, make problem-detections and mobilize all our forces for "Strategies for Equitable Trade and Sustainable Development" by creating solutions. In order to achieve this, we will have some requests from you. In order to get ready for the committee, you need to read the study guide we have prepared for you before the conference, then do more detailed research about the agenda item and your country. Your dominance over the issue is very important for the fluidity of the committee and for us to reach the solutions quickly. I thank you all in advance for all the work you will do on behalf of the Committee.

I hope it will be a four-day full of both fun and academic stuff for all of us. I am sure we will all be better equipped at the end of the conference. Do not hesitate to reach me at any moment in any situation. We look forward to collecting good memories, to meet at the conference in order to gain an unforgettable experience.

Under Secretary General

Can Muhammed Kılınç

3. Introduction to the Committee

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is an intergovernmental organization headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland that regulates and facilitates international trade. It officially commenced operations on 1 January 1995, pursuant to the 1994 Marrakesh Agreement, thus replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that had been established in 1948.

Governments use the organization to establish, revise, and enforce the rules that govern international trade in cooperation with the United Nations System. WTO agreements are negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The WTO is the world's largest international economic organization, with 164 member states representing over 98% of global trade and global Gross Domestic Products (GDP). The goal is to ensure that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible. The roles of WTO are diverse, such as but not limited to, operating a global system of trade rules, acting as a forum for negotiating trade agreements, settling trade disputes between its members and supporting the needs of developing countries.

4. Introduction to the Agenda

Strategies for Equitable Trade and Sustainable Development

Levels of economic development and trade capacities among countries vary widely. Developed countries often have stronger negotiating positions and trade advantages, while developing and less developed countries lack these advantages. This makes it difficult to achieve fair and balanced trade. Moreover, trade practices such as tariff and non-tariff barriers, subsidies and dumping can prevent competition on equal terms. The prioritization of the interest of larger economies. All these factors make achieving fairness and equity in global trade a complex challenge. This committee will focus on strategies to increase the inclusiveness of global trade. Aiming to create a more balanced and equitable that promotes sustainable development and reduces poverty

5. Key Words

Gross Domestic Product(GDP): Gross domestic product (GDP) is the total monetary or market value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period. As a broad measure of overall domestic production, it functions as a comprehensive scorecard of a given country's economic health. Though GDP is typically calculated on an annual basis, it is sometimes calculated on a quarterly basis as well. The data is adjusted for price changes and is, therefore, net of inflation.

Multifiber Arrangement(MFA): The Multifiber Arrangement (MFA) was an international trade agreement involving clothing and textiles. The MFA was established in 1974 and imposed quotas on the amount of clothing and textiles that developing countries could export

to developed nations. The agreement was managed under the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT), created in Switzerland in 1947. Meant as a temporary agreement, the MFA ended on Jan. 1, 1995, and was replaced by the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing. The World Trade Organization (WTO) assumed responsibility for textile trade oversight in 2005.

Dumping: Dumping occurs when a country or company exports a product at a price that is lower in the foreign importing market than the price in the exporter's domestic market. The biggest advantage of dumping is the ability to flood a market with product prices that are often considered unfair.

Doha Development Agenda(DDA):The Doha Development Agenda, also known as the Doha Round, was formally launched in November 2001. The work programme of the agenda listed 21 subjects for negotiation. WTO members concluded an agreement on trade facilitation in 2013 but negotiations on many other agenda items remain open.

Globalization: Globalization describes the growing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, brought about by cross-border trade in goods and services, technology, and flows of investment, people, and information. Countries have built economic partnerships to facilitate these movements over many centuries. The term gained popularity after the Cold War in the early 1990s, as these cooperative arrangements shaped modern everyday life. This guide focuses on international trade and investment flows with emphasis on advanced economies, especially the United States.

Non-Tariff Barriers: A non-tariff barrier is a way to restrict trade using trade barriers in a form other than a tariff. Nontariff barriers include quotas, embargoes, sanctions, and levies. Some countries frequently use nontariff barriers to restrict the amount of trade they conduct with other countries as part of their political or economic strategies.

Subsidies: A transfer of resources from a government to a domestic entity without an equivalent contribution in return and can take many forms, including direct grants to domestic companies, tax incentives, or favorable terms for financing. For example, agricultural products are frequently subsidized by national governments in an effort to increase domestically grown and raised foodstock.

6.Trade

Trade provides profits for individuals or societies all kinds of things they carry from place to place like raw or processed goods, service, food and beverage covering the trading and exchange of things. It is an economic activity.

Trade, which started with the exchange of surplus production, has gained a completely different dimension with the invention of money. The discovery of steam power and mass production has begun with the industrial revolution. Trading with the development of technology and technology is rapidly globalizing.

6.1. Global Trade

No country in the world has the raw material, capacity and capital to produce its own needs. Therefore, countries sell the excess raw materials and products they produce to other countries, and buy the products they need from other countries due to these commercial activities between the regions, the global trade network has emerged.

International trade allows countries to expand their markets and access goods and services that otherwise may not have been available domestically. As a result of international trade, the market is more competitive. This can ultimately result in more competitive pricing and cheaper products. Some countries engage in national treatment of imported goods, treating them as equivalent to those same products produced domestically.

In addition, there are also difficulties in global trade. Competition to reduce production costs can lead to income inequality and cause powerful countries to exploit resources of weak countries. Trade cooperation should be emphasized against the problems that hinder global trade. In general, global trade can be driven by economic growth, but it must be carefully managed to ensure a sustainable and inclusive global economy.

6.2. Datas of Global Trade

After the global economic crisis of 2008-2009, countries remained under the influence of this process until 2012. Later, under the leadership of countries such as Germany, China and America, global trade began to increase, especially in terms of imports and exports.

This positive advance was adversely affected by the coronavirus, which emerged in November 2019 in Wuhan, China. The increase in unemployment rates due to the decline in exchanges, damage to trade networks and restrictions has greatly reduced global exports.

There was a total decrease of 6.2% in global exports. Afterwards, the total contraction from 2013-2020 when the United Kingdom left the European Union reached 8.7.



Kiel World Economy Institute (IFW), headquartered in Germany, published the report; global trade despite all the negativities and disruptions in the pandemic process

In January 2022, it announced that it had increased by 200 billion dollars compared to the previous month and that its pre-pandemic level (free of price and seasonality) had increased by &2.4 percent.



By April 2024, the annual global trade volume had fallen to \$23.99 trillion, a decline it had experienced since 2022.



7. World Trade Organization(WTO)

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is an intergovernmental organization headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland that regulates and facilitates international trade. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world’s trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business. Governments use the organization to establish, revise, and enforce the rules that govern international trade in cooperation with the United Nations System. The WTO is the world's largest international economic organization, with 164 member states representing over 98% of global trade and global GDP.

WTO members could be viewed from the link below

https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/org6_e.htm

7.1. Purpose of WTO

The overall objective of the WTO is to help its members use trade as a means to raise living standards, create jobs and improve people's lives. The WTO operates the global system of trade rules and helps developing countries build their trade capacity. It also provides a forum for its members to negotiate trade agreements and to resolve the trade problems they face with each other.

Improving People's Lives

The fundamental goal of the WTO is to improve the welfare of people around the world. The WTO's founding Marrakesh agreement recognizes that trade should be conducted with a view to raising standards of living, ensuring full employment, increasing real income and expanding global trade in goods and services while allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources.

Negotiating Trade Rules

The WTO was born out of five decades of negotiations aimed at progressively reducing obstacles to trade. Where countries have faced trade barriers and wanted them lowered, the negotiations have helped to open markets for trade. Conversely, in some circumstances, WTO rules support maintaining trade barriers - for example, to protect consumers or the environment.

Overseeing WTO Agreements

At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations. Essentially contracts, these documents provide the rules for international commerce and bind governments to keep their trade policies within agreed limits. Their goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters and importers conduct their business, with a view to raising standards of living, while allowing governments to meet social and environmental objectives.

Maintaining Open Trade

The system's overriding purpose is to help trade flow as freely as possible – provided there are no undesirable side effects – because this stimulates economic growth and employment and supports the integration of developing countries into the international trading system. Its rules have to be transparent and predictable, to ensure that individuals, companies and governments know what the trade rules are around the world, and to assure them that there will be no sudden changes of policy. It ensures freer trade by reducing and removing reciprocal customs and trade barriers. In short, it advocates free, transparent and predictable trade.

7.2. WTO Stands for

Non-Discrimination

A country should not discriminate between its trading partners, and it should not discriminate between its own and foreign products, services or nationals.

Predictability and Transparency

Foreign companies, investors and governments should be confident that trade barriers will not be raised arbitrarily. With stability and predictability, investment is encouraged, jobs are created and consumers can fully enjoy the benefits of competition – such as increased choice and lower prices.

Fair Competition

Discouraging “unfair” practices, such as export subsidies and dumping products at below normal value to gain market share; the issues are complex, and the rules try to establish what is fair or unfair, and how governments can respond, in particular by charging additional import duties calculated to compensate for damage caused by unfair trade.

Support for Less Developed Countries

Over three-quarters of WTO members are developing economies or in transition to market economies. The WTO agreements give them transition periods to adjust to WTO provisions and, in the case of the Trade Facilitation Agreement, provide for practical support for implementation of the Agreement.

Protection of the Environment

The WTO agreements permit members to take measures to protect not only public, animal and plant health but also the environment. However, these measures must be applied in the same way to both national and foreign businesses: members must not use environmental protection measures as a means of introducing discriminatory trade barriers.

Inclusion

The WTO seeks to build a more inclusive trading system that will allow more women and small businesses to participate in trade and to reap the economic benefits of global trading.

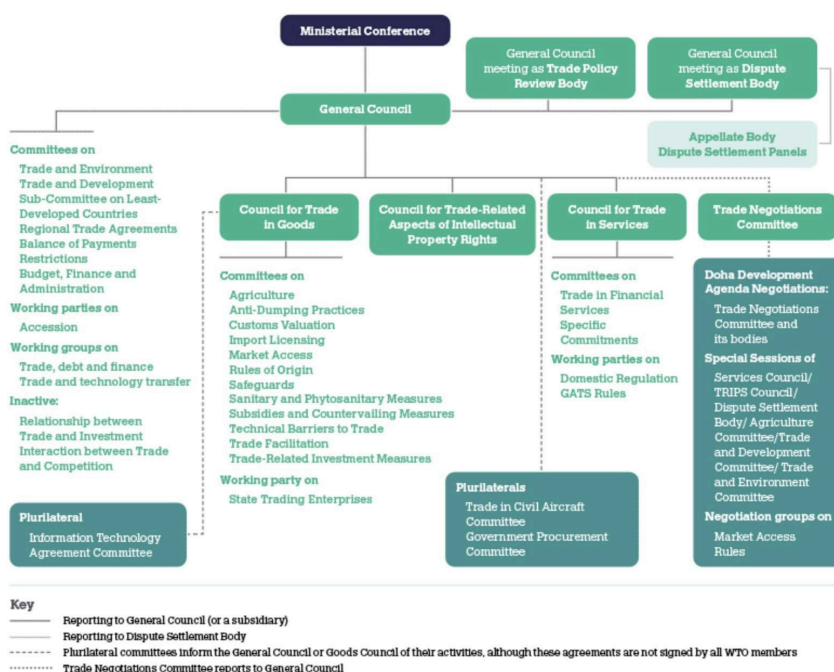
Partnerships

The WTO maintains regular dialogue with civil society, labour unions, universities and the business community to enhance cooperation and build partnerships. The WTO's Trade Dialogues initiative and the annual Public Forum provide a platform for civil society and business groups to discuss the latest developments in world trade and to propose ways of enhancing the multilateral trading system.

Digital Trade

The WTO recognizes the growing importance of e-commerce. Periodic reviews of the WTO's work programme on e-commerce are conducted by the General Council based on reports from various WTO bodies. In addition, a group of like-minded members are conducting negotiations on e-commerce, with a view to developing global digital trade rules and addressing challenges posed by the digital divide.

7.3. Structure of WTO



The WTO is run by its member governments. All major decisions are made by the membership as a whole, either by ministers (who meet at least once every two years) or by their ambassadors or delegates (who meet regularly in Geneva). Decisions are normally taken by consensus.

In this respect, the WTO is different from some other international organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. In the WTO, power is not delegated to a board of directors or the organization's head.

Reaching decisions by consensus among some 150 members can be difficult. Its main advantage is that decisions made this way are more acceptable to all members. And despite the difficulty, some remarkable agreements have been reached. Nevertheless, proposals for the creation of a smaller executive body — perhaps like a board of directors each representing different groups of countries — are heard periodically. But for now, the WTO is a member-driven, consensus-based organization.

Ministerial Conference

The WTO belongs to its members. The countries make their decisions through various councils and committees, whose membership consists of all WTO members.

Topmost is the ministerial conference which has to meet at least once every two years.

The Ministerial Conference can take decisions on all matters under any of the multilateral trade agreements. The inaugural ministerial conference was held in Singapore in 1996. Its primary purpose was to initiate an international effort among global trading nations to overhaul the structure and mechanisms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) while preserving the considerable progress and success achieved by that system since its inception in 1948. Disagreements, largely between developed and developing economies, emerged over four issues initiated by this conference; afterward, these were collectively referred to as the "Singapore issues".

The sixth WTO Conference Ministerial was held in Hong Kong from 13 December – 18 December 2005. It was considered vital if the four-year-old Doha Development Agenda negotiations were to move forward sufficiently to conclude the round in 2006. In this meeting, countries agreed to phase out all their agricultural export subsidies by the end of 2013, and terminate any cotton export subsidies by the end of 2006. Further concessions to developing countries included an agreement to introduce duty-free, tariff-free access for goods from the Least Developed Countries, following the Everything But Arms initiative of the European Union — but with up to 3% of tariff lines exempted. Other major issues were left for further negotiation to be completed by the end of 2006.



General Council

Day-to-day work in between the ministerial conferences is handled by three bodies:

The General Council

The Dispute Settlement Body

The Trade Policy Review Body

All three are in fact the same — the Agreement Establishing the WTO states they are all the General Council, although they meet under different terms of reference. Again, all three consist of all WTO members. They report to the Ministerial Conference.

The General Council acts on behalf of the Ministerial Conference on all WTO affairs. It meets as the Dispute Settlement Body and the Trade Policy Review Body to oversee procedures for settling disputes between members and to analyze members' trade policies.

Three more councils, each handling a different broad area of trade, report to the General Council:

The Council for Trade in Goods (Goods Council)

The Council for Trade in Services (Services Council)

The Council for Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS Council)

As their names indicate, the three are responsible for the workings of the WTO agreements dealing with their respective areas of trade. Again they consist of all WTO members. The three also have subsidiary bodies

Six other bodies report to the General Council. The scope of their coverage is smaller, so they are “committees”. But they still consist of all WTO members. They cover issues such as trade and development, the environment, regional trading arrangements, and administrative issues.

Each of the councils has subsidiary bodies. The Goods Council has 11 committees dealing with specific subjects (such as agriculture, market access, subsidies, anti-dumping measures and so on). Again, these consist of all member countries. Also reporting to the Goods Council is the Textiles Monitoring Body, which consists of a chairman and 10 members acting in their personal capacities, and groups dealing with notifications (governments informing the WTO about current and new policies or measures) and state trading enterprises.

8. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade(GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was set up to eliminate protectionism, get countries trading freely among themselves, and help restore economic prosperity following the devastation of World War II.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established two key institutions, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which laid the foundations for the post-World War II financial system.

Conference delegates also recommended the establishment of a complementary institution, known as the International Trade Organization (ITO), which they envisioned as the third pillar of the system. The United States and the United Kingdom spearheaded an attempt to draft a charter for the proposed ITO at the newly established United Nations.

These negotiations culminated in the signing of the Havana Charter in March 1948. Meanwhile, parallel negotiations were held on a multilateral deal for mutual discounts on tariff barriers. These negotiations resulted in the signing of the GATT on 30 November 1947.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), signed by 23 countries in 1947, is a treaty that minimizes the barriers to international trade by eliminating or reducing quotas, tariffs and subsidies. It was designed to boost economic recovery after World War II.

8.1. Understanding the GATT

GATT was created to form rules to end or restrict the most costly and undesirable features of the prewar protectionist period, namely quantitative trade barriers such as trade controls and quotas.

The agreement also provided a system by which to arbitrate commercial disputes among nations. The framework enabled a number of multilateral negotiations for the reduction of tariff barriers. GATT was regarded as a significant success in the postwar years.

One of the key achievements of GATT was that of trade without discrimination. Every signatory member of GATT was to be treated as equal to any other. This is known as the most-favored-nation principle, and it was carried through into the WTO.

A practical outcome of this was that once a country had negotiated a tariff cut with some other countries (usually its most important trading partners), this same cut would automatically apply to all GATT signatories. Escape clauses did exist, whereby countries could negotiate exceptions if their domestic producers would be particularly harmed by tariff cuts.

Most nations adopted the most-favored-nation principle in setting tariffs, which largely replaced quotas. Tariffs (preferable to quotas but still a trade barrier) were, in turn, cut steadily in successive rounds of negotiations.

8.2. History of GATT

GATT held eight rounds of meetings—the first beginning in April 1947, the last ending in December 1993. Each of the conferences had significant achievements and outcomes. The first meeting was in Geneva, Switzerland, and included 23 countries. The focus of this opening conference was on tariffs. The members established tax concessions affecting more than US\$10 billion of trade around the globe.

The second series of meetings began in April 1949 and was held in Annecy, France. Again, tariffs were the primary topic. Thirteen countries were at the second meeting, and they accomplished an additional 5,000 tax concessions reducing tariffs.

Starting in September 1950, the third series of GATT meetings occurred in Torquay, England. This time, 38 countries were involved and almost 9,000 tariff concessions passed, reducing tax levels by as much as 25%.

This series of meetings and tariff reductions would continue, resulting in new GATT provisions in the process. In 1964, GATT began to work toward curbing predatory pricing policies (known as dumping). Then in the 1970s, an arrangement regarding international trade in textiles, known as the Multifibre Arrangement (MFA), came into force.

GATT was expanded and refined over the years, the next big event was the Uruguay Round, which lasted from 1986 to 1993, leading to the creation in 1995 of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which absorbed the organization created to implement GATT. By then, 125 nations were signatories to its agreements, which covered about 90% of global trade.

If we come to the question "Why Was GATT Replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO); GATT, though largely successful in reaching its goal, was said to lack a coherent institutional structure. In short, it was a legal agreement acting as an international organization. The World Trade Organization incorporates the principles of GATT and is better positioned to carry them out because, among other things, it is better versed in issues like intellectual property, has a faster dispute settlement system, and wields more power.

9. Uruguay Round



The 1986 Ministerial Declaration identified problems including structural deficiencies, spill-over impacts of certain countries' policies on world trade GATT could not manage. To address these issues, the eighth GATT round (known as the Uruguay Round) was launched in September 1986, in Punta del Este, Uruguay. It was the biggest negotiating mandate on trade ever agreed: the talks were going to extend the trading system into several new areas, notably trade in services and intellectual property, and to reform trade in the sensitive sectors of agriculture and textiles; all the original GATT articles were up for review. The round was supposed to end in December 1990, but the US and EU disagreed on how to reform agricultural trade and decided to extend the talks. Finally, in November 1992, the US and EU settled most of their differences in a deal known informally as "the Blair House accord", and on 15 April 1994, the deal was signed by ministers from most of the 123 participating governments at a meeting in Marrakesh, Morocco. The agreement established the World Trade Organization, which came into being upon its entry into force on 1 January 1995, to replace the GATT system. It is widely regarded as the most profound institutional reform of the world trading system since the GATT's establishment.

The 20 agreements were signed in the Marrakesh Agreement in April 1994.

9.1. Marrakesh Agreement



The Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, commonly known as the “Marrakesh Agreement”, was signed in Marrakesh, Morocco, on April 15, 1994, at the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations.

This Agreement defines the scope, functions and structure of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The agreements previously negotiated under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), along with agreements concluded during the Uruguay Round, were incorporated as integral parts of the Marrakesh Agreement and are included in its Annexes. These agreements are now considered to be WTO agreements.

All WTO members are parties to the Marrakesh Agreement, including countries that have joined the WTO since it was signed.

This Agreement entered into force on January 1, 1995. It has no expiration date.

While the Marrakesh Agreement itself does not apply directly to your company, the WTO agreements in its Annexes provide a comprehensive set of rules designed to make it easier to compete in today’s global marketplace. Full texts of all WTO agreements, including those concluded since the WTO was established, can be found in the TARA database of the Trade Agreements Negotiation and Compliance of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

9.2. Results of the Uruguay Round

Industrial Tariffs

Indeed, the Uruguay Round negotiations were as engaging and difficult in this area as in any and were very successful, with one of the largest sets of tariff cuts ever achieved. While the agreed objective had been to match the overall 33 percent reduction achieved in the Tokyo Round, a global tariff reduction of close to 40 percent was the final outcome. At the same time, and despite this successful result, it is true that tariff peaks remain in some sectors and for some products.

Second, a major increase of tariffs bound at zero was agreed, their coverage increasing from 20 percent to 44 percent of all trade, which effectively implied that nearly as much as half of the trade flows of industrial products would now be duty free. And third, a drastic increase in tariff lines bound in GATT must also be noted: from 78 percent to 99 percent by developed countries and from 21 percent to 73 percent by developing countries, which considerably enhanced security and predictability in the trading system, factors that in return were conducive to new trade and investment flows.

Rules

The Uruguay Round negotiations led to a general clarification, improvement, and strengthening of trade rules.

Another main feature of the agreement is the introduction of “de minimis” provisions, thus rendering rules again more predictable. Disciplines in the area of antidumping have similarly been strengthened, largely by reviewing definitions and by introducing new provisions, which should effectively reduce resort to this instrument under conditions that would not warrant their application. Last, the Trade-Related Investment Measures Agreement is equally important and significant, despite the wide gap that exists between different countries’ perceptions and negotiating agendas in this area. The agreement clarifies the extent to which certain GATT articles have investment implications and, as a result, establishes clearly the inconsistency of certain trade-related conditions often placed on investment, such as domestic sourcing or trade performance.

Agriculture

This is perhaps the area that attracted the most attention during the Uruguay Round negotiations. It can be said that the relatively more modest component of the three-legged economic package that resulted from the negotiations in this sector is the fact that domestic support is to be cut by 20 percent “only.” But the intention is to reduce trade distortions and not to affect domestic policies as such, unless and to the extent that they impinge on trade. It allows for the maintenance of certain well-defined subsidies and thus protects less distortionary income-support measures decoupled from prices or volumes. This implies that the 20 percent reduction is bound to provide a powerful incentive for the redirecting of agricultural policies, which is precisely what is urgently needed to enhance overall efficiency in this sector.

The second main feature of the agreement relates to the reduction in export subsidies, which under the terms of the agreement are to fall (inter alia) by 36 percent of budgetary outlays. And perhaps most important, the third main feature of the agreement was the decision to eliminate all NTBs in agricultural trade. This plethora of import bans, quotas, and other impediments to trade was replaced by tariffs, which even if often very high, and in some cases arguably too high, are indeed more consumer friendly, transparent, and susceptible to gradual reform and negotiation. The key accomplishment of the negotiations perhaps was the very return to multilateral rules of a major sector that was carved out of the GATT rules since the earliest days of the GATT. It has also been a major bone of contention in various trade disputes. Agriculture is back in the trading system and firmly established as an area subject to the law and its natural evolution as part of multilateral rules.

Trade in Services

The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) represents the first set of multilaterally agreed and legally enforceable rules and disciplines ever negotiated in the area of international trade and investment in services—indeed across all service sectors. In terms of potential economic impact over the longer term, this may well be the most far-reaching element of the Uruguay Round outcome, given the increasing importance of tradable services in the international economy and the growing awareness of countries of their potential comparative advantage in some services activities.

The GATS sits on three columns. First, it establishes rules and principles that are considered as the basic legal basis for trading in services. These principles will ensure the best possible treatment in domestic foreign markets once suppliers enter.

Second, there are a number of supplements specific to financial services, air and sea transportation, telecommunications, industry, and the movements of real people, which provide a service that deals with the key features of these industries, to give an example, such as the right of governments to take precautionary measures to protect investors and depositors and ensure the stability of the financial system.

Third, there are commitments to go into certain liberalization measures, these commitments are basically services equivalent to the binding of tariffs. There are other areas where more legal negotiations are underway, rather than sectoral negotiations, and there is also an agreement to periodically conduct comprehensive service negotiations.

The trade that emerged as a result of the desire of people to meet their needs has continued to exist since primitive societies. Although it was first spoken as a concept in the 15th century, it was first defined and used in the 18th century in the sense we use today. In the 20th century, the developments in industry and technology changed trade life in a positive way. This positive commercial development has also begun to shape the relations between states.

10. Equitable Trade

Equitable Trade is a market-oriented organized social movement aimed at helping producers in developing countries and promoting sustainability. The movement advocates social and environmental standards, as well as higher payments to producers. It is also about building sustainable sectors where each ring in the fair trade chain is committed to this shared responsibility, especially in terms of supply and production, thereby helping to promote greater equality in world trade. Establishing long-term contractual partnerships guarantees the economic and social development of producers and workers.

By making it easier for a shirt made in Bangladesh or a coffee grown in Colombia or Brazil to quickly find its way to a cupboard or cellar on the other side of the world, fair trade aims to split that revenue equally between the stockholders and the original producers.

10.1. History of Equitable Trade

Equitable trade is a concept that emerged in developing countries in the mid-20th century, after World War II, as a system for workers to see the value they deserve. It was organized by churches and aid organizations, especially due to America's reluctance to lose an ally to Russia during the Cold War, to deliver humanitarian and resource aid to countries in need. While fair trade became widespread in the 70s, inequality and colonialism began to show their effects clearly, in the opposite sense. As a result, the importance of fair trade was emphasized with the slogans "fair trade is not aid" thrown at the UN, and Fair Trade Stores began to open, selling goods imported from developing countries.

Later, fair trade began to become systematic. With the formation of stands and regulations, the process of institutionalization of fair trade gained momentum. The high consumer awareness in developed countries pushed them to buy fair trade products. In 1997, with the official establishment of Fairtrade Labeling Organizations International (FLO), a global organization that monitors and certifies fair trade standards emerged. With its general acceptance in the 2000s, fair trade entered the mainstream market. Many fair trade certified products began to take their place on the shelves. With the expanding product range, fair trade began to appeal to a wider segment of society, leaving it no longer an ordinary market. Today, fair trade not only provides price balances, but also includes sustainability, workers' rights and social development. With the increasing awareness and sensitivity of consumers, fair trade and sustainable development have become a part of society. This movement, which began in the mid-20th century for workers' rights, has turned into an economic and social system that has a global impact.

10.2. Obstacles on Equitable Trade

Colonialism

Colonialism, which means the spread of a state outside the borders of its own country by taking other nations, states, communities under its political and economic sovereignty, is a concept to be explained by the fact that strong states use underground resources and trade revenues of weak countries and prevent them from being equally involved in trade.

Modern colonialism, which has become systematic since the beginning of the 16th century, has left permanent, deep marks on the societies exposed to colonialism due to the significant difference in development between the exploiter and the exploited. The development and spread of colonialism in this period is related to geographical discoveries. While it was intended to go to India, which is considered to be the source of spice, gold and wealth in terms of the point of departure, it was the first application of modern colonialism by reaching the Atlantic Ocean coasts of present-day Central America (1492).

The practice of colonialism on local societies is the slavery that has been going on for the most severe centuries in terms of its consequences. Primarily initiated and controlled by the Spanish and especially the Portuguese colonial empires, the slave trade of the Netherlands, England and France will be an important source of wealth and power.

Colonialism led to large population movements, thus causing population changes in many parts of the world. Voluntary migrations from homelands to colonies resulted in the extermination of indigenous populations in the countries where large numbers of people settled.

An important potential for colonialism is the rich underground resources of the continental countries. Precious mines located in Africa, for example, lead to strong states with global industry and other different industries focusing on continental countries. This geography is home to almost half of the world's gold and about a third of all minerals found on earth. African countries have about 30% of world mineral reserves, 12% of oil and 8% of natural gas. Another important potential of Africa is that the continental countries are extremely suitable for agriculture. According to data from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1 billion 396 million hectares of arable land in the world is 226 million hectares in Africa. In other words, 16% of the arable farmland on earth is located on the African continent.

This has led to the exploitation of African continent countries throughout history and the use of indigenous people as labor force. But in recent years, the growing ideology of the far-right around the world has played a major role in gaining the independence of African countries. After gaining their independence, the countries that started to operate their own resources are experiencing a great development in trade volumes, while the countries that lost their colonies suffer economic losses.

Trade Barriers

Trade barriers, which are any tariff, quota, regulation or policy that restricts or impedes international trade, have both positive and negative aspects.

Imported products become more expensive because high-income countries tend to trade less with middle-income countries. Trade barriers, which include high tariffs and quotas that run counter to the logic of free trade, further increase the cost of these products, making it harder for consumers to access quality products.

Due to the high costs created by trade barriers, domestic producers have difficulty in participating in the trade chain. The fact that domestic producers are lagging behind reduces the competitive pressure and allows high-capital companies to dominate the trade. As a result, we encounter problems such as quality decline and lack of innovation, and the efficiency in the production network decreases:

The mutual application of trade barriers results in trade wars between countries and a decrease in trade both globally and regionally.

The economic stagnation that occurs after the decreasing trade volume has a negative impact on economies that are dependent on trade.

Different Regulations

In international relations and global trade, the policy of "common interest and common enemy" is followed. Countries may have to make concessions or sign agreements that they would not normally be a part of, due to the requirements of policies and state interests at certain times and situations. In foreign trade, countries may also grant privileges to other countries in line with their interests and apply different regulations and standards in bilateral trade relations. This harms the "equal" benefit of small businesses from the trade environment.

Intellectual Property Rights

Trade is a structure that constantly renews itself along with the development of the world and technology. In order to prevent the existing from becoming inadequate and compromising quality by turning that field into a monopoly, it is necessary to keep up with innovation and ensure change. However, large-scale companies and states can prevent innovative ideas by sabotaging them in order to prevent the value of the strong trade network they hold. As a result of inadequate protection of intellectual property rights, decreasing innovations reduce competition and prevent equitable trade.

Corruption and Bribery

Corruption and Bribery are concepts that have serious negative effects on equitable trade both regionally and globally. Companies that give bribes are awarded high-volume tenders that they do not deserve, causing them to offer poor quality products and services. This reduces efficiency in the economy and prevents the formation of a competitive environment.

As a result of bribery, poor quality products that enter the market as a result of quality and safety issues violated in both public and private sectors and in inter-state relations can cause various health problems in the consumer. And it eliminates consumer satisfaction.

In countries that are associated with corruption and bribery, there will be no reliability and transparency, so investment risks increase and trade volumes decrease. As a result, investors coming to the country from abroad are negatively affected and the country's economy suffers.

At the same time, corruption and misuse of the state treasury cause delays in state projects, deterioration in infrastructure and logistics services, and this brings economic instability. Ultimately, countries associated with corruption and bribery lose reputation and trust in those companies decreases. This also negatively affects the trade network.

Social and Economic Inequalities

Economic and social inequalities can create obstacles for groups with different statuses to access trade opportunities. While the rich and those with higher chances of accessing opportunities have access to better education, capital and technology, the poor are deprived of these opportunities. It eliminates competition by allowing only one group to access resources more easily. In societies where competition decreases and inequalities deepen, large bases cannot create sufficient demand due to their low incomes. The production chain begins to appeal to a single group and trade growth slows down. This causes the market to shrink. As a result of the disrupted demand chain and the shrinking market, the luxury products demanded by high-income people increase, while the needs of the lower segments cannot be met. In other words, trade is alienated from social needs and development targeting welfare cannot be sufficiently achieved.

As a result of the concentration of capital in a certain hand, the rich get richer while the poor get poorer. With the disappearance of the middle class, a serious status difference occurs. Social trust is damaged and a large part of the society is thought to have an unfair economic system and a trust problem occurs. Social unrest increases due to the lack of trust. It can lead to social conflicts, strikes and protests. After these actions taken by the workforce, the problem of insufficient human resources emerges and sustainable trade is damaged.

10.3. Benefits of Equitable Trade

Increasing Producers' Income

Fair trade guarantees a minimum price guarantee for agricultural products (cocoa, cotton, coffee, etc.) that are subject to constant global fluctuations in price, regardless of global market fluctuations. This protects them against price declines and provides a sustainable income even in the worst market conditions.

Encouraging long-term trade relations, fair trade provides market stability and income continuity. This also provides economic planning and investment opportunities.

In addition, payments offered under the name of "Fair Trade Premium" provide benefits to society in all areas of life, while payments evaluated in areas such as Education-Health services, infrastructure investments improve living conditions and naturally lead to an increase in income in societies with increasing levels of welfare.

Sustainable Agricultural Practices

While fair trade encourages consumers to sustainable agriculture, the primary aim of sustainable agriculture is to ensure the protection of natural resources. This directly ensures the protection of biodiversity. In addition to preventing environmental pollution, it ensures the purchase of quality products without damaging the genetics of the soil.

It ensures the production of quality and high value-added products. This ensures the sustainability of agriculture in the long term. It provides energy savings and allows the use of renewable energy sources. It increases the income of small farms and protects the health of employees. It also protects the amount of water and water quality. Seeds planted without processing the soil increase soil fertility and help prevent erosion. It directly contributes to production and therefore trade in fertile and safe soils. By reducing the use of pesticides and insecticides, harmful integrations are minimized. This increases the number of useful plant species and eliminates harmful ones. In plant and animal harmony, the movement of animals in the agricultural area helps the soil to tighten, while the feces they leave behind are also fertilizer. Rotary crop planting increases productivity in the soil. In addition, planting varieties in the same product will also ensure the yield from sustainable agriculture. Many activities that protect the environment and natural resources, provide sustainable agriculture and stable markets, and many more items we could add here, have a direct positive relationship with equitable trade.

Consumer and Global Awareness

The equitable trade system ensures that consumers are informed from the first stage to the last stage of the product they purchase. They become more conscious of the products they know in which working conditions and environment they are grown. This encourages ethical consumption habits and turns consumers into individuals who respect human rights. These individuals also ensure that their own social circles turn to ethical and environmentally friendly products. As awareness increases, employers will be more respectful of the rights of their employees, as labor rights problems that occur in the background will find a response on a global scale. This will increase the motivation of workers, and quality products will emerge in a short time with the most efficient workforce.

Thanks to the campaigns obtained and carried out in equitable trade, social responsibility awareness can spread more quickly with education and awareness campaigns aimed at consumers.

While people become more conscious of global inequalities and rights abuses, the blogs, documentaries and news written on media and social platforms play the biggest role in this. This spreads the idea of creating a fair and sustainable trade system to a wide audience.

Quality Products and Economic Stability

Providing high quality products at fair prices increases consumer satisfaction while contributing to the growth and spread of brands. The producers who gain the trust of consumers receive better wages and increased access to resources allow the production process to focus on quality. The coming together of producers and investors within the system allows the processing process to spread over a wide range in terms of education and technique. A more stable global market provides income security to all components of the system against fluctuations.

Sustainability is a factor that provides stability for producer communities. It is necessary for producers to meet their needs and to continue their long-term production processes. This stability encourages producers to invest more in their business processes. Countries with income security and fertile agricultural lands can focus on new technologies and expanding business processes. This increases production capacity and ensures that competition in the global market remains lively. Finally, this whole process ensures that both producers and other parties in the equitable trade system are more resilient to global crises that affect the whole world.

10.4. Responsibilities of Countries in Equitable Trade

First of all, all countries should do their best for a more just and equal world, implement the beneficial actions we mentioned in the previous article and fulfill their responsibilities.

Regulations and Treaties

While fair trade has such a global appeal and a high trade volume, this huge system that has emerged needs to have certain rules. In order for all countries, strong and weak, to trade under fair conditions in accordance with the concept of 'equality', which is one of the most fundamental principles of the UN, institutions with authority in this sense need to make arrangements in a way that will not harm any of the parties. Production processes that comply with standards need to be inspected and trade agreements that do not exploit the weak need to be pioneered. Actions that include support programs such as tariff reductions and subsidies should become widespread and this process should be carried out in line with institutionalized institutions and certification systems. Countries should act together on climate change, which is the biggest obstacle to the sustainability of fair trade and, more broadly, the continuity of our world, and design trade activities in a way that has the lowest carbon footprint and causes the least harm to the environment.

Mutual consultation and common policies and new strategies should be put forward in the fight against climate change. Renewable energy sources should be encouraged.

Education and Awareness

As in many other issues, one of the basic characteristics of a successful business is to act consciously. Individuals who are aware of the developments in the world, the relations between states and the importance of justice and equality in trade are one of the most important elements required for this system to continue successfully and without disruption. Economic change occurs when producers, consumers, citizens, entrepreneurs and workers support it in many ways. This requires being aware of the initiatives that people can support and the goals that government, businesses and civil society are working to achieve. In this context, education and consumer campaigns can be organized to increase the quality of education and awareness. An expanding network can be created that allows the people reached with these campaigns to reach their own circles.

The most effective way to do all of these is to bring countries together on a common ground and organize international forums and summits through democratic and diplomatic means and in accordance with their purpose.

These platforms encourage the exchange of information and the creation of common solutions. In particular, the support that developed countries will provide to more developed countries in terms of educational opportunities will increase awareness on a global scale.

Financial Support and Infrastructure Development

In a period when systems spread over vast areas and intercontinental interaction have increased so much over time, "transportation" is one of the most important issues. When we assume that throughout history, radical changes and historical events affecting the whole world have occurred in the struggle for authority over trade routes and geographical discoveries accordingly, we understand the importance of the issue much better. Today, thousands of billions of commercial shipments are carried out using land, sea and air. Logistics projects that will provide savings in both time and money are of great importance. Developing the logistics infrastructure and improving communication facilitates access to the market and provides economic benefit. The steps that countries will take to ensure access to the market for all segments, regardless of their status, are one of the basic actions that must be taken for this economic benefit. Instead of a market where the strong crush the weak and monopolize, the option where small producers receive financial and logistical support through cooperatives is the most suitable option for the concept of "equitable trade". Low-interest loans and microfinance movements implemented with the support of strong states in this area will ensure economic stability and increase trade volume.

Digital Platforms

Digital platforms enable manufacturers to reach large audiences in the open market by eliminating many difficulties. Thanks to social media, websites and applications designed for trade purposes, communication between consumers and manufacturers is easier, faster and more reliable.

Countries and businesses can show their products to consumers in areas where usage is most intense. In this way, manufacturers can reach different environments more effectively and at the same time implement marketing strategies that have an important place in the trade system. This allows small businesses in particular to operate much more comfortably and without abuse of their rights in digital environments that cannot be controlled by an authority. Compared to commercial activities that require high costs and labor, digital platforms offer the opportunity to reach a wider audience at lower costs. Campaigns launched to the public on billboards, posters, and in areas of social media dedicated to advertising, and marketing strategies prepared by experts in the field, allow businesses to use their financial resources to improve the quality of the product rather than the process of reaching the consumer.

At the same time, the evaluation and analysis of data obtained from digital environments allow the most appropriate action to be taken according to the consumer profile. With web analytics tools, social media monitoring software, and other digital solutions, businesses can continuously evaluate and optimize their marketing strategies. In addition, when countries and businesses want to enter a new market, they can see and examine companies in different categories that appeal to their target audience, and make conscious market choices, instead of long and costly journeys between continents, thanks to digital platforms.

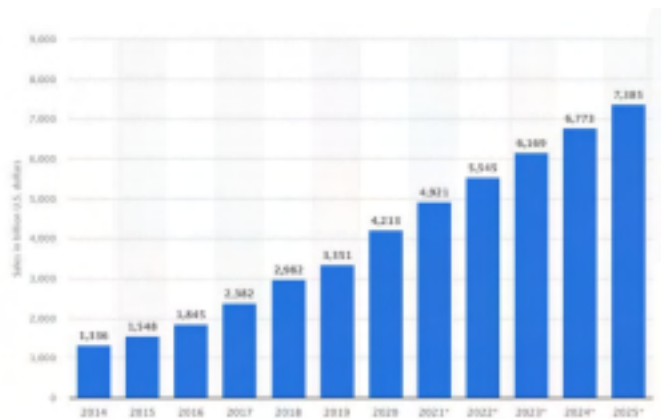
11. E-Commerce

Ecommerce or "electronic commerce" is the trading of goods and services online. The internet allows individuals and businesses to buy and sell an increasing amount of physical goods, digital goods, and services electronically. Some businesses sell exclusively online or use ecommerce to expand the reach of their other distribution channels. In order to keep up with the demands of customers for easier access to more options and faster delivery every day, businesses are spending more time in the e-commerce field to offer customers seamless multi-channel shopping experiences. They are differentiating themselves from their competitors and reaching more consumers around the world while also getting rid of the disadvantages of physical stores. E-commerce sites and applications that offer the opportunity to shop at any time and place are in greater demand because they are also suitable for individuals growing up in today's age.

After the pandemic (covid-19) that affected the whole world, e-commerce usage increased significantly. Due to health concerns and local restriction policies implemented by countries, people started to spend most of their lives at home. During this process, the fact that they shopped electronically led to the emergence of a new era in e-commerce. Global e-commerce sales increased by 27.6% in 2020. Online shopping accelerated with the onset of the pandemic, and this increase continued across many sectors. Global e-commerce sales amounted to \$4.9 trillion in 2021, and this figure is expected to reach \$7.4 trillion by 2025

The world's giant countries have also taken their share from the increase in e-commerce.

Being a large market and ranking first in terms of exports, it hosted 52% of e-commerce sales in 2020. As of 2023, China's e-commerce volume has reached approximately 2.8 trillion dollars. Among the biggest reasons why China, which is already an economic giant, has gained in this way in e-commerce are sites such as "Alibaba" and "JD.com". The USA, which has the world's second largest market in terms of e-commerce, increased its e-commerce sales by 30% compared to the previous year and reached 790 billion dollars in 2020, reaching a volume of 1.3 trillion dollars by 2024. Behind this success of the USA is a system such as Amazon, which has been actively operating since the first moment of e-commerce and controls many of the online sales.



According to experts, this positive increase in e-commerce will continue and reach a volume of \$8 trillion by the end of 2027.

12. Previous Attempts on Equitable Trade

In recent years, the WTO has faced numerous challenges, including criticism regarding lack of equity, transparency, and effectiveness. Yet, past attempts at infusing equity and transparency in its mandate have not moved beyond rhetoric. The Doha Development Round in 2001, the Bali Package in 2013, the Nairobi Package in 2015, and the Joint Statement Initiative in 2017 have failed to address the core concerns of WTO’s members, especially the developing economies.

Bali Package-2013

World Trade Organisation (WTO) ministerial conference, in December 2013, in Bali, Indonesia, ministers from 160 countries concluded the first multilateral agreement ever negotiated under the auspices of the WTO. After five years of impasse in the moribund Doha Round of trade negotiations, the so-called “Bali package” was enthusiastically welcomed by the world’s governments and international press alike as a critical step towards restoring the credibility of the WTO as a negotiating forum. The centerpiece of the package is without doubt a new agreement on trade facilitation aimed at reducing red tape, and facilitating customs procedures in an effort to cut down the cost of doing business. Other aspects of the deal focused on food security and a set of issues of particular interest to least developed countries including trade preferences or cotton subsidies.

As the dust from the heated Bali negotiations settles, the main challenge for the WTO will now consist in building on this success to re-energise multilateral negotiations and ultimately close the Doha Round. In a world increasingly dominated by regional and bilateral free-trade agreements, members will have to confront the core issues that have divided them for nearly 15 years and find creative solutions to rehabilitate the WTO’s centrality in global trade governance.

You can access the decisions made from the link below.

https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/trad_fa_agree_e.htm

Nairobi Package-2015

The “Nairobi Package” was adopted at the Tenth Ministerial Conference held at the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya, from 15 to 19 December 2015. It was attended by trade ministers of 162 member countries of the WTO. Also it is the first such summit meeting hosted by an African nation. The package included six Ministerial Decisions focused on cotton, agriculture, and concerns of least-developed countries (LDCs). One of the decisions involved the commitment to abolish export subsidies on agricultural exports. Developed countries were required to immediately eliminate farm export subsidies, except for a few products. Developing countries were given until 2018 to eliminate export subsidies on agricultural exports, with flexibility for covering marketing and transport costs until 2023. The poorest and food-importing nations were given additional time to comply. Additionally, a deal was made on IT trade, aiming to eliminate tariffs on 201 IT products annually, making all IT products duty-free by 2019.

You can access the decisions made from the link below.

https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/mc10_e/mc10_e.htm

Joint Statement Initiative-2017

At the 11th Ministerial Conference in December 2017, a group of 71 WTO members agreed to initiate exploratory work towards future WTO negotiations on trade-related aspects of e-commerce. In January 2019, 76 WTO members confirmed in a joint statement their intention to commence these negotiations. They agreed to “seek to achieve a high standard outcome that builds on existing WTO agreements and frameworks with the participation of as many WTO members as possible”. As of 25 June 2024, there are 91 WTO members participating in these discussions, accounting for over 90 per cent of global trade. As is the case for all the joint statement initiatives, participation in the e-commerce JSI is open to all WTO members. On 26 July 2024, the joint statement Co-conveners, Australia, Japan and Singapore, confirmed in a statement on behalf of the participants that after five years of negotiations, participants had achieved a stabilized text.

You can access the decisions made from the link below.

https://wtoplurilaterals.info/plural_initiative/e-commerce/#:~:text=

Abu Dhabi-2024

The World Trade Organization held its 13th Ministerial Conference (MC13) in Abu Dhabi (UAE) from 26 February to 2 March 2024. Ministers representing WTO Members of very different levels of development, and with very different (geo-)political views, met to discuss a plethora of important topics, ranging from food security and e-commerce to fisheries subsidies and reform of the WTO, as well as domestic regulations of services and investment facilitation. Before negotiations on some of the more intractable issues got started, some low-hanging fruit was harvested in the form of decisions accepting the terms of accession of two least developed countries (LDCs) Comoros and Timor-Leste – the first countries to join the WTO since Liberia and Afghanistan joined in July 2016. This now brings the total WTO membership to 166.

You can access the decisions made from the link below.

<https://www.dentons.com/en/insights/articles/2024/march/4/outcomes-of-the-wtos-13th-ministerial-conference>

Like other ministerial conferences held so far, this conference also caused criticism. Contrary to representatives of different trade organization member countries who claimed that no progress had been made in terms of trade other than the admission of 2 new members, there were also those who claimed that this ministerial conference was important. You can reach the opinions of different experts in the field about this conference from the link below.

<https://www.cfr.org/councilofcouncils/global-memos/wto-crossroads-what-failed-ministerial-conference-means>

13. Questions to be Addressed

- 1-What are the factors that lead to inequalities in trade?
- 2-What needs to be done to overcome the problems that arise in global trade?
- 3-How do trade inequalities affect developing countries?
- 4-What are the positive and negative aspects of business activities regarding environmental sustainability?
- 5-What extent do developed countries fulfill their responsibilities in trade?
- 6-What can we, as consumers, do to make commerce a more equitable and environmentally beneficial activity?
- 7-What policies should countries follow to achieve equitable trade?
- 8-What is the role of emerging technology and digital platforms in more fair and equitable trade and how can it be made better? ,

14. Further Readings and Useful Links

This link will take you to the WTO homepage, where you can access almost all the information you need about the organization, and you can research topics not covered in the study guide so that you can come to the conference more prepared.

https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm

Thanks to this link, you can access what needs to be learned from the bottom to the top of fair trade, examples of these from around the world and many more.

<https://www.fairtrade.net/about/what-is-fairtrade>

To learn more about the standards between sustainable development and trade, you can review this dossier from the ICC.

<https://iccwbo.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2021/11/10112021-ICC-Sustainable-Trade-Positioning-Paper-vWeb.pdf>

You can use the link below to learn more about fair and ethical trade.

<https://base.socioeco.org/docs/documento-ingles-low-quality.pdf>

You can check out the link below to take a brief look at the history of colonialism and see how Africa was exploited.

<https://www.ekon.sun.ac.za/sampieterreblanche/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS BY THE WESTERN WORLD SINCE 15001.pdf>

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