

Preliminary analysis: Some ways in which MDGs are affected by North-South free trade agreements (FTAs)¹ and the WTO

Introduction

The ability of developing countries to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) can be affected by a number of factors, including trade agreements. This note only looks at the effects of trade¹ agreements on the ability of developing and least-developed countries (LDCs) to achieve the MDGs.

This note mostly only considers the steps some United Nations documents recommend as those that should be taken to achieve the MDGs and the effect of trade agreements on the ability to implement these measures. This analysis does not independently consider what steps should be taken to achieve MDGs and the effect of trade agreements on these other steps.

For the purposes of this preliminary analysis, the note does not trace the way in which one MDG can affect another. For example, if people cannot afford the medicines they need, they may be unable to work and therefore fall into greater poverty and hunger.

The note also only looks at some of the more common main provisions in these trade agreements and does not analyse the implications of provisions still being negotiated where the outcome is unclear, such as disciplines on domestic regulations in services at the World Trade Organization (WTO). This preliminary level of analysis also does not consider the indirect implications of trade agreements on MDGs. For example, tobacco control measures have been challenged under investment provisions. If these investment provisions prevent tobacco control, more people will suffer and die from tobacco-related diseases, such as lung cancer, which will reduce that family's earning capacity and therefore increase their exposure to extreme hunger and poverty.²

Each country should therefore do its own detailed analysis of the direct and indirect implications of all of its trade and investment agreements (both existing and proposed agreements) for the MDGs and its other development goals.

What about the positive benefits of trade liberalisation?

The table below does not consider the claimed positive benefits of trade liberalisation for developing countries via these trade agreements, such as:

More foreign direct investment (FDI) in the developing country

Claims are often made that more FDI will flow to the developing country if it increases its intellectual property protection. However, this has not been proven to occur.³ If developing countries want to provide stronger intellectual property protection, they can always do this unilaterally, without binding it in a trade agreement, as this can then be reversed if it proves to be problematic.

Claims are also made that if the developing country liberalises investment in the trade agreement, this will bring more FDI. However, this may in fact result in FDI in sectors which the developing country wished to preserve for its nationals but was forced to open to foreign investors in the trade agreement. If developing countries want to liberalise investment in certain sectors, they can always do this unilaterally, without binding it in a trade agreement, as this can then be reversed if it proves to be problematic.

¹ This includes economic partnership agreements (EPAs)

² Another example of an indirect effect is financial crises (caused by financial liberalization etc) can reduce government revenue due to falls in tax revenue. Lower government revenue means governments have less money to spend on achieving the MDGs.

³ See for example: PJ Heald, Information Economics and Policy 16 (2004) 57-65 and 'TRIPS, Patents, Technology Transfer, Foreign Direct Investment and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Malaysia', Ida Madiha Azmi and Rokiah Alavi, Journal of World Intellectual Property, Vol 4 No. 6, November 2001.

Others assert that due to the fact of the trade agreement, FDI will increase to the developing country who signs such a trade agreement. Yet this has not been proven to occur as a result of trade agreements. In fact 'tariff jumping' FDI is likely to decrease once the developing country lowers its tariffs according to the World Bank.⁴

Increased exports

Developing countries who expect to increase their goods exports to the developed country due to the developed country lowering its tariffs in the trade agreement may be disappointed with the results because:

- developed countries often do not significantly lower their tariffs in these trade agreements as their average tariff is already low (eg 3%) and the tariff peaks are often not lowered in these trade agreements as they are excluded from liberalisation as sensitive products
- even if any additional market access is obtained (eg through an FTA), this is often eroded as the developed country party provides similar market access to other developing countries via FTAs/WTO/preferences etc.
- rules of origin and non-tariff barriers can make it difficult to make use of any additional nominal market access due to lower tariffs
- least developed countries etc often do not have the supply capacity to make use of even their existing market access (for example under non-reciprocal preference programs such as Everything But Arms), before these reciprocal trade agreements come into force, let alone any additional market access due to these trade agreements.
- Any increase in exports by the developing country may be outweighed by a greater increase in imports due to the developing country having to lower its tariffs in these reciprocal trade agreements. This would worsen the balance of payments, which is already a chronic problem in many developing countries.

Increased innovation/research/technology transfer

It is frequently claimed that increasing intellectual property (IP) protection in the developing country will increase the developing country's innovation/research and development/technology transfer. However, this has not been proven to occur.⁵ If developing countries for some reason want to provide stronger intellectual property protection, they can always do this unilaterally, without binding it in a trade agreement, as this can then be reversed if it proves to be problematic.

Increased aid:

Developing countries need accessible, additional funding (rather than diverted from existing health/education etc projects) from the developed country party, that is legally bound (in an enforceable way) to be delivered for the duration of the trade agreement and fully compensates developing countries for losses due to the trade agreement. However, this is unlikely to be provided, as can be seen in existing FTAs.

⁴ Regional integration and development, M Schiff and Alan Winters, World Bank, 2003. For example this was the case in ASEAN, Bhalla AS and Bhalla P, 1997, Regional blocs: building blocks or stumbling blocks?, New York, St Martin's Press and Mercosur: Regional integration and development, M Schiff and Alan Winters, World Bank, 2003.

⁵ See for example Commission on Intellectual Property Rights, Study Paper 1b, Intellectual Property Rights, Technology and Economic Development: Experiences of Asian Countries, Dr Nagesh Kumar; EGA press release: Brussels, 10 November 2005, a Call to Review the Patent System, IPH 10/11/2005; FM Scherer, Comments in Robert Anderson and Nancy Gallini (Eds), competition policy and intellectual property rights in the knowledge-based economy, University of Calgary Press, Alberta 1998 PJ Heald, Information Economics and Policy 16 (2004) 57-65 and 'TRIPS, Patents, Technology Transfer, Foreign Direct Investment and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Malaysia', Ida Madieha Azmi and Rokiah Alavi, Journal of World Intellectual Property, Vol 4 No. 6, November 2001.

Benefits for manufacturing/consumers etc in the developing country from its services liberalisation:

Some claim that if a developing country liberalises services in one of these trade agreements, its consumers etc will enjoy more choice. However, this may not in fact occur as foreign service providers cherry-pick the profitable sectors (such as banking and telecommunications services in cities only) and local providers have to drop the less profitable sectors (eg in rural areas) to compete with the foreign providers. Furthermore, this can always be obtained by unilateral services liberalisation, without having to bind it in a trade agreement.

There are also assertions that if a developing country liberalises its services in a trade agreement, its consumers will enjoy lower prices. If this in fact occurs, (see above), this can always be obtained by unilateral services liberalisation, without having to bind it in a trade agreement.

Increased services exports

Developing countries may be seeking services market access by reciprocally liberalising services in a trade agreement. However, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations Development Programme, developing countries are unable to export services because they:

- Have insufficient human resources and technology to meet the professional and quality standards required
- Have insufficient financial capacity
- Cannot offer a package of services
- By comparison, developed countries have huge firms (eg 80% of the world tourism market belongs to three companies), worldwide networks and vertical integration.
- The comparative advantage of developing countries is labour, so they may particularly want market access in Mode 4 (movement of people), but existing trade agreements show that:
 - Developed countries are not offering market access for unskilled labour and
 - for skilled jobs (such as lawyers, doctors, accountants, engineers, nurses etc), developing countries will still need:
 - visas (which are not being offered by the developed countries in trade agreements),
 - recognition of their qualifications (which are also not really being offered by developed countries in trade agreements) and
 - citizenship (in some cases) of the relevant European Union (EU) country to practice their profession in some service sectors (citizenship is also not being offered by the EU in its FTAs).

Lower cost and/or higher quality government procurement (GP)

Developing country may be told that liberalising GP (by opening it to foreign providers and products) in a trade agreement will enable the government to buy products at lower prices and/or higher quality. Yet this can be achieved by liberalising government procurement unilaterally, without binding it in a trade agreement

Increased technology transfer (TT)

TT is actually less likely due to trade agreements, including because:

- stronger IP by the developing country makes it harder to access the technology affordably,
- lower tariffs by the developing country makes it more likely the technology will be exported to the developing country, rather than built locally with the processing technology and knowledge transfer that involves

- services and investment liberalisation by the developing country make it more difficult to directly require technology transfer, or require the forms of investment that make it more likely

MDG		Trade agreement provision							
MDG	Targets	Lower tariffs ⁱⁱ	No removal of agriculture subsidies ⁱⁱⁱ	Stronger IP ^{iv}	Services provisions ^v	Financial services liberalisation ^{vi}	No capital controls ^{vii}	Open GP ^{viii}	Investor protection ^{ix}
Goal 1: eradicate extreme poverty & hunger	Halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day	Generally: ^x to the extent these are provided from government revenue: Social safety nets should be provided, ^{xi} school feeding programs promoted, ^{xii} develop infrastructure & upgrade slums & improve the availability of basic services ^{xiii} ; there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{xiv} Lower agricultural tariffs, when developed country agricultural subsidies continue, reduces income of farmers in developing countries.	Generally: ^{xv} Agriculture subsidies should ^{xvi} be reduced but aren't. This makes it harder for farmers in developing countries to earn a living as they cannot compete against subsidised imports.	Generally: ^{xvii} Should support research and development in yield-enhancing agricultural and climate change technologies. ^{xviii} But this becomes more expensive with stronger IP. TRIPS+ provisions can make seeds and agricultural chemicals more expensive and so reduce the incomes of farmers	If services provisions (eg in EU EPAs) ^{xix} reduce affordable universal access to essential services such as postal and telecommunications services, this reduces the income these groups have to spend on food.	Generally, makes financial crisis more likely and makes it harder to get out of a crisis. Since financial crises can cause recessions which cause: - a loss in government revenue, see impacts under 'lower tariffs' - reduction in foreign aid? Which means less funding available for MDGs		GP liberalisation increases unemployment	Generally: if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.
Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all,	Lower tariffs (in agriculture and NAMA) means more unemployed as they can't compete with imports which then reduces income available to spend on health and education etc which affects those MDGs.		Causes increased unemployment in sectors that need access to affordable technology and knowledge (eg manufacturing, including generic		Makes financial crisis more likely and makes it harder to get out of a crisis. Since financial crises can cause recessions which cause: a reduction of exports (and domestic consumption?) which leads to unemployment (see impacts under 'MDG	Expropriation provisions may effectively prevent laws that promote workers' rights (eg minimum wage, occupational			

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				medicine manufacturing)		1 and lower tariffs) - reduction in tourists -> increased unemployment in tourism sector (see impacts under 'MDG 1 and lower tariffs) - financial services liberalisation allows more foreign banks, which provide less credit to small farmers and small and medium enterprises^{xx}.			health and safety etc)
	Halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger ^{xxi}	If unemployment increases due to lower tariffs, unemployed families have less money to buy food. If governments subsidise food, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{xxii}		If unemployment increases due to stronger IP, unemployed families have less money to buy food.	If unemployment increases due to lack of access to affordable credit, unemployed families have less money to buy food.	If unemployment increases due to financial crisis, unemployed families have less money to buy food.		If unemployment increases due to liberalised GP, unemployed families have less money to buy food.	
Goal 2: achieve universal primary education		School fees are an obstacle to this goal: ^{xxiii} - If families need higher incomes to pay for school fees, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs. - If governments need to increase^{xxiv} education	If families need higher incomes to pay for school fees, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and	If teaching materials, textbooks and materials to train teachers may be less accessible due to TRIPS+ copyright provisions in	If disposable income is reduced due to services provisions (see Goal 1 above), this means families have less money to spend on educating their children.	If disposable income is reduced due to financial services provisions (see Goal 1 above), this means families have less money to spend on educating their children.		If disposable income is reduced due to GP provisions (see Goal 1 above), this means families have less money to	Generally: if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government

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		funding &/or subsidies so school fees can be removed (and extra teachers and facilities can be hired to deal with the surge in enrolments)^{xxv}, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered.^{xxvi} Should provide: cash transfers to poor families conditional on their children's, especially girls', enrolment or attendance in school;^{xxvii} children with transportation to and from school when needed;^{xxviii} free meals and basic health services at school^{xxix} but there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered.^{xxx} Should:^{xxxi} Expand pre-primary school educational programmes, train more teachers and effectively retrain and motivate those in the profession, ensure adequate teaching materials and distribute textbooks free of charge.	jobs.	FTAs				spend on educating their children.	revenue for these programs.

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		but there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{xxxii}							
Goal 3: promote gender equality and empower women	Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education	Improve access to water and sanitation so women and girls spend less time fetching water, so they have time to attend school. ^{xxxiii} If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{xxxiv} If families need higher incomes to improve access to water and sanitation and pay for school fees, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs. Should: ^{xxxv} Ensure that girls are provided with transportation to and from school; provide separate school sanitation facilities for girls and boys; enhance non-formal education for girls and women, such as vocational or skills training and literacy programmes, if this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less		Should improve access to seeds and fertilizer, ^{xxxvi} but TRIPS+ provisions make these more expensive.		Should increase access to credit, ^{xxxviii} but foreign banks provide less credit to small farmers and small and medium enterprises (which presumably include women) ^{xxxix} .		GP can be successfully targeted to local women, ^{xi} however if it is opened (at WTO or in FTAs), less of this government spending provides employment for women from the developing country concerned.	Generally, if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.

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		government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{xxvii}							
Goal 4: reduce child mortality		Should: ^{xli} ensure full coverage of immunization programmes; scale up vitamin A supplementation; provide adequate nourishment for children of poor families; prevent and provide effective treatment of pneumonia, diarrhoea, malaria and other infectious diseases; promote comprehensive and universal coverage of primary health-care systems; improve mothers' access to reproductive health, education and employment. If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{xliii} If families need to pay for this, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and jobs.	TRIPS (WTO) and TRIPS+ (FTAs and WTO accession) provisions make food supplements ^{xliii} and medicines ^{xliv} much more expensive (whether they are purchased by governments, non-government organisations or the patients themselves). If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of stronger IP on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of services liberalisation on disposable income	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of financial services liberalisation on disposable income	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of capital account liberalisation on jobs and incomes	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of GP liberalisation on disposable income	Generally, if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.
Goal 5:		Should: ^{xlv} Strengthen health	If families need	TRIPS (WTO)	If families need to	If families need to contribute	If families	Generally, if	

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improve maternal health		systems particularly for maternal, childcare and other reproductive health services, and ensure that procurement and distribution of contraception, drugs and equipment are functioning; ensure universal access to reproductive health care, including family planning services; provide trained health workers during and after pregnancy and childbirth for delivery of quality antenatal care, timely emergency obstetric services and contraception; ensure access to timely emergency obstetric services and provide adequate communication, skilled personnel, facilities and transportation systems; increase access to contraception and sexual and reproductive health counseling for both men, women and adolescents. If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are	to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and jobs.	and TRIPS+ (FTAs and WTO accession) provisions make medicines ^{xvii} much more expensive (whether they are purchased by governments, non-government organisations or the patients themselves). If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of stronger IP on income and jobs.	contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of services liberalisation on disposable income	to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of financial services and capital account liberalisation on disposable income and jobs		need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of GP liberalisation on disposable income	investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.

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		lowered. ^{xvi} If families need to pay for this, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs.							
Goal 6: combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases ^{xviii}	Achieve, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it ^{xlix}	Should: ⁱ Increase access to both male and female condoms; scale up programmes for HIV prevention and ensure universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for women and men; develop sustainable national health systems, delivering quality services and retaining professional staff; develop primary healthcare systems to ensure universal coverage for essential health services, including for poor and underserved populations in rural areas and urban slums; take decisive action to control and treat neglected tropical diseases. If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ⁱⁱ If families need to pay for	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and jobs.	TRIPS (WTO) and TRIPS+ (FTAs and WTO accession) provisions make medicines ⁱⁱⁱ much more expensive (whether they are purchased by governments, non-government organisations or the patients themselves). If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of stronger IP on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of services liberalisation on disposable income	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, account liberalisation on disposable income and jobs		If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of GP liberalisation on disposable income	Generally, if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.

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		this, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs.							
	Begin to reverse incidence of malaria and other major diseases ⁱⁱⁱ	If this involves increased provision of insecticide-treated bednets and medicines to treat malaria and tuberculosis, ^{liv} if this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{lv} If families need to pay for this, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and jobs.	TRIPS (WTO) and TRIPS+ (FTAs and WTO accession) provisions make medicines ^{vi} much more expensive (whether they are purchased by governments, non-government organisations or the patients themselves). If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of stronger IP on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of services liberalisation on disposable income	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of financial services and capital account liberalisation on disposable income and jobs		If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of GP liberalisation on disposable income	Generally: if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.
Goal 7: ensure environmental	Halve, the proportion of the population	Generally, should contain rising greenhouse gas emissions; ^{viii} provide	If families need to contribute to this from their	Should contain rising greenhouse	If families need to contribute to this from their own	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of		If families need to contribute to	Generally: if investor protection

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sustainability	without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation	investments to bring electricity and cleaner cooking fuels; ^{viii} enhance climate adaptation programmes and reduce the negative impact of climate change, particularly in small island developing states and least developed countries ^{ix} . If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{ix} Increase spending on water and sanitation from about 0.5 per cent to at least 1.0 per cent of GDP to ensure greatly increased access. ^{ixi} If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{ixii} If families need to pay for this, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs.	own incomes, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and jobs.	gas emissions. ^{ixiii} Technology to do this will be more expensive due to TRIPS (WTO) and TRIPS+ (FTAs and WTO accession). If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of stronger IP on income and jobs.	incomes, see above re impact of services liberalisation on disposable income	financial services account liberalisation on disposable income and jobs		this from their own incomes, see above re impact of GP liberalisation on disposable income	prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.
	Reduce biodiversity loss	Fish stocks require improved fisheries management to reduce			If commit fishing as a service, may not be allowed to				Generally: if investor protection

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		depletion. ^{lxiv} If this has to be done by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{lxv}			regulate the rate of fishing				prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.
	Achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers	Scale-up slum upgrading and invest in decent, affordable housing for the poor, including women. ^{lxvi} If this has to be provided by the government, there's permanently less government revenue to do so when tariffs are lowered. ^{lxvii} If families need to pay for this, see above re impact of lower tariffs on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of continued agriculture subsidies on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of stronger IP on income and jobs.	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of services liberalisation on disposable income	If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of financial services and capital account liberalisation on disposable income and jobs		If families need to contribute to this from their own incomes, see above re impact of GP liberalisation on disposable income	Generally: if investor protection prevents governments from being able to tax investors, there's less government revenue for these programs.
Goal 8: develop a global partnership for development	Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial	Should have tariff and quota free access for the least developed countries' exports. ^{lxix} Should assist developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, to ensure economic diversification. ^{lxx} However, lowering tariffs on	'The support provided by developed countries to their own agricultural sector has continued at a time when	Should: ensure low-cost access to essential drugs and life-saving interventions; introduce measures to reduce global					

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	system. Should have tariff and quota free access for the least developed countries' exports ^{xviii}	imports makes it harder to diversify into infant industries. Furthermore, inasmuch as export tariffs and restrictions can encourage this, EU FTAs/EPAs and its proposal in the WTO would limit the ability to do export diversification.	developing countries have been encouraged to end all public support to their agriculture. This acts as a disincentive to agricultural production in developing regions and undermines official development assistance's broad objective of supporting development. ^{lxxi}	greenhouse gas emissions; improve affordable access to new technologies that enhance development. ^{lxxii} TRIPS (WTO) and TRIPS+ (FTAs and WTO accession) reduces ability to do this.					

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- ⁱ So this does not include investment agreements.
- ⁱⁱ Can occur via WTO (including WTO accession) or FTAs.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Can occur via WTO or FTAs.
- ^{iv} Can occur via WTO (TRIPS), or TRIPS+ through WTO accession or FTAs.
- ^v Services liberalization can occur via WTO (including WTO accession) or FTAs. The disciplines on domestic regulation being proposed at the WTO and in FTAs differ to some extent.
- ^{vi} Can occur via WTO (including WTO accession) or FTAs.
- ^{vii} Can occur via FTAs or bilateral investment treaties (BITs).
- ^{viii} Can occur via WTO (eg the EU's proposal in Doha Round negotiations in services - which would also cover GP in goods up to 50% of the value of the contract), WTO accession or FTAs.
- ^{ix} Can occur through FTAs or BITs
- ^x This means it applies to all sub-goals
- ^{xi} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%201%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%201%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xiii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%201%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xiv} Eg <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
- ^{xv} This means it applies to all sub-goals
- ^{xvi} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%201%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xvii} This means it applies to all sub-goals
- ^{xviii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%201%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xix} See for example http://web.me.com/jane_kelsey/Jane_Pacific_Trade_EPA_files/RP31%20Jane%20Kelsey%2019%20July%202010.pdf
- ^{xx} Joseph Stiglitz, former Chief Economist at the World Bank, (2006). Making globalization work. Penguin Books. London. See also:
- Detragiache, E, Tresselt, T & Gupta, P. (2006), Foreign Banks in Poor Countries: Theory and Evidence – an IMF Working Paper, IMF. Washington DC. 2006.
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 - <http://www.wdm.org.uk/resources/reports/trade/takingthecredit09032009.pdf>
- ^{xxi} See separate paper on how provisions in trade agreements exacerbate the food crisis.
- ^{xxii} Eg <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
- ^{xxiii} <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/story.cfm?goal=2> and should be removed, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%202%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xxiv} Governments should increase spending on education, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%202%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xxv} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%202%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xxvi} Eg <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
- ^{xxvii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%202%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xxviii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%202%20FINAL.pdf>
- ^{xxix} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%202%20FINAL.pdf>

- xxx Eg <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
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- xlii Eg <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
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- xliv Medicines can be 845600% more expensive when protected by intellectual property, see for example ‘A Trade Agreement’s Impact On Access To Generic Drugs’, Ellen R. Shaffer and Joseph E. Brenner, Health Affairs 28, no. 5 (2009): w957–w968 (published online 25 August 2009)
- xlvi <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%205%20FINAL.pdf>
- xlvii Eg <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
- xlviii Medicines can be 845600% more expensive when protected by intellectual property, see for example ‘A Trade Agreement’s Impact On Access To Generic Drugs’, Ellen R. Shaffer and Joseph E. Brenner, Health Affairs 28, no. 5 (2009): w957–w968 (published online 25 August 2009)
- ix This includes ‘Ensuring adequate access to essential drugs is a critical component of the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases, especially for neglected tropical diseases, which continue to affect 1 billion people among the world’s poorest and whose crippling effects make these diseases perpetrators of poverty. To the extent that those drugs remain largely unaffordable for most residents of developing countries, the health MDGs will not be achieved.’
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- lix <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/goal6.cfm>
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- ^{lviii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%207%20FINAL.pdf>
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- ^{lx} <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
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- ^{lxiii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/environ.shtml>
- ^{lxiv} Fish stocks require improved fisheries management to reduce depletion
- ^{lxv} <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05112.pdf>
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- ^{lxix} <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/goal8.cfm>. In December 2005, the developed country members of the World Trade Organization vowed that, by 2008, they would make at least 97 per cent of their tariff lines duty-free and quota-free for imports originating from least developed countries, The UN's 2008 Millennium Development Goals Report.
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- ^{lxxi} UN's 2008 The Millennium Development Goals Report
- ^{lxxii} <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2008highlevel/pdf/newsroom/Goal%208%20FINAL.pdf>