

Tactical Approaches and Strategic Perspectives  
Towards, in and beyond 'Hong Kong'

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'Technical' Proposals

1. Aims for 'Compensatory' Concessions
  - a. In imbalanced agreements
  - b. For weaker countries  
(e.g. 'Mode 4' in GATS, 'FIN & Tech AID' etc.)
2. Propose Specific Improvements
  - a. In the existing agreements
  - b. In the established practices  
(e.g. 'Market Access' Improvements ; reform TRIPS etc.)
3. Demand Exceptions and Exemptions
  - a. In specific agreements
  - b. For identified Countries/Groups
  - c. (e.g. LDC; Exemption on GATS, 'LTFR' in NAMA etc.)
4. Insert Essential Protections
  - a. In current negotiations
  - b. In established agreements
  - c. (e.g. 'Special Products' and 'Special Safeguard Mechanism' in Agreement on Agriculture)

African and other developing countries, especially ACP (African Caribbean and Pacific Countries) have long tended to focus and rely on the above technical proposals and 'reforms'. But, now there are also increasing:

'Tactical' Positions/Stands

Promoted by African CSO's, Trade Unions and/or through African (AU) governments on the following tactics to:

1. 'Buy Time' by setting preconditions on current key negotiations on specific issues  
(e.g. 'Impact Assessments' RE GATS & NAMA; SDT Clasifications etc.)
2. Set comprehensive conditionality to block specific agreements that are totally dangerous  
(e.g. 'Caribbean' group on NAMA cutes etc.; African group on industrial development needs)
3. Set essential development principles

- a. On the basis of Doha aims and claims
- b. On the basis of 'Marrakesh' agreements (1994) etc.
- In order to counter 'the majors' (developed countries)
- To get an 'impasse' in Hong Kong

These two strategic aims are part of ongoing processes in and beyond Hong Kong, during and beyond 2006.

But this impasse in Hong Kong must be laid squarely on the shoulders of the majors and other developed countries for resisting or ignoring the development 'aims' of Doha.

In order to keep African governments firm and united we need strong:

### **Tactical and Strategic Means**

- Involving African CSOs with counterparts in the South
- Involving South CSOs with counterparts in the North

All of us engaging with our governments:

- a. in our respective countries
- b. in our region(s) of Africa
- c. In general at the WTO (by some)
- d. In the 6<sup>th</sup> Ministerial in Hong Kong (some of us)
- e. Beyond Hong Kong
- f. Beyond the WTO per se....

We need to encourage our governments:

1. Sectoral and cross-sectoral WTO **Tactical Alliances**  
(Africa Group, ACP Group, LDCs, G90, G33, G20)
2. 'Insider' and 'Outsider' CSOs and Trade Unions in **Cooperation and Coordination**
  - a. On tactical immediate aims
  - b. On longer term strategic goals on...

Bottom-up **Alternative Development Paradigm** to change or outflank the Neo-liberal WTO Paradigm