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*This research on ATIGA was anchored by AsiaDHRRA for the Trade Advocacy Group (TAG) and was undertaken by Ms. Riza Bernabe.* 

The research attempts to develop concrete and specific recommendations on the Philippines' regional trade policy including positions in regional trade agreements by generating and consolidating information on the capabilities as well as sensitivities of the various sectors with respect to regional trade.

These recommendations can form part of civil society's advocacy agenda on ATIGA in particular, and ASEAN in general. The research was designed to capture the effect of ATIGA on national trade policies and more importantly, assess the capability of local sectors to compete within its framework of greater regional trade liberalization.

AsiaDHRRA is a member of Trade Advocacy Group (TAG), a platform for trade campaigning and information exchange in the Philippines.

# INTRODUCTIO

n February 26, 2009, the Philippines signed the ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATI-GA), along with other agreements geared towards liberalizing trade and investments in the region. The signing of ATIGA, which took place during the regional coalition's 14th Summit in Cha-Am Hua Hin, Thailand, was not attended by much fanfare, since ASEAN presented the agreement as nothing more than the logical progression of its bid to create a common regional market – a process that started as early as 1992 with the launching of the ASEAN Free Trade Area - Common Effective Preferential Scheme (AFTA-CEPT). While the CEPT focused mostly on tariffs, the ATIGA contains broader and more specific provisions on rules of origin, non-tariff measures, trade facilitation, and Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures (SPS), among others.

Several factors underscore the need to look more closely at the agreement and to evaluate its potential impact on the various sectors of the economy. First, the unfolding global crisis emphasized the importance of nurturing domestic economies, and underscored the value of adopting a more prudent stance in terms of trade liberalization. For the Philippines, committing the economy to the further opening up of markets, at a time when domestic sectors, due to limited government support, has yet to achieve parity in terms of competitiveness with its trade partners in key sectors, requires a careful evaluation as well judicious balancing of the opportunities and risks associated with trade agreements such as ATIGA. The need for this evaluation becomes all the more clear as the global crisis highlights the precariousness of export-oriented policies, which serve as one of the bases for the country's drive to enter into free trade agreements.

Second, since ATIGA builds on the AFTA-CEPT and is, in fact, considered its natural extension, its adoption by the Philippine government necessarily operates on the assumption that AFTA-CEPT has been beneficial to the country. However, data on the country's regional trade shows that the opening up of markets to intra-ASEAN imports, in line with the provision of the said trade pact, has yet to positively impact on the country's trade balance. Most notable is the fact that the Philippines has consistently charted trade deficits with ASEAN. The most recent data from the National Statistics Office indicate that the Philippines' total imports from ASEAN in 2008 was valued at US \$ 14.38 Billion while total exports was valued at US \$ 7.09 billion, resulting to a trade deficit of US \$ 7.29 billion.

Third, the Philippine government negotiated ATIGA, without the benefit of comprehensive and substantive consultation with stakeholders groups from both industry and agriculture. The absence of stakeholder participation in defining and deciding the provisions of proposed trade pacts is a critique leveled against government not only for ATIGA but for all free trade agreements as well. Hence, as with other FTAs, government's negotiating position in ATIGA does not benefit from inputs from people in the ground, and are not always reflective of the realities of the different sectors of Philippine economy. Fourth, the ATIGA like all other free trade agreements entered into by the Philippines, were negotiated in a context where government has yet to formulate and implement a comprehensive and broad based national trade agenda. The absence of a national trade agenda, one that is firmly rooted to the realities of the various economic sectors, and more importantly, linked to a viable competitiveness enhancement program, magnifies the need to evaluate every free trade agreement in order to locate their role and impact on the country's economic development objectives.

It is in this context that the Trade Advocacy Group sees the need to look into the agreement and its implications on the livelihood and welfare of small stakeholders in agriculture and industry. The paper's focus on small stakeholders in conducting the assessment differentiates its from other existing studies and literature on intra-regional trade. The paper uses macro-economic data primarily as leads in identifying possible vulnerable sectors.

The paper is divided into three parts. **Part 1** examines ATIGA, its major provisions, as well as its implications on Philippine trade policy. In particular, the paper identifies specific trade rules and regulations that will have to be enacted or amended in order to comply with the said trade pact. This information is intended to help provide readers a better understanding of the agreement, and help civil society groups identify concrete opportunities as well as venues for engagement vis-à-vis the said agreement. This section of the paper also includes a brief discussion of the history of ATIGA as well as the rationale behind the Philippine government's decision to sign the said trade pact.

**Part 2** provides a historical assessment of Philippine trade with ASEAN, with the end in view of evaluating whether or not government's promised gains from liberalizing intra-regional trade have materialized. The paper uses macro-economic data to establish trade trends, and to identify specific sectors affected by increased intra-regional trade.

**Part 3** evaluates the opportunities and challenges associated with the core provisions of ATIGA by building on the information established in the first two sections of the paper. he idea of adopting a comprehensive trade in goods agreement in ASEAN was first introduced during the 21st ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) Council Meeting held in the Philippines in August 2007. During the meeting presided by Philippine Department of Trade Industry Secretary Peter Favila, ASEAN economic ministers articulated the need to further improve and augment the current CEPT scheme and to transform it into a comprehensive trade in goods agreement.

The move to develop a comprehensive agreement governing most aspects of trade in goods within the region occurred at a time when ASEAN is nearing the completion of AFTA, and has begun forging free trade agreements with its major trade partners. In 2007, nearly 93.67 per cent of the total products in ASEAN have zero to 5 per cent tariffs, in accordance

with the implementation of the provisions of CEPT. During the same year, 98.58 per cent of the total products in

# HISTORY OF ATIGA Part 1

the region, including sensitive commodities, have already been phased into the CEPT Inclusion list. The average tariffs on intra-ASEAN trade among the ASEAN 6, which is composed of Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore has gone down to 1.6 per cent in 2007, from 12.76 per cent in 1993. The average import duty on intra-ASEAN trade for Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Myanmar was at 4.4 per cent in 2007.

However, there is an increasing recognition that tariff reduction alone is not sufficient to ensure the free flow of goods within the region and with trade partners. Within ASEAN, there is a growing awareness of the need to address the issue of non-tariff barriers to further facilitate trade in goods. As of 2007, ASEAN has already embarked on an initiative to develop and adopt a concrete work program for the identification and elimination of non-tariff barriers. The regional coalition was already in the process of promoting the consistency and transparency of technical regulations on intra-ASEAN trade through the development of the ASEAN Guideline on Good Regulatory Practice. In fact, the regional coalition has already adopted the Mutual Recognition Agreement for Electronic and Electronic Equipment, and was going through a process of harmonizing standards for other sectors.

The fact that ASEAN has entered into free trade agreements with its major partners, entailing greater tariff and non-tariff liberalization commitments with economies outside the region, also served as one the basis for its decision to enhance the current CEPT scheme. ATIGA is also intended to help harmonize ASEAN's commitments in FTAs with other trade partners.

The AFTA Council resolved to finalize and present the Trade in Goods Agreement in the 40th ASEAN Economic Ministers Meeting, which was slated in August 2008 in Singapore. The Philippines, along with other ASEAN members, formally signed ATIGA in February 2009. The trade pact was one of the many economic agreements signed by ministers during the 14th ASEAN Summit in Thailand. Ministers also signed the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA), the protocol for the implementation of the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and the Agreement creating the ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area.

By signing ATIGA, Ministers hope to benefit the forecasted benefits from regional integration, namely, increased trade and investments, and bigger market with greater opportunities. Moreover, the removal of economic barriers under ATIGA, apart from forging deeper economic linkages within ASEAN is also expected to help lower business cost, promote economies of scale and competitive business, and improve over-all economic efficiency in the region.

### **KEY PROVISIONS OF ATIGA**

The ATIGA is generally designed to enhance the free flow of goods among ASEAN members by reducing or removing all tariff and non-tariffs barriers to trade and by harmonizing trade related standards, regulations and procedures. It provides for the creation of an ASEAN trade repository and the establishment of an ASEAN Single Window as a way of facilitating access to harmonized information on Members' trade and trade related rules and regulations.

The agreement also lays down the ground for regional cooperation in trade facilitation. It may be recalled that developing countries had repeatedly resisted proposals by developed countries to include trade facilitation in multilateral negotiations, particularly in the World Trade Organization. In ATIGA, ASEAN countries agreed to develop and implement a regional work program on this trade concern, a move that will definitely influence ASEAN's position on trade facilitation with other FTA partners.

ATIGA likewise puts forward concrete provisions on Rules of Origin (ROO) in order to help ensure that regional liberalization, especially the extension of concessional tariff rates, are exclusively enjoyed by ASEAN members. The key provisions of ATIGA are discussed below:

## Creation of an ASEAN Trade Repository and the ASEAN Single Window

As mentioned earlier, ATIGA provides for the creation of an ASEAN Trade Repository that will contain all information on trade and customs laws and procedures of all ASEAN countries. The trade repository is expected to help promote trade by improving transparency as well as predictability in Members' trade policy regimes. The information for the ASEAN Trade Repository will be drawn from the notification of Members, and will be made available and accessible through the internet.

The ASEAN Trade Repository will include trade related information such as tariff nomenclature, MFN tariff rates, non-tariff measures, rules of origin, national trade and customs laws and rules, procedures and documentary requirements, administrative rulings, best practices in trade facilitation and the list of ASEAN Members' authorized traders.

At the same time, ATIGA provides for the creation of Members' National Single Windows as well as the ASEAN Single Window to help ensure that information on ASEAN countries' trade rules, regulations and procedures are easily available to exporters .

Though concerned about the negative effect of free trade agreements such as ATIGA on local sectors, Jong Sereno of the PetroChem group nevertheless views ATIGA's provision on the creation of the trade repository as well as the ASEAN single window as a positive development. The transparency and availability of information on trade rules and regulations can help business, private sector and other economic stakeholders better understand the over-all trade environment. In particular, updated information on trade policies can give stakeholders a more accurate handle on how these may affect them, while providing them the opportunity to undertake the necessary action to address the same.

#### TARIFF LIBERALIZATION AND THE REMOVAL OF QUANTITATIVE RE-STRICTIONS ON IMPORTATION

ATIGA provides for the elimination of import duties on all products traded within ASEAN by the 2010 for ASEAN

6, (composed of Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore) while providing for a longer tariff elimination schedule for new ASEAN Members, which includes Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (CLMV). CLMV countries are given up to 2015, or with flexibility up to 2018, to eliminate tariffs on goods traded with other ASEAN countries.

#### Table 1: Tariff Reduction Schedule in ATIGA

COUNTRIES	ELIMINATION SCHEDULE
ASEAN 6 (Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore)	2010
CLMV - Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam	2015 with flexibility up to 2018

Source: AliGA

In order to ensure that the process of liberalizing regional trade is on track, ATIGA also puts forward concrete tariff elimination schedules prior to 2010. For ASEAN 6, it provides that import duties on eighty per cent (80%) of all products should be eliminated by January 1, 2009. Products that fall under Information. Communication and Technology as well as those covered under the Priority Integration Sectors, which include electronics (e-ASEAN), textiles and clothing, agro-processing, rubber-based products, automotive, health care, fisheries and wood-based products, should also have zero tariff rates by this date. ASEAN 6

members are allowed to have a negative list of products from the priority integration sectors, which they can exempt from tariff elimination. But in the main, ASEAN 6 members are expected to ensure that tariffs on all products are reduced by 0 to 5 per cent by January 1, 2010.

Again, CLMV countries are given the flexibility to assume a relatively less aggressive tariff reduction schedule. Although these countries were required to reduce a substantial portion of their products in 2009, they were nevertheless allowed to delay tariff elimination on 7 per cent of their tariff lines by 2018.

ATIGA also provides for the general elimination of quantitative restrictions on importation.

In the main, the provisions of ATIGA on tariff liberalization are merely a reiteration of ASEAN Members' tariff reduction commitments under the AFTA-CEPT. In fact, in the case of the Philippines, the country has already been aggressively implementing import duty reduction on products traded within the region. The Philippine government has previously issued a series of executive orders in line with its implementation of AFTA-CEPT, which are consistent, and compliant, with the schedule of tariff liberalization prescribed in ATIGA. Table 2 below lists some of the executive order geared towards liberalizing regional trade.

#### Table 2: List of Executive Orders Implementing AFTA CEPT

EO Number	Date issued
388	December 27, 2996
453	October 31, 1997
487	June 11, 1998
71	January 15, 1999
234	April 27, 2000
254	June 12, 2000
49	November 3, 2001
165	January 10. 2003
263	December 30, 2003
268	January 9, 2004
316	May 21, 2004
489	January 12, 2006
490	January 12, 2006
703	January 22, 2008

Source: Department of Agriculture, Tariff Commission

## RULES OF ORIGIN

One of the main challenges of regional liberalization is ensuring that the benefits of regional integration, particularly the extension of reduced tariff rates are exclusively enjoyed by Members. The possibility of a member of ASEAN being used as a transshipment point by a non-ASEAN country in order to gain access to the region's huge market is very real. Hence, the development and implementation of effective rules of origin is a critical concern for many ASEAN Member States.

In general, ASEAN goods that are wholly obtained from a Member country such as those listed in Table 3 below are considered as originating from ASEAN and, are entitled to zero or preferential tariff rates, in accordance with the tariff reduction schedules discussed above.

Table 3: Rules of Origin - List of Wholly Obtained Goods

#### Goods considered as wholly obtained from ASEAN

- 1. Plant and plant products, including fruit, flowers, vegetables, trees, seaweed, fungi and live plants, grown and harvested, picked or gathered in the exporting Member State;
- 2. Live animals, including mammals, birds, fish, crustaceans, molluscs, reptiles, bacteria and viruses, born and raised in the exporting Member State;
- 3. Goods obtained from live animals in the exporting Member State;
- 4. Goods obtained from hunting, trapping, fishing, farming, aquaculture, gathering or capturing conducted in the exporting Member State;
- 5. Minerals and other naturally occurring substances, not included in paragraph (a) to (d) of this Article, extracted or taken from its soil, waters, seabed or beneath its seabed;
- 6. Products of sea-fishing taken by vessels registered with a Member State and entitled to fly its flag and other products4 taken from the waters, seabed or beneath the seabed outside the territorial waters5 of that Member State, provided that that Member State has the rights to exploit such waters, seabed and beneath the seabed in accordance with international law6;

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Goods considered as wholly obtained from ASEAN
7. Products of sea-fishing and other marine products taken from the high seas by vessels registered with a Member State and entitled to fly the flag of that Member State;

- 8. Products processed and/or made on board factory ships registered with a Member State and entitled to fly the flag of that Member State, exclusively from products referred to in paragraph (g) of this Article;
- 9. Articles collected there which can no longer perform their original purpose nor are capable of being restored or repaired and are fit only for disposal or recovery of parts of raw materials, or for recycling purposes;
- 10. Waste and scrap derived from:
  - (i) production in the exporting Member State; or
  - (ii) used goods collected in the exporting Member State, provided that such goods are fit only for the recovery of raw materials; and

11. Goods obtained or produced in the exporting Member State from products referred to in paragraphs (1) to (10) of this Article.

Source: ATIGA

On the other hand, goods that are not wholly obtained from a Member ASEAN state can only benefit from preferential tariff rates if they satisfy at least one of two requirements. First, a product must have a regional value content (RVC) of forty per cent (40 per cent) in order to be considered as an ASEAN product. ATIGA provides two formulas - the direct and indirect method - in calculating regional value content, below. Direct Method:

RVC = ASEAN Material + Direct labor cost + Direct overhead cost + Profit

FOB Price

Indirect Method:

RVC = FOB Price - Value of Non-Originating Materials, Parts or Goods

. x 100 %

FOB Price

The second requirement in determining whether or not a product is entitled to preferential tariffs, based on ROO, relates to a change in tariff classification (CTC). This means that all non-ASEAN material used in the production of a particular product must have undergone a change in tariff classification (CTC). For instance, a country may declare a commodity, such as a piece of candy, as originating from ASEAN, even though 100 per cent of its main input, which is sugar, is imported from a non-ASEAN member. This is because the input's classification in the ASEAN Harmonized Tariff Nomenclature (AHTN) has already undergone a change in tariff classification from sugar to candy.

Atty. Jeremy Gatdula, a known expert on trade policy, pointed out that the CTC criteria favors exporters, but pose challenges in monitoring for importing countries with strong trade defensive interests, such as the Philippines. He noted that it would be easy for exporters to invoke preferential treatment under ATIGA through the CTC criteria. However, for the importing country, it will be extremely difficult to track and verify the actual changes in tariff classification in the traded commodity. He proposes that the Philippine government look more closely into the CTC, and develop its capability to effectively use the ROO so that this does not result to abuses in the extension of preferential tariff rates.

A close monitoring of the implementation of ROO is very important for the Philippines as it deals with other ASEAN members that are openly trading with other countries outside ASEAN. For instance, the fact that the Philippines has a negative agricultural trade balance with Singapore, which has virtually no agricultural sector underscores the importance of the Philippines' capacity to monitor ROO implementation.

#### NON-TARIFF MEASURES

There is a growing recognition that non-tariff measures (NTMs), along with technical standards and sanitary and phytosanitary measures (SPS), rather than tariffs are now the more critical concerns when it comes to trade. The fact that more and more countries are committing to substantial import duty reduction and elimination highlights the increasing importance of non-tariff barriers in determining trade flows. For many countries, one of the many challenges related to dealing with NTMs lies in achieving the delicate balance between maintaining their valid right to uphold standards and measures aimed at safeguarding the health and welfare of their population, while ensuring that these do not restrict trade.

ATIGA provides for elimination of non-tariff measures. Countries are required to review ASEAN's current database on non-tariff measures with the objective of eliminating said measures. In general, Members States are required to remove NTMs in three tranches, though with different timeframes negotiated by Members based on their domestic sensitivities. ASEAN 6, with the exception of the Philippines, committed to the removal of NTMs by January 1 of 2008, 2009 and 2010. The Philippines negotiated for a slightly longer period, committing to eliminate its NTMs in 2010, 2011 and 2012. CLMV countries have until 2013, 2014 and 2015 to remove their non-tariff measures.

Table 4: Schedule of Removal of Non-Tariff Measures

Country	Schedule of removal of NTMs (in three tranches)
Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore	1 January of 2008, 2009 and 2010
The Philippines	1 January of 2010, 2010 and 2012
Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam	1 January of 2013, 2014 and 2015

Source: ATIGA

Some of the items in the Philippines' list of non-tariff measures include inspection and quality requirements such as the need for Veterinary Quarantine Clearance (VCQ), particularly for livestock and poultry products, import permits for planting seeds and plants, quality control measures and prohibitions for different manufactured items such as cement, sanitary wares, items made of precious metals or alloys, electrical wires and cables, and health and safety standard requirements for metal manufactures, among others.

It is clear that many of the measures enumerated above were installed primarily to safeguard the health, welfare and safety of the population and of important economic sectors. As such, there are valid concerns associated with the indiscriminate elimination of all non-tariff measures. However, within ASEAN there is recognition of Member's right to maintain "green" or allowable NTMs, for as long as they are justified, and are designed to meet the objectives above. In this context, in agriculture, the Philippines intends to maintain and justify the continued use of important NTMS such as the requirement for veterinary quarantine clearance for poultry and livestock animals, and import permits for planting seeds and plants, among others. Additionally, these NTMs are notified and accepted in the WTO.

#### SANITARY AND PHYTOSANITARY MEASURES

In principle, ASEAN is committed to facilitating trade, while recognizing Members' need to protect the health and life of humans, animals or plants. Accordingly, ATIGA lays down the framework and guidelines for the use of SPS measures. However, beyond this general provision, the agreement provides no further discussion on how the region can move forward on this crucial trade concern. To wit, it does not provide a concrete platform for the development of a regional SPS agreement. At most, it merely calls for compliance to the SPS agreement already being adopted by Members under the World Trade Organization, as well as inventory of Member's SPS measures.

The need for a more strategic and decisive approach to SPS is imperative in view of the increasing role of said measures in influencing trade. Dealing with sanitary and phytosanitary measures (SPS) is like handling a double-edged sword. On one hand, countries, especially those with export interest, want to ensure that SPS measures are not used to block trade – a practice that has been gaining currency as governments remove tariff barriers. On the other, countries can use SPS measures to safeguard domestic sectors from the influx of imported goods. For instance, in many cases, stringent health and safety standards have the effect of blocking imports from other countries, more potently than tariffs. Nevertheless, a crucial requirement for the effective use of SPS, either as an offensive or defensive tool, relates to the scientific, technical and institutional capability to develop and enforce SPS measures. At the moment, many ASEAN Members still need to improve their capability to ensure and monitor the effective enforcement of SPS measures.

However, it is important to point out that the value of developing regional SPS goes beyond trade. ASEAN is a huge market, with a large population and natural resource base. Ensuring the safety of its consumers requires the development of regional capability to develop and implement its own sanitary and phytosanitary measures.

#### TRADE FACILITATION

ATIGA provides for the development and implementation of a Work Programme on trade facilitation. The work program will include specific actions and measures that ASEAN Members states, and ASEAN as a whole, can undertake in order to facilitate trade.

Consistent with the coalition's objective of creating a common regional market, the Work Program follows the principle of non-discrimination in trade, and calls for trade rules and procedures that are "based on market principles" . In particular, it is expected to promote transparency, consistency and predictability in the way ASEAN members trade with each other. It provides for the sharing and enforcing of consistent rules on trade including on licensing, certification, qualification and registration requirements, as well as on technical regulations, standards and guidelines. It also promotes the simplification of all trade related rules and procedures so that these will not restrict trade.

The Work Programme underscores the importance of developing concrete measures to promote communication and consultations, and greater cooperation among members. It also provides for the harmonization as well as the development of mutual recognition arrangements for standards and conformity assessment results.

The provisions above, especially those relating to nondiscrimination, facilitate trade. However, these may also have the effect of limiting government's flexibility to adopt policies supporting certain domestic sectors in line with its development strategy and goals. For instance, the principle of non-discrimination will restrict government from providing trade policy support to local industries and producers in order ensure that these remain economically viable in the market.

As mentioned earlier, the inclusion of trade facilitation in ATIGA as well as in other regional trade agreements is a significant development in view of the fact that many developing countries have strongly resisted the integration of this trade concern in multilateral trade talks, most notably in the World Trade Organization. The inclusion of trade facilitation in ATIGA, and in other free trade agreements, in effect opens this hitherto restricted area of trade to negotiations.

Standards, technical regulations and conformity assessment procedures

ATIGA is very straightforward in defining its agenda of ensuring that ASEAN Members' standards, technical regulations and conformity assessment procedures should not restrict trade, and should support the goal of developing a common regional market.

With respect to standards, ATIGA generally encourages members to adopt relevant international standards in developing their respective national standards, especially in areas where ASEAN have trade potential. In particular, it provides for Members' adoption of the Code of Good Practice for the Preparation, Adoption and Application of Standards of the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade under the World Trade Organization in defining national and regional standards.

On technical regulations, ATIGA instructs Members to notify technical regulations, and gives other Members 60 days to give their comments on the same. In order to ensure that technical regulations are not used to block trade, ATIGA requires Members to impose and fulfill the minimum requirement necessary to meet the objective for imposing a particular technical regulation. On conformity assessment procedures, ATIGA provides for the development and implementation of ASEAN Sectoral Mutual Recognition Arrangements in selected regulated areas, which is expected to help facilitate trade and reduce trade costs. The agreement instructs Members to work with conformity assessment bodies designated by Members.

Like SPS, standards and technical regulations are like two-edged swords, which can be used to support a country's trade offensive and defensive interests. In this regard, the Philippines need to develop, improve and adopt standards in order to facilitate exporters' access to export markets. It also needs to build its capacity to enforce standards as way of supporting the interests of both its local producers and consumers.

#### TRADE REMEDY MEASURE

The agreement merely retains the trade remedy measures prescribed in the various relevant agreements in the World Trade Organization. It maintains Members' rights to use the safeguard measures as well as the use of anti-dumping and countervailing duties provided for in the Agreement on Agriculture and on General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of 1994 (GATT), respectively.

However, many developing countries, including ASEAN members, Indonesia and the Philippines, have long articu-

lated the limitations inherent in these WTO trade remedy measures. Many developing countries have raised concerns over the limited accessibility and effectiveness of these measures in addressing the negative impact of trade on local producers and domestic industries. In fact, the Philippines and Indonesia, as some of the key members of G33, a developing country coalition in the WTO, have been in the forefront of advocacies to introduce more useful and relevant safeguard measures in multilateral trade negotiations.

The fact that regional FTAs such as AFTA-CEPT and ATIGA offers more progressive tariff reduction schedules increases the possibility of import surges along with other possible excesses resulting from trade liberalization. Hence, there is value in pushing for trade remedy measures that can address the possible negative impact of the liberalization regime implemented under regional trade agreements. The development of effective and accessible safeguard measures can provide stakeholders short-term relief from the possible adverse effect of the reduction/elimination of tariffs, and can give stakeholders the necessary space to lobby for more long-term solutions to improve their capability to survive in the market.

# SPECIAL TREATMENT OF RICE AND SUGAR

ATIGA cites the Special Protocol to Provide Special Consideration for Rice and Sugar, adopted by ASEAN in August 2007, in defining the treatment of these two commodities. Rice and sugar are considered as highly sensitive products in many ASEAN members.

Based on the said protocol, a Member may request for a waiver for the implementation of the liberalization schedule for any of these two commodities. The waiver should justify the reason for the request and provide an indicative modality for tariff reduction. It should also contain information on the recent three-year import data on the product in question.

The Coordinating Committee on the Implementation of the CEPT-AFTA (CCCA) will consider the request and forward its recommendation to the Senior Economic Officials Meeting. The SEOM then prepares a recommendation for submission to the AFTA Council. The AFTA Council is the body designated to make the final decision on the request for waiver.

The agreement also provides for consultations among Members, especially those that will be most affected by the granting of the request for waiver. Countries may enter into bilateral trade arrangements in order to address some of the issues and concerns raised by Members who expect to be negatively affected by the waiver. The granting of compensation, such as in the form of a commitment to purchase a particular commodity under the minimum access volume, is negotiated during these consultations.

In the case of the Philippines, government requested to waive the removal of quantitative restrictions on rice. This position, apart from being consistent with the calls of rice stakeholders' groups, also aims to harmonize the country's rice trade policy in the WTO with its commitments in regional trade agreements. Under WTO rules, the Philippines is allowed to maintain rice QRs until 2012.

The AFTA Council is mandated to annually review the waiver to see if the reason for the granting of the waiver still exist and also to see if some of the conditions attached to the granting of the waiver are being met by the relevant Member.

### INSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Every Member is tasked to create a National ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) Unit, which will coordinate and ensure the effective implementation of the ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement.

At the regional level, a Coordinating Committee on the implementation of ATIGA (CCA), created under the Senior Economic Officials Meeting, is mandated to monitor and make sure that the provisions of the agreement are being implemented by Member States. The SEOM reports to the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) Council, which in turn reports to the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM). The AEM is in charge of closer economic cooperation within ASEAN, which includes regional trade liberalization. xport promotion has been the guiding principle of Philippine trade policy over the last few decades. Government's commitment to liberalize trade through free trade agreement is consistent with its over-all strategy of promoting exports to achieve economic growth and de-

velopment. Indeed, government has consistently rationalized its commitment to trade agreements, including those forged within and by ASEAN, on the ground that this would chart new and broader markets for Philippine exports.

However, despite the fact that Philippines has already removed much of its barriers to regional trade, the country has yet to reap the expected benefit of gaining bigger markets in Southeast Asia. Philippine exports to ASEAN over the last five years show minimal and inconsistent growth. It showed a modest increase from US \$ 6.5 billion in 2003, to US \$ 8.1 billion in 2006 before tapering off to US \$ 7 billion in 2008. On

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the other hand, commodity imports from the region expanded at a much faster pace. In 2003 Philippine imports from ASE-AN was at US \$ 6.8 billion in 2003. In 2008, imports have risen to US \$ 14.3 billion, or more than double in the span of five years.

The fact that Philippine imports from ASEAN have been constantly outpacing exports serves to widen the country's trade deficit in the region. Indeed, the country's trade deficit has grown from US \$ 0.3 billion to US \$ 7.3 billion over the same period. Figure 1 tracks the country's trade with ASEAN from 2003 to 2008.

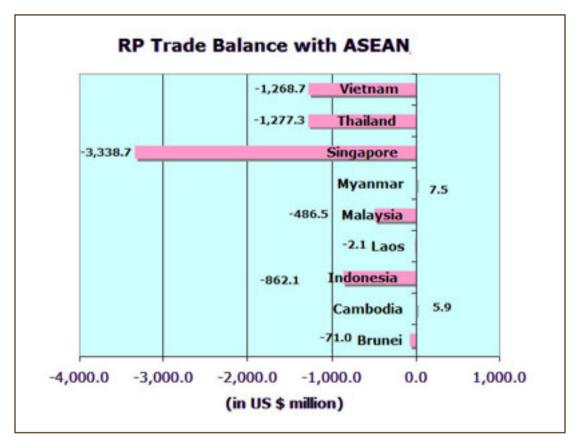
Philippine Trade with ASEAN, 2003 -2008 16 14.3 14 12.8 (uoillia \$ su ui) 10.2 8.8 8.3 8.1 8 6.5 6.8 6.8 2007 2008 2003 2004 2005 2006 Export Import

Figure 1: Philippine Trade with ASEAN, 2003-2008

Source: Department of Trade and Industry

The Philippines' worsening trade balance in the region is underpinned by the fact that it has a trade deficit with all ASEAN members, except for Myanmar and Cambodia. The country's largest negative trade balance is with Singapore, followed by Thailand and Vietnam. Figure 2 below shows the country's trade balance with other countries in ASEAN.

Figure 2: RP Trade balance with ASEAN, 2008



Source: Department of Trade and Industry

The Philippines top export markets in ASEAN are Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand. On the other hand, the country's top import sources in the region are Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam and Indonesia.

In 2003, Philippine industrial exports exceeded industrial imports. However, beginning 2004, industrial imports have rapidly outpaced exports, which had been declining since 2006. In fact, in 2008, the Philippines has an industrial trade deficit amounting to US \$ 5.2 billion. Consistent with its general trade in the region, the country has a negative industrial trade balance with seven (7) out of nine (9) ASEAN Member States. Figures 3 and 4 show details.

Figure 3: RP Industrial Trade with ASEAN, 2003-2008

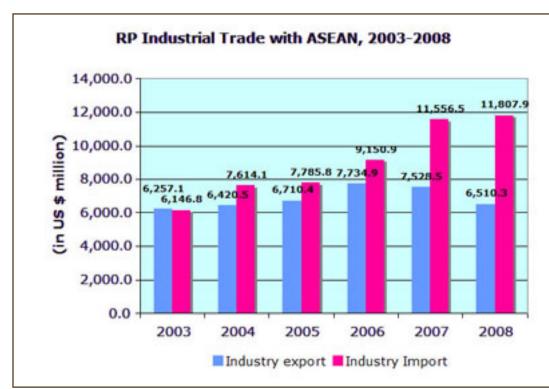
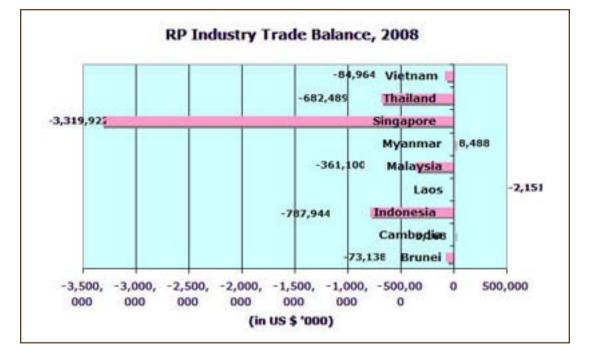


Figure 4: RP Industrial Trade Balance with ASEAN Member States, 2008



Source: Department of Trade and Industry

In 1994, the Philippines had a positive agricultural trade balance with ASEAN, at US \$ 33.7 million. However, beginning 1995, agricultural imports have also outpaced agricultural exports. In fact the gap between imports have widened over the last few decades, In 2008, the value of agricultural trade deficit has grown to US \$ 1.9 billion, from US only \$ 25.3 billion in 1995. Figure 5 below tracks the value of the country's agricultural trade balance with ASEAN, from 1994 to 2004.

Source: Department of Trade and Industry

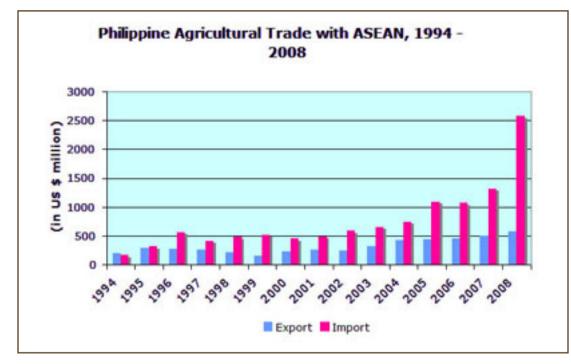
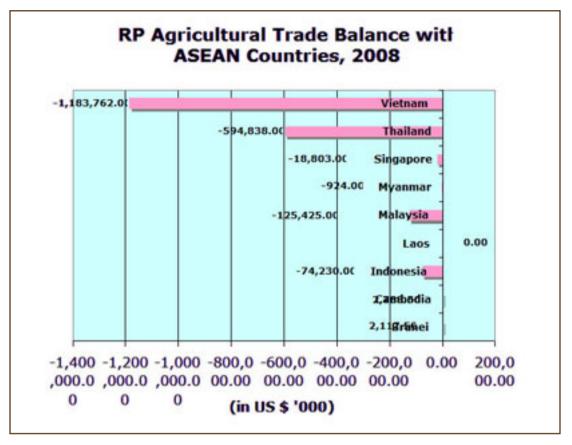


Figure 5: Philippine Agricultural Trade Balance with ASEAN, 1994 - 2008

It is interesting to note that, as in the case of industry, the country's agricultural sector has a negative trade balance with almost all ASEAN countries, with the exception of Cambodia and Brunei. It has an agricultural trade deficit even with Singapore, which has practically no agricultural sector, but is used as a transshipment point of both industrial and agricultural commodities. Figure 6 below shows the country's agricultural trade balance with other ASEAN Member States in 2008.

In 2008, the country's biggest agricultural trade balance is with Vietnam, followed by Thailand, mainly on account of the country's rice imports from these two countries. As mentioned earlier, the Philippines maintains a quantitative restriction on rice importation, but is allowed to import to augment shortfalls in domestic production.

Figure 6: RP Agricultural Trade Balance with ASEAN Countries



Source: Bureau of Agricultural Statistics

The Philippines' negative industrial and agricultural balance with ASEAN reflects its failure to achieve net gains from the opening up of markets in the region. The country has not been able to generate enough export earnings, which is government's main reason for committing to trade liberalization in ASEAN. On the other hand, the

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Statistics

years spanning the implementation of AFTA-CEPT show a marked increase in Philippine imports from the region. The reasons as well as the potential impact of this trade trend are discussed in the succeeding sections of this paper.

#### PRODUCTS TRADED WITH ASEAN

Bulk of the country's trade with ASEAN comes from the industrial sector. Industrial export accounts for 92% per cent of the country's total exports in Southeast Asia in 2008. Agricultural exports, on the other hand, accounts for only 8% of the same.

Share of Sectors to Total Exports to

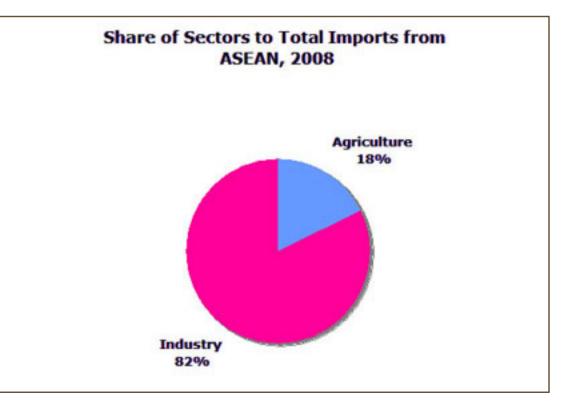
**ASEAN, 2008** 

Similarly, the share of industrial imports to total imports, though smaller, accounts for the lion's share of total imports from the region at 82%, also in 2008. Agricultural imports have a bigger share to total imports, at 18%.

Figures 7 and 8 shows the share of sectors to total exports and imports to ASEAN, respectively.

An analysis of the products the Philippines export and import within the region helps provides an understanding of how certain sectors are affected by trade. Bulk of the Philippine exports to ASEAN is made up of products

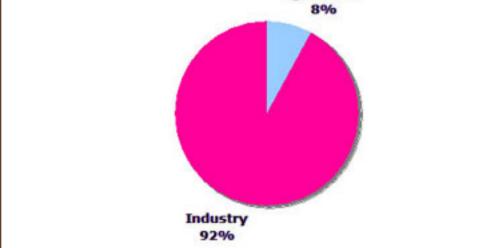
Figure 8: Share of Sectors to Total Imports from ASEAN, 2008



Source: Department of Trade and Industry, Bureau of Agricultural Statistics



Figure 7: Share of Sectors to Total Exports to ASEAN, 2008



Source: Department of Trade and Industry, Bureau of Agricultural Statistics

from the electronics sector. This includes semi-conductor devices, electrical and electronic machinery, cathodes and section of cathodes, electronic micro-assemblies and integrated circuit frames, among others. The Philippines also export optical disk drives, parts and accessories for motor vehicles to ASEAN countries like Indonesia and Malaysia.

On the other hand, Philippine industrial imports from ASEAN consist mostly of crude, petroleum and other fuel oils, and inputs for the electronics sectors, which includes wafers and discs for electric circuits, parts for the manufacture of electrical machinery and other semi-conductor devices. Table 5 lists the top products the country trades with other ASEAN Member States.

#### Table 5: Top Products Traded Between RP and ASEAN Member States, 2008

Country	Export	Import
Brunei	Prefabricated materials, aviation fuel	Crude or petroleum oil, metal mountings and fittings, worn clothing, underwater cameras
Cambodia	Lubricating oil, creams and skin solutions, deodorants, worn clothing, soft candies	Pin tables, slot machines, garments,
Indonesia	Electrical and electronic machinery, parts and accessories for motor vehicles, semi- conductor devices	Coal, crude petroleum oil, copper ore and concentrates

Lao PDR	Cigarette paper, semi- conductor devices, woven fabrics, electrical and electronic machinery,	Electrical apparatus for telephony,
Malaysia	Semi-conductor devices, electrical and electronic machinery, parts of machines, optical disk drives, cathodes, crude oil	Crude petroleum oil, dice, liquefied petroleum gas, other fuel oils
Myanmar	Newsprint in rolls, other liquefied petroleum gas,	Beauty and make-up products
Singapore	Semiconductor devices, other fuel oils, electronic micro assemblies, bananas, aircraft parts, aviation fuel	Dice of any kind, other fuel oils, crude petroleum oil, wafers and discs for electric circuits, parts for the manufacture of electrical machinery, other semi-conductor devices
Thailand	Cathodes and sections of cathodes, parts for vehicles, semi- conductor devices, electronic micro- assemblies, integrated circuits frames	Vehicles, dice, television receivers
Vietnam	Cathodes and section of cathodes, chewing gum,	Assembled circuit boards

Source: Department of Trade and Industry

Table 6: List of Top Agricultural Products Between RP and ASEAN

Exports	Imports
Milk and cream (solid form),	Rice, palm kernel oil, non-dairy
cigarettes, coconut oil, mineral or	creamer, mixed condiments and
chemical fertilizers, chewing gum,	mixed seasonings, urea, soyabean
fresh banana, coconut oil cakes,	fats and oil, palm oil, palm oil, infant
natural rubber, yellowfin tunas,	food, natural rubber, beverage
pineapples, tea preparations, wheat	concentrates, cassava starch,
flour, cereal products, natural rubber,	seaweeds and other algae for use in
banana chips	dyeing, tanning, coffee

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Statistics

### WHO ARE THE GAINERS AND LOSERS

The foregoing data shows that industry, specifically, the electronics sector is, in a sense, the most important gainer in a liberalized regional market, as most of the products that are exported to other ASEAN Member States are from this commodity group. In agriculture, the gainers are those engaged in the production of the country's typical export commodities like bananas and pineapples, which are mostly produced in large plantation farms. The benefit gained by these export winners must be evaluated within the over-all trade context where the country's imports from ASEAN far outweighs exports to the region.

A large segment of the country's industrial imports from ASEAN are inputs to the local electronics sectors, which supplies the export as well as domestic market. The electronics sector has always been the country's top dollar earner, accounting for 64 per cent of the country's total export earnings in 2007 . The huge import data suggests that a large portion of the value of exports is in fact from the cost of imported inputs. Indeed, many electronics companies provide labor for the assembling of electronics components for re-export.

Bulk of the electronic companies operating in the Philippines is foreign-owned. In 2007, there were 912 electronic companies in the country, 72 per cent of which are owned by foreigners .

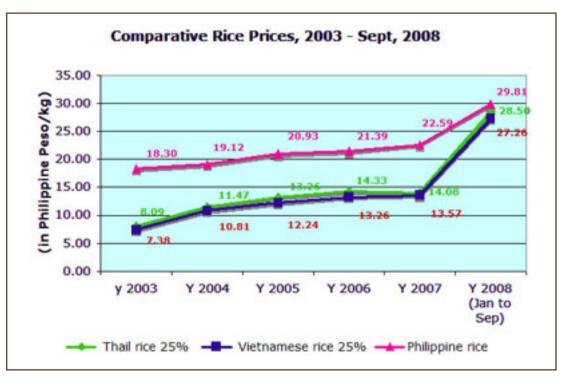
In agriculture, bulk of the country's imports from Southeast Asia consists of products competing with commodities that have substantial stakeholder bases in the Philippines. For instance, a large percentage of the country's imports from ASEAN are of rice and palm kernel oil, which is a substitute for coconut oil. Rice and coconut oil account for a large segment of total agricultural output and is a major source of livelihood and employment to at least 7 million small farmers in the rural areas. Many rice and coconut farmer groups identify the entry of imported rice and palm kernel and other vegetable oil as some of the major threats to their economic survival. In the main, a quick review of the list of the country's top export and import commodities will show that the sectors that benefit from trade liberalization generally have a smaller stakeholder base than those that are negatively affected by the indiscriminate opening up of markets.

A point raised by Mr Jong Sereno during the validation consultation suggests that the gainers, particularly the electronics sector, may not actually be charting new gains from regional trade liberalization, and that government's rationale for committing to free trade liberalization – that of being able to open up markets for the country's export winners - is actually flawed. Mr. Sereno noted during that tariff barriers on electronic products – our main export winner – are already very minimal, indicating that there is no additional value to be gained from committing to liberalize other sectors, in anticipation of the further opening up of markets for exports like electronic products, because the markets for these commodities are already open.

#### THE CASE OF RICE

The fact that rice is the country's number one import commodity in the region, even though government maintains a quantitative restriction on importation, highlight the potential impact of full scale liberalization on the sector and on small rice farmers. A study conducted by the Rice Watch and Action Network shows that domestically produced rice is not competitive vis-à-vis rice produced in other ASEAN, particularly Vietnam and Thailand. These countries are able to offer more affordable rice in the market. Hence, rice imports from these countries have a high potential of displacing those that are produced in the Philippines. The RWAN study shows that, based on historical data, the price of rice produced in Thailand and Vietnam are so low that even a fifty (50%) tariff applied on regional rice imports, will not be enough to breach the price difference between imported and local rice. Therefore, the implementation of ATIGA, which calls for the eventual removal of quantitative restrictions and the subsequent reduction of tariffs, for all products, including rice, poses threats to the economic viability of small farmers, unless government is able to substantially and swiftly improve the competitiveness of the rice sector. Figure 8 below compares the price of the staple grain produced in the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam.

Figure 8: Comparative Rice Prices, 2003-September 2008



Source: Rice Watch and Action Network, 2009

The foregoing underscores the importance of competitiveness in surviving a liberalized market, and in accessing the promised benefits of trade liberalization. Being competitive means having the capability to supply a particular product at a price, quality and volume that are at par or even better than those offered by other suppliers in the market. Developing competitiveness requires substantial public and private investment, and is not an automatic outcome of the opening up of markets. At the same time, the data above highlights the importance of adopting a nuanced rather than indiscriminate approach to trade liberalization. There is value in seeking and opening markets for products of export interest, however, government needs to exercise caution when committing to trade liberalization especially in sectors where competitiveness is low and where stakeholders are vulnerable to displacement.

# OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES Conclusion

hat are the challenges and opportunities attendant to the implementation of ATIGA? What advocacies should stakeholders and civil society groups espouse and focus on to support the economic viability of local producers? What are the

venues of engagement in government insofar as ATIGA and regional trade policies are concerned?

To address these questions, it is important to underscore the following points:

First, ATIGA's near uniform approach to tariff liberalization is not appropriate to the Philippines where there is great disparity in the competitiveness level among the different sectors. Unlike the reduction schedules prescribed in agreements under the World Trade Organization, which provides governments with some degree of flexibility to manage tariff cuts, ATIGA is much more restrictive in the sense that it binds countries to substantially and uniformly reduce or eliminate tariffs at certain schedules based on broad product categories . In a sense, this formula prevents countries such as the Philippines from adopting a more nuanced approach to regional trade liberalization.

Second, it is clear that gains from further regional trade liberalization can only be realized if the country is able to resolve its competitiveness issues, particularly in terms of price, quality and supply capability. As mentioned in the previous chapter, improving competitiveness requires substantial public and private investment, as well as time. The need to allot sufficient time to ensure that public and private investments are actually resulting to improved competitiveness highlights the importance of policy sequencing. An appropriate and logical policy sequence is one where government provides local producers with the necessary capability to compete in a liberalized market, before it actually liberalizes the market.

Third, ASEAN has yet to develop a strong work program on NTBs, and SPS. The sections of ATIGA that relates to these concerns are not yet fully developed, and may be influenced to strengthen government's capability to regulate trade. Moreover, strong stakeholder intervention in fleshing out provisions related to customs administration as well as import licensing is essential in order to ensure that these measures and mechanisms can be maximized to support the development of local productive sectors instead of being exclusively used to facilitate trade liberalization. .

Fourth, ATIGA does not have sufficient safeguard measures to provide local producers with the necessary recourse to address the adverse impact of regional trade liberalization: At most, ATIGA relies on the highly limited safeguard measures available in the WTO. Fifth, the executive department is the main arena for engagement when it comes to ATIGA as well as other policies relating to regional trade liberalization. The Philippine Tariff Commission, the various line agencies, most notably the Departments of Agriculture and the Department of Trade and Industry, and, last but not the least, the Office of President, play major roles in the passage and implementation of ATIGA related administrative and executive orders. These agencies are important targets of advocacy on trade for many stakeholders and civil society groups.

In view of the foregoing, and in line with result of consultations with producers groups, the paper is putting forward specific advocacies and actions related to ATIGA, and on regional liberalization in general.

1. Review and renegotiate AFTA-CEPT and ATIGA, with the end in view of ensuring that tariff levels are reflective of the level of competitiveness of local producers. The Philippines is already in the process of implementing progressive regional trade liberalization as mandated in the aforementioned agreements. However, the data presented in Chapter 2 of this paper, underscore the fact that the Philippines has yet to achieve parity in terms of competitiveness with other ASEAN countries. It also shows that the country's trade deficit with ASEAN in general has been growing, rather than declining. A

policy of continued liberalization, absent substantial productivity enhancing investment especially in important commodity sub-sectors is bound to further undermine the Philippines' trade standing within the region.

- 2. Increase allocation for productivity enhancing programs and projects. In agriculture, this should include substantial government budget appropriation for basic agricultural services particularly in irrigation, technology support, crop insurance, credit and farm to market roads, among others. In industry, government must allocate resources aimed at developing forward and backward linkages in crucial commodity sectors, and in supporting domestic enterprises, such as through the extension of affordable credit, technology support, and human resource development, among others.
- 3. **Adopt rational policy sequencing**, so that the implementation of trade liberalization is contingent on the effective implementation and delivery of productivity enhancing measures and programs.
- 4. Maintain government's authority to enforce import licensing requirements and other nontariff measures, especially those that are vital to the performance of its duty to protect the safety and welfare of its population, and of important economic sectors.

- 5. Consistently monitor and engage the executive department particularly on the passage of executive and administrative issuances implementing the provisions of ATIGA and AFTA-CEPT. Stakeholders and civil society groups must ensure that they always participate in government consultations conducted by the Philippine Tariff Commission and line agencies, particularly the Departments of Agriculture and the Department of Trade and Industry on tariff reduction and other trade related measures such as tariff quotas, NTMs, and import licensing and procedures and guidelines.
- 6. Maximize the legislature's oversight and law making function. In particular, the removal of quantitative restrictions on rice importation requires a legislative amendment of RA 8178. Accordingly, rice farmers must invest in legislative advocacy to push for their advocacy on rice trade policy. At the same time, other producers and stakeholders groups can tap allies in the legislature to initiate legislative inquiries in order to draw attention to the effect of regional trade liberalization on local producers and on domestic sectors.
- 7. Improve the Philippines' capability to develop and enforce sanitary and phytosanitary measures. This includes improving border control as well as enhancing government's institutional as well as technical capacity to use SPS measures.

AFTA-CEPT and ATIGA liberalizes regional trade in line with ASEAN's over-all goal of creating a common regional market and strengthening economic ties among countries in Southeast Asia. However, the goal of building a single regional market, to be sustainable, must be premised on the condition that all parties comprising it are in a position to benefit from trade, and that its creation supports, rather than undermines domestic economies. In the main, the proposals above are geared towards building the Philippines' capability to eventually participate in regional trade in a more sustainable manner.

These proposals, which seek to build the country's over-all competitiveness level and improve stakeholders' participation in the process of national and regional trade policy formulation are expected to help ensure that regional trade policies are reflective of the country's development levels and goal.

### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> These are the ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA), the Protocol to Implement the 7th Package of Commitments under the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN Australia New Zealand Free Trade Area
- <sup>2</sup> These data are contained in the Joint Media Statement of the Twenty First Meeting of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) Council, held in Makati City on August 23, 2007.
- <sup>3</sup> This is contained in Article 13 of the agreement
- <sup>4</sup> Under Article 11 of ATIGA, members are required to notify changes in trade measures listed in Annex 1 of the agreement at least 60 days before such action or measure is to take effect.
- <sup>5</sup> The provisions relating to the establishment of the ASEAN Single Window is contained in Article 49 of ATIGA
- <sup>6</sup> This means that at least 40 per cent of the value of a product must come from an ASEAN member state.
- <sup>7</sup> The Coordinating Committee for the Implementation of the ATI-GA (CCA), the ASEAN Consultative Committee on Standards and Quality (ACCSQ), the ASEAN Committee on Sanitary and Phytosanitary (AC-SPS) and the working bodies under the ASEAN Director-General of Customs and other relevant ASEAN bodies are tasked to deal with the elimination of the identified NTMs.

- <sup>8</sup> The complete list of the Philippines' NTM database can be downloaded from the ASEAN website.
- <sup>9</sup> The Policy and Planning Unit of the Department of Agriculture maintains that NTMs such as VCQs and other import permits, among others, are justifiable and consistent with WTO rules.
- <sup>10</sup> The principle of non-discrimination, particularly the reference to trade rules and procedures based on market principles are contained in Article 47, para (d) of ATIGA.
- <sup>11</sup> The CCCA is mandated to forward its recommendation to the SEOM within 30 days from the receipt of the request for waiver.
- <sup>12</sup> From the article "Philippine Electronics Industry Targets \$ 45 billion exports by 2010" by the Philippine News Agency, November 2007.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid
- <sup>14</sup> For instance, under the Agreement on Agriculture under the World Trade Organization, countries are required to meet a certain average in tariff cuts. This enables countries to distribute and manage tariff cuts based on domestic considerations.



The Asian Partnership for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia (AsiaDHRRA) is a regional network with members in 10 Asian countries mostly in Southeast Asia. The network has been working with rural communities for the past 34 years employing musyawarah and community organizing approach towards building sustainable empowered rural communities. AsiaDHRRA also recognizes the importance of engaging national and regional intergovernmental bodies like ASEAN to advocate policies supportive of sustainable rural development. AsiaDHRRA together with other CSOs in the region has been engaging ASEAN on various initiatives ranging from policy dialogues on key rural development issues to on-ground project cooperation e.g. linking small farmers to market.

### WWW.ASIADHRRA.ORG



## TRADE ADVOCACY GROUP

Trade Advocacy Group (TAG) is a platform for trade campaigning and information exchange in the Philippines composed of the following organizations:

- 1. Fair Trade Alliance (FTA)
- 2. Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services (IDEALS)
- 3. Rice Watch Action Network (RWAN)
- 4. Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC)
- 5. Philippine Legislators' Committee on Population and Development Foundation, Inc.(PLPCPD
- 6. Tambuyog Development Center (TAMBUYOG)
- 7. Kilusang Mangingisda (KM)
- 8. Asian Farmers Association for Sustainable Rural Development (AFA)
- 9. Asian Partnership for the Development of Human Resources In Rural Asia (ASIADHRRA)
- 10. International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN)
- 11. OXFAM