

Influences of Quotas, Tariffs and Bilateral Trade agreement on Post 2005 Apparel Trade

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Abstract

Textile and Clothing imports into the United States have doubled in volume between 1995 and 2003¹, coinciding with the progressive liberalization of the quota regime under the World Trade Organization Agreement on Textile and Clothing (ATC). The ATC organized the gradual abolition, over a 10-year period (1995-2005) of all volume quotas on Textile and Apparel products, in force since the Short Term Cotton Arrangement, which regulated the Textile and Apparel trade through product-specific, bilateral agreements. While the phased-in approach has allowed importing country to delay liberalization of higher-value products, 2005 will inexorably mark the end of all quotas on all products for WTO members. There remains, however, important limits to complete liberalization: status of non-WTO members representing as much as 7% of US imports in 2002², specific restraining measures with regards to China and protracted tariff preferences through regional trade agreements. In this sense, Textile and Apparel liberalization will remain very much an ongoing process after 2005.

1. The WTO Agreement on Textile and Clothing: towards the abolition of restrictions on Textile and Apparel imports

A. The era of special regimes

The status of Textile and Apparel trade in the last 50 years has been shaped by the immediate post-War period. Following liberalization efforts resulting in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, 1947)³, Japan and other developing countries began to increase their volume of exports of cotton textiles and clothing to developed countries. The surge in low value imports, threatening domestic industries and employment, led the United States, the United Kingdom and France among other large importers to seek agreements with exporters to limit quantities of exports of cotton textiles.⁴ In 1961, 30 countries signed the Short Term Cotton Arrangement, agreeing to volume quota for cotton textile exports (defined as products containing more than 50% or more cotton by weight). This agreement was followed by the Long Term Cotton Arrangement (1962-1973).

As exporters reached the upper bound of their quantitative limit, they looked for new ways to increase market share and shifted production to synthetic fibers.⁵ In response, and under pressure from industry and labor interests, developed countries demanded an agreement that covered a wider range of textile products. In 1974, the Multi-Fiber Arrangement (MFA) was signed under the auspices of the GATT. The MFA was purportedly designed to provide developing countries with guaranteed and growing access to markets of developed countries while allowing governments of developed countries to prevent “disruption” of their domestic industries.⁶ In reality, the MFA extended export restrictions from cotton products to wool, man-made fiber products and (in 1986) certain vegetable fiber products.⁷

By 1995, the United States had negotiated 750 restraints quotas⁸ with more than 40 exporting countries, including China and Japan. Hundreds of product categories had been established, for which quotas (expressed in physical units) and yearly growth rates were determined individually. For an example of an MFA bilateral agreement between Indonesia and the United States in 1992, refer to **Exhibit 2**.

B. Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) : a roadmap to complete liberalization

The Agreement on Textile and Clothing was the result of eight years of negotiations under the Uruguay Round (1988-1994). Its objective was to bring the MFA quota system to an end, effectively restoring Apparel and Textile as a sector “equal among others”, subject to liberalization under WTO rules by January 1, 2005. This meant that quota volume would be completely removed by January 2005. However, tariff on imports would remain.

The ATC's scope was much more ambitious than previous agreements, as it applied to all products -yarns and fabrics, made-up textiles, and clothing, whether or not they were subject to restrictions during the MFA period⁹.

The integration process was to be carried out progressively in three stages lasting respectively three, four and three years with all products to be integrated at the end of the ten-year period. At each stage, a defined minimum volume percentage of a country's imports in 1990 were to be placed off quota (see **Table A**).

Table A - Minimum percentage of volume of a country's imports in 1990 on which quota must be removed

	Starting date	% of country's 1990 physical volume trade on which quota must be removed	Cumulative % of country's 1990 physical volume trade on which quota must be removed
Phase 1	01/01/1995	16%	16%
Phase 2	01/01/1998	17%	33%
Phase 3	01/01/2002	18%	51%
Phase 4	01/01/2005	All restriction eliminated	100%

For example, the United States importing 12.9 billion square meters of textile and clothing in 1990 would have to place off quota 1.95 billion square meters (16% of 12.9 billion) during Phase 1 (1995-1997). Importantly, the list of products which would effectively be placed off quota to achieve this volume objective remained the responsibility of the United States¹⁰.

For other textile and clothing products that continued to be restricted during the transition period (i.e. products not yet integrated into GATT), the Agreement required that the annual growth rates of quotas negotiated in MFA or MFA-type bilateral arrangement be increased at each phase by a set percentage¹¹ (see **Table B**).

Table B - Mandated percentage increases for non-integrated products

	Starting date	% of increase on the annual quota growth rate for products not yet integrated into GATT
Phase 1	01/01/1995	16%
Phase 2	01/01/1998	25%
Phase 3	01/01/2002	27%

Therefore, if the annual growth rate for a quota was fixed under a bilateral or MFA agreement at 6%, it would have to be increased by 16% for the first three years: i.e. annual growth rate would be $6\% \times 1.16 = 6.96\%$ in 1995, 1996 and 1997.

The ATC also included a special Safeguard measure article, which enabled countries, during the transition period, to apply on a member-by-member basis quantitative quotas for a period of up to three years if the country experienced a "serious damage of its domestic industry".¹²

C. Early assessment of the ATC: a slowed-down process

During the first two phases, importing entities such as the United States and the European Union took advantage of the lack of precision in the wording of the agreement.

First, because the ATC required the integration of a designated percentage of all imports, not a percentage of previously restricted imports, importing countries decided to integrate first products that were not restricted previously.¹³ In the case of the United States and the European Union, the percentage of imports of products not covered by restrictions in 1990 (the base year used for integration), was around 34% and 37% respectively. Therefore, for these countries, it was possible to meet their obligations in the first two stages without significantly removing restrictions.¹⁴

Second, by not stipulating proportions of the four product types - yarns, fabrics, made-up textiles, and clothing to be integrated, the ATC also allowed importers to liberalize largely in the lower value sectors, thus protecting their own value-added clothing industries. For example, in the first phase of liberalization, 70% of the products integrated were yarns and fabrics.¹⁵ The value of products integrated by the European Union and the United States in the first phase was 8.7% and 6.62% respectively of total textile and clothing imports (to achieve 16% volume requirement) and in the second phase 12.92% and 10.73% respectively (to achieve 17% volume requirement).¹⁶ This meant that most of the quota liberalization had been put off until the final stages of the ATC quota phase-out.

In the third phase of integration, which started in January 2002, the United States were forced to remove quotas on more sensitive products to meet ATC targets. In particular, the United States decided to lift quotas on knit fabric, gloves, dressing gowns, brassieres and textile luggage products. The impact was felt immediately, and US textile and apparel trade associations could point to a spectacular increase in imports in all five categories. According to ATMI (American Textile Manufacturers Institute), whose study focused on China, during the first six months of year 2002, Chinese knit fabric exports to the United States rose 22,000 percent; in the same period, China's exports of gloves to the United States tripled and its exports of nightwear and dressing gowns to the United States more than quadrupled.¹⁷

2. Limits to the liberalization of Textile and Apparel trade

Despite well publicized fears about an all-out surge in imports from China and other developing countries, the analysis of outstanding rules post 2005 reveal offsetting factors to complete liberalization. These can be grouped in four types:

- Generic safeguards built into WTO regulations
- Persistence of the old regime for non-WTO members
- Specific safeguard provisions negotiated with China
- Continuation of tariff preferences through regional trade agreements (such as NAFTA or the European Union)

Of the above, tariffs are expected to play a significant role in curbing the effects of complete liberalization.

A. Article XIX of GATT on safeguards

Textile and Apparel importers can benefit from "safeguard" actions available to WTO members. Under article XIX of the GATT, a WTO member can restrict imports for a period of up to eight years to protect a specific domestic industry from an increase in imports "causing serious injury to the industry"¹⁸. However, resulting quantitative restriction would have to be applied to imports from all sources, regardless of the origin of exporting countries.¹⁹

The steel industry provides a case study of a recent use of GATT's safeguard mechanism. In March 2002, the United States imposed additional duties and tariff quotas on several steel products²⁰, applicable to all exporting countries. Various WTO members including the European Union challenged the measures through the dispute resolution process of the World Trade Organization. In July 2003, the WTO panel decided that the U.S. measures violated Article XIX of the GATT.²¹ In particular, the panel concluded that "the measures were not taken in response to unforeseen developments or to an increase in imports; that the United States had not demonstrated that increased imports were causing (or threatening to cause) serious injury to U.S. industry; and that the United States had unfairly included imports from its NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, when considering the harm to U.S. industry, but had then excluded those imports from the safeguard measures".²²

While safeguard measures can be an effective short term protection mechanism, they require more stringent conditions than safeguards measures built into the ATC.

B. Non-WTO members

A limitation of the new system is that liberalization of Textile and Apparel trade will only occur between WTO members. This means that even after 2005, non-WTO exporting countries will still have quota imposed on their exports of Textile and Apparel products as defined by bilateral agreements.

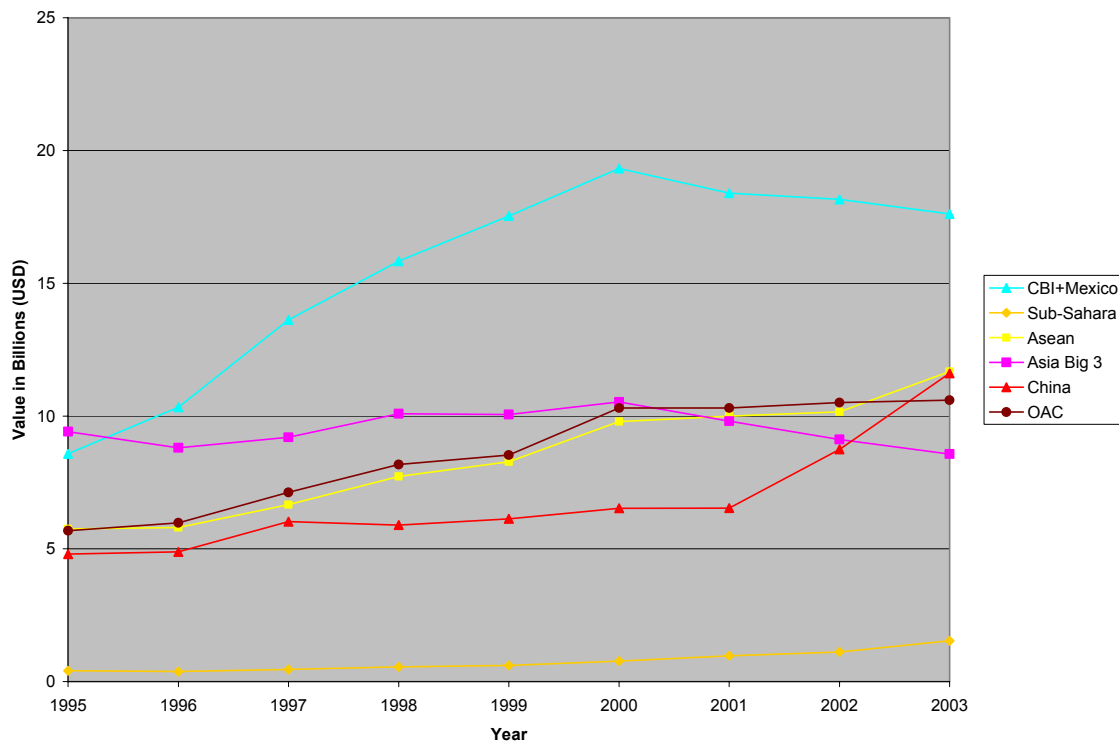
US Imports from non-WTO members represented 7% of total imports volume and 8% of total value imports in 2002²³ and included countries such as Taiwan, Cambodia, Vietnam and Nepal. See **Exhibit 3** for a list of main exporting countries to the US with their status WTO/Non-WTO.

A recent example of this situation is Vietnam. In July 2003, Vietnam signed a bilateral agreement with the United States to limit its exports of Cotton, Wool, Man-Made Fiber, Non-Cotton Vegetable Fiber and Silk Blend Textiles and Textile Products.

C. China

Since its accession to the WTO in **December 2001**, China has significantly increased its value market share (by 6 points) and represented at the end of 2003 15% of US total imports, although still significantly lower than Mexico and the CBI countries.(see **Graph 1**)

Graph 1 - Evolution of Value U.S. Textile and Apparel imports by region from 1995 to 2003



Source: Author Analysis based on OTEXA data

Because it is perceived as one of the key beneficiaries of the opening of Textile and Apparel trade, China is singled out as the biggest threat to US employment in this sector by ATMI and other Textile and Apparel labor organizations. It is however important to note that until 2013, China's trade in Textile and Apparel will be subject to limiting rules and specific safeguards²⁴.

Before joining the WTO in December 2001, China agreed on a specific set of rules on which its entry was made conditional. In particular, China accepted to have a unique, China-specific safeguard mechanism

allowing a WTO Member to restrain increasing imports from China deemed “disruptive” to the importer’s market. This mechanism will be available to other WTO members until 2013²⁵.

In November 2003, the United States used for the first time the China-specific safeguard provision in response to the rapid surge in imports from China on newly quota-free categories.²⁶ The US government imposed a 7.5% cap on annual growth of imports of bras, dressing gowns and knit fabrics used in sportswear.²⁷

Another rule conditioning China’s entry to the WTO was that it had to reduce its own import tariffs on textiles and apparel products from an average tariff of 20.1 percent to 11.5 percent by January 2005.

D. Tariff preferences through regional trade agreements

After 2005, preferences in tariffs are expected to replace volume quotas as a key determinant of Textile and Apparel trade.

Under Article 2 of the GATT, contracting parties are allowed to “bind their tariffs”. A “binding” is a commitment not to raise the tariff rate above the level specified.²⁸ Although eight rounds of GATT negotiations since 1947 have considerably lowered the average duty rate in developed countries, there are still some peaks in the case of sensitive products in which tariff levels are significantly high. In November 2001, the new GATT round, called “Doha Development Agenda” was launched. All WTO members agreed to tariff-cutting negotiations on all non-agricultural products. The agreement on tariffs reduction should be finalized by January 2005.²⁹

Such general duty rates are applied to imports originating from countries for which no tariff preferences agreements have been signed. However, over 170 Regional Trade Agreements are currently in force³⁰ and a vast majority of WTO members belong to one or more regional trade agreements³¹ (see **Table G**).

Table G - Examples of regional trade agreements for the United States and European Union

Countries	United States Trade Agreement	European Union Trade Agreement
Mexico	NAFTA³² <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entered into force in Jan 1994 • Duty free and quota free for products that meet NAFTA rules of origin.¹ • Non-NAFTA originating goods are eligible for NAFTA duty treatment <u>but</u> not quota free treatment within quantitative limits specified for each calendar year.³³ 	EU-Mexico Free Trade Agreement³⁴ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entered into force in July 2000 • Duty free and quota free completed in Jan 2003
Canada	NAFTA³⁵ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entered into force in Jan 1994 • Duty free and quota free for products that meet NAFTA rules of origin.² • Non-NAFTA originating goods are eligible for NAFTA duty treatment <u>but</u> not quota free treatment within quantitative limits specified for each calendar year.³⁶ 	
African	African Growth Opportunity Act	LOME IV

¹ The basic rule of origin is "yarn forward," which means that textile and apparel goods must be produced from yarn made in a NAFTA country in order to have access to the full benefits of the Agreement.

² Ibid.

countries	<p>(AGOA)³⁷</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entered into force in May 2000 Duty free and quota free on garments made from US components + regional garments Will end in Oct 2008 36 sub-Saharan countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entered into force in 1995 (LOME I signed in Lome, Togo in 1975) 78 countries from Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Duty free and quota free on all ACP goods Will end when ACP-EU Partnership agreement comes into force <p>ACP-EU Partnership Agreement³⁸</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Signed in Cotonou in 2000 Will enter into force in 2008 at the latest Reciprocal agreement where EU will have access to ACP markets
Caribbean countries	<p>Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act (CBPTA)³⁹</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entered into force in Oct 2000 Duty free and quota free on garments made from US components + regional garments Will end in Oct 2008 24 beneficiary countries <p>Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act (CBERA)⁴⁰</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entered into force in August 1990 Duty free on some products including apparel goods containing >70% silk, specific textile goods Duty reduction certain leather-related product 	Same as for African countries: LOME IV and ACP-EU Partnership Agreement
Central America	<p>Central American Free Trade Area (CAFTA)⁴¹</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free trade agreement created in Dec 2003 but not yet implemented 4 countries initially (Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras) Duty free and quota free on products made in Central America from fabrics formed in the US. Duty-free benefits to apparel made in Central America from fabrics formed in Mexico or Canada 	

Regional trade agreements define the scope, modalities and levels of tariffs preferences allowed to member countries. **Table H** highlights the impact on relative competitiveness of such agreements for two products, a cotton T-shirt and blue denim. After 2005, a US importer will pay a duty rate of 16.5% on T-shirts made in Bangladesh because Bangladesh is not part of a regional trade agreement with the United States, and no duty rate on T-shirts made in Mexico because Mexico is a member of NAFTA.

Table H - Impact of regional trade agreements on tariff levels of a cotton T-shirt or blue denim

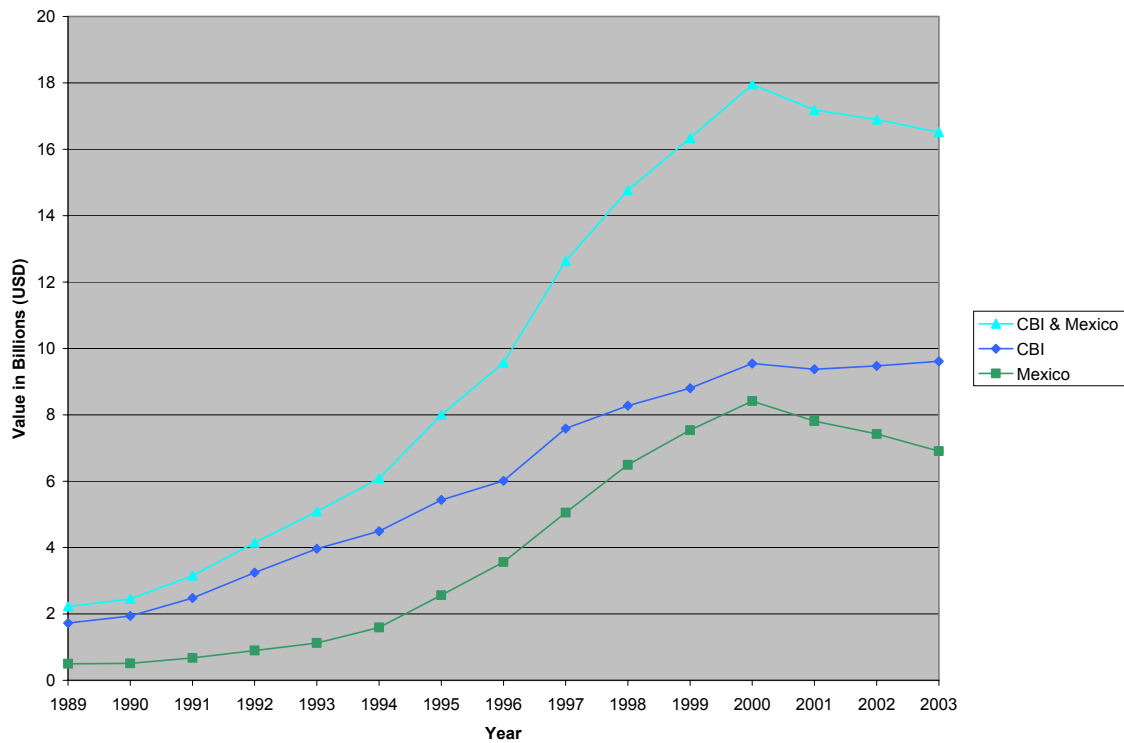
Heading	Article description	US rates of duty		European Union Rates of duty	
		General	Special	General	Special
61091000	T-shirts, singlets	16.5%	Free for NAFTA, Chile,	12%	Free for Western

	and other vests, knitted or crocheted of Cotton		Israel and Singapore 3.6% for Jordan		Balkans, Mediterranean countries, EU Candidate countries, Andorra, Chile, EU, African and CBI countries, Mexico, Least developed countries including Bangladesh , Switzerland, South Africa 9.6% for Less Developed countries
6203424035	Men's and Boys' Blue Denim	16.6%	Free for NAFTA, Chile, Israel and Singapore 3.4% for Jordan	12%	Free (Western Balkans, Mediterranean countries, EU Candidate countries, Andorra, Chile, EU, African and CBI countries, Mexico, Least developed countries including Bangladesh, Switzerland, South Africa) 9.6% for Less Developed countries
6204624040	Women's or girls' Blue Denim	16.6%	Free for NAFTA, Chile, Israel and Singapore 3.4% for Jordan	12%	Free (Western Balkans, Mediterranean countries, EU Candidate countries, Andorra, Chile, EU, African and CBI countries, Mexico, Least developed countries including Bangladesh, Switzerland, South Africa) 9.6% for Less Developed countries

Source: Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States 2004 and Taxation and Customs Union on the http://europa.eu.int/comm/taxation_customs site

Another example is the development of trade between the United States and Mexico following the implementation of NAFTA in January 1994. Indeed, since the elimination of tariffs under NAFTA, the apparel imports from Mexico increased 150 percent from 1994 to 1998, while imports from the CBI increased at 90 percent (as highlighted in **Graph I**).⁴²

Graph I - Evolution of the US value of apparel imports from Mexico and CBI countries from 1989 to 2003

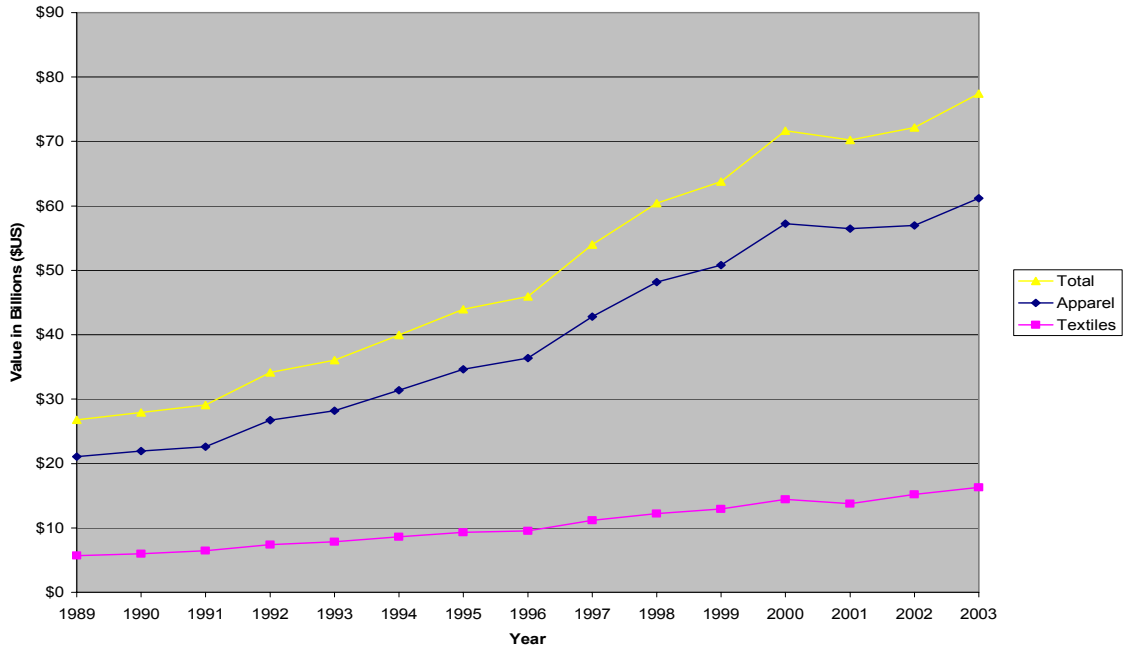


Source: Author analysis from OTEXA data

Acknowledgement

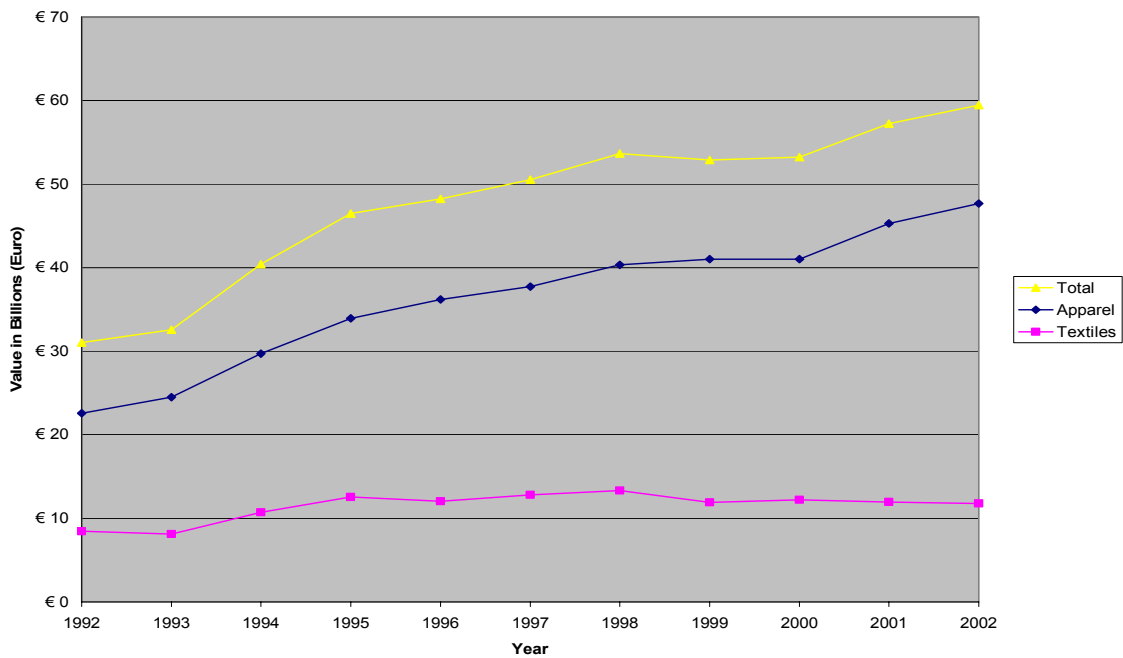
Anthony Volpe, a PhD candidate in Harvard’s Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences, has been helpful with data gathering and other important aspects of this paper.

Exhibit 1(a): Value of US Textile and Apparel Imports from 1989 to 2003



Source: Author Analysis based on OTEXA data

Exhibit 1(b): Value of EU15 Textile and Apparel Imports from 1992 to 2002 (From Non-EU15 Sources)



Source: Compiled from <http://www.ers.usda.gov/data/fibertextiletrade/documentation.htm>

Exhibit 2: Example of MFA bilateral agreement between Indonesia and the US in 1992
In 1000 square meter equivalent

MFA category	Description	Base Level	Adjusted Level *	Imports charged	Percent filled
219	Duck Fabric	6,426.2	4,307.0	2,864.1	66.5
225	Blue denim fabric	4,500		4,485	99.7
300/301	Card./Com. Cotton yarn	23,375	26,413.8	26,413.8	100
313	C. Sheet Fabric	11,600.3	11,975	11,975	100
314	C.POP./Broadcloth	40,714.7	45,711.7	40,653.1	88.9
315	C. Print Cloth Fabric	18,500		18,500	100
317/617/326	C./MMF Twills, satins	17,868	17,824.5	17,824.5	100
331/631	C./MMF gloves & Mittens	4,758.5	3,740.1	3,740.1	100
334/335	W&G C. coats	5,187.5	6,466.3	6,466.3	100
336/636	C.&MMF dresses	15,160	18,646.8	16,529.4	88.6
338/339	C. knit shirts & blouses	4,872	6,236.2	5,901.3	94.6
340/640	M&B C. & MMF, non-knit shirts	20,100	24,863.7	24,863.7	100
341	M&G C. shirts/blouse non-knit	7,277.6	9,222.4	9,222.4	100
342/642	C.&MMF skirts	3,725	4,097.5	3,840.5	93.7
345	C. sweaters	8,956.5	9,404.3	7,959.4	84.6
347/348	C. trousers/slacks & shorts	16,390	18,967.7	18,967.7	100
351/651	C & MMF nightwear and pj	14,137.5	16,682.3	16,682.3	100
359/659	Swimwear	11,800	7,120	2,998	42.1
369	Shop towels	5,217.7	5,896	5,719.9	97
443	M&B suits, wool	300.8	327.7	324.1	98.9
445/446	All wool sweaters	664.7	313.3	189.3	60.4
604	Acrylic spun, yarn only	3628.5	2,419.7	1,762.2	72.8
611	Woven fabric>/85%, Art.staple	4,240.3		4,240.3	100
613/614/615	MMF sheeting pop.	16,950	19,153.5	18,589.2	97.1
618	Woven art. Filament fabric	4,000		927.7	23.2
619/620	Other syn. Filament fabric	6,200		4,866.4	78.5
625/6/7/8/9	Other, MMF fabric of Stap.	18,971.7	18,697.8	17,839.1	95.4
634/635	W&G MMF coats	6,900	7,866	7,337	93.3
638/639	MMF Knit shirts & blouses	13,520	14,679.7	14,244	97
641	W&G n-knit shirts & blouses	18,448.9	18,457.4	18,457.4	100
645/646	MMF sweaters	16,209.1		14,723.5	90.8
647/648	MMF trousers/slacks and shorts	32,485.9	34,950.1	34,244.1	98
847	Trousers, Silk&vegetable	4,104.5	4,556.0	3,948.7	86.7
600	Textile Filament yarn	4,875		577.1	11.8
669	Woven M-MMF bags	14,400		7,348.9	51
670	Luggage	3,700		1,348.3	36.4

(*): Bilateral agreements establish base levels of imports, which may be adjusted to reflect carry-in from the previous year, “swing” or transfers across categories, and transfers from the current year to the following year, or carryout. The adjusted level in the above table reflects adjustments for carryover, carryout and swing across categories.

Source: The Uruguay round: Implications for the Indonesian Textile and Apparel Sector by Professor Maury Bredhal, University of Missouri and Stephen L. Magiera, Harvard Institute for International Development- May 2004 [http://www.pegasus.or.id/Reports/22\)%20WTO-textiles.pdf](http://www.pegasus.or.id/Reports/22)%20WTO-textiles.pdf)

Exhibit 3: List of main exporting countries to the US with their status WTO/Non-WTO

Country	Member of WTO	2002 US imports in square meters
China	2001	4,963,264,159
Mexico	1995	4,335,089,072
Canada	1995	3,386,790,626
Pakistan	1995	2,536,930,296
Korea, South	1995	2,032,158,032
India	1995	1,544,661,795
Taiwan	No	1,391,299,361
Cambodia	No	474,432,046
Burma (Myanmar)	No	153,778,001
Russia	No	152,368,537
Uzbekistan	No	76,657,911
Nepal	No	51,805,678

¹ Author analysis from OTEXA data - See Exhibit 1(a) for details

² Author analysis from OTEXA data

³ the WTO Training Package – Module 2: Market Access- page 41
http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/eol/e/wto02/wto2.pdf

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ HBS Case N° 9-383-164 “Textiles and Multi-Fiber Arrangement”

⁷ WTO Training Package – Module 2: Market Access- page 41
http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/eol/e/wto02/wto2.pdf

⁸ <http://www.itcb.org/Documents/itcb-mi3.pdf>

⁹ The list of products on which the ATC applies can be found in the annex of the Agreement on Textile and Clothing. All products are described using the classification system known as Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System (HS), i.e. with a six-digit number

¹⁰ Agreement on Textiles and Clothing - Article 2 Paragraphs 6 & 8

¹¹ Agreement on Textiles and Clothing - Article 2 Paragraph 13 & 14

¹² Agreement on Textiles and Clothing - Article 6

¹³ Multi-fibre Arrangement and the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing
www.foei.org/trade/activistguide/mfa.htm

¹⁴ Agreement on Textiles and Clothing - chapter 14

¹⁵ Multi-fibre Arrangement and the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing
www.foei.org/trade/activistguide/mfa.htm

¹⁶ Textile Quota Phase-out: The Final Countdown by Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya

¹⁷ “ ATMI calls for New Quotas on Surging Chinese Imports”, September 2002, Textileworld.com

¹⁸ Agreement on Safeguards – Article XIX of GATT

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Factiva 52002PC0202 - Proposal for a Council Regulation establishing additional customs duties on imports of certain products originating in the United States of America/* COM/2002/0202 final - ACC 2002/0095 */ 27 August 2002

²¹ Panel Report, United States-Definitive Safeguard Measures on Imports of Certain Steel Products, WT/DS248/R (July 11, 2003).

²² Ibid.

²³ Author analysis from OTEXA data

²⁴ These safeguards are specific to China, not to Textile and Apparel, and apply to all sectors

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- ²⁵ <http://www.fas.usda.gov/info/factsheets/China/textiles.html> February 15,2000
- ²⁶ Wall Street Journal Bush Sets Quotas On Some Imports Of Chinese Goods --- Action Targeting Textiles Knocks Value of Dollar On Fears of Protectionism, by By Neil King Jr. and Dan Morse, November 19,2003
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ WTO Training Package – Module 2: Market Access
- ²⁹ WTO Website Doha Development Agenda section
- ³⁰ WTO website http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/region_e/region_e.htm
- ³¹ Regional Trade Agreements can take the form of free trade areas, where reciprocal preferences are exchanged but members retain their own tariff rates (e.g. NAFTA) or customs unions, where a common external tariff is implemented in addition to the exchange of reciprocal preferences (e.g. the European Union).
- ³² <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/epic/internet/intextiles-textiles.nsf/vwGeneratedInterE/tx01188e.html>
- ³³ OTEXA website NAFTA section
- ³⁴ http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/news/07_00/ip_00_703.htm
- ³⁵ <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/epic/internet/intextiles-textiles.nsf/vwGeneratedInterE/tx01188e.html>
- ³⁶ OTEXA website NAFTA section
- ³⁷ OTEXA website AGOA section
- ³⁸ http://europa.eu.int/comm/trade/issues/bilateral/regions/acp/index_en.htm
- ³⁹ <http://www.mac.doc.gov/CBI/FAQs/faqcbi-all.htm#One>
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ <http://www.wola.org/economic/cafta.htm>
- ⁴² Author Analysis based on OTEXA data