

Report No. 76

**Cancun WTO Ministerial:
An Ex Post Assessment**

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*As part of CPD's publication activities, a CPD Dialogue Report series is brought out in order to widely disseminate the summary of the discussions organised by the Centre. The present report contains the highlights of a dialogue organised by CPD under its WTO, Trade and Globalisation programme on the theme of **Cancun WTO Ministerial: An Ex Post Assessment.** The Dialogue was held at **CIRDAP Auditorium, Dhaka on October 02, 2003.***

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Dialogue on
Cancun WTO Ministerial: An Ex Post Assessment

THE DIALOGUE

The Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) organised a dialogue titled ***Cancun WTO Ministerial: An Ex Post Assessment*** on October 02, 2003 at CIRDAP Auditorium, Dhaka, jointly with the Economic Reporters Forum. It was chaired by *Mr M Syeduzzaman*, honourable member of the Board of Trustee of the *Centre for Policy Dialogue* (CPD). The Minister for Commerce of the Government of Bangladesh, *Mr Amir Khasru Mahmud Chowdhury* as the chief guest while the former Minister for Commerce *Mr Tofael Ahmed* was present as the special guest.

Among others, Secretary for Commerce *Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury*, Ambassador *Mr Farooqe Sobahan*, former Secretary of the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources *Mr S M Al-Hussainy*, former State Minister for Foreign Affairs *Mr Abul Hasan Chowdhury*, former President of the BGMEA *Mr Anisur Rahman Sinha* were present in the dialogue. Participants at the dialogue included a cross section of people including members of parliament, policy makers, entrepreneurs, academics, development activists, journalists and representatives from other professions. The Keynote paper presented by *Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya*, Executive Director, CPD highlighted the preparatory process of the WTO meeting of Cancun, the Cancun WTO Ministerial talk and the situation after the Cancun Ministerial talk.

Address of Welcome by the President of the ERF

In his address of welcome, *Mr Jahed*, President of the Economic Reporters Forum (ERF) thanked the Commerce Minister *Mr Amir Khasru Mahmud Chowdhury*, the former Minister for Commerce *Mr Tofael Ahmed*, and the Commerce Secretary *Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury* for being present at the Dialogue. Commenting on the active role of media in covering the Cancun Ministerial *Mr Jahed* remarked that this time Bangladesh's media was too much focused on the multilateral talks. A good numbers of Dhaka Dailies sent their reports to Cancun to cover the 5th WTO Ministerial. This was because a sense of urgency created by the LDC Ministerial meeting held in Dhaka, continuous interactions between the media and the Commerce Ministry. He opined that it was the job of the trade experts and those who were actively associated in the multilateral talks to analyse the cause of Cancun collapse.

He remarked that the factors for the collapse of the talk were many and complex. Although failure to reach agreement on the Singapore Issues was the main reason; the polarization on the other issues was also very clear, he added. He opined that the Cancun meet was virtually a war between the USA and the EU, on the one hand. and between developed countries and G-21 such as China, Brazil, India; on the other hand. He mentioned that there was no denying that G-21 had emerged as an important counter balance to the economic and political muscles of the USA and the EU but

LDCs had no reason to be delighted, since developing countries would not hesitate to use the poor one's response to achieve their selfish end.

He mentioned that a good number of people who have been watching the global trade negotiation have said that WTO decision making process and the way ministerial organised and run was the underline cause of the Cancun collapse. So it was the time for WTO to change itself that is the lesson came from collapsed Cancun, he added. He also opined that there is no denying that the poor developing countries can only benefit from free and fair multilateral trade. He mentioned that after the collapse of the Cancun Ministerial world would concentrate more on bilateral and regional arrangements. He observed that Bangladesh had the multilateral trade talks and should looked at the agriculture issue more seriously for future talks. It would not possible to take too long time to feel of the things of this reality, he added.

INITIAL STATEMENTS BY THE CHAIRMAN

In his speech the chairman of the dialogue *Mr M Syeduzzaman* remind that the *Doha Round* of WTO talk was explicitly dedicated to help poor countries and that is why it has been also called the *Development Round*. He noted that originally the purpose of Cancun was very modest, to agree on principles for taking the Doha Round negotiations forward. And it was supposed to be a mid core stalk taking of the decisions that were taken in Doha. He argued that though the Doha Round had been supposed to conclude by the 31st of December 2004, after the collapse of the Cancun Ministerial Talks, practically it has become almost difficult to conclude within the proposed date.

“Why did it fail? There are many theories and guesses. The honourable Minister for Commerce and his delegations and the Commerce Secretary was also there, and are better placed to enlighten us better than anyone else,” he remarked. He also pointed out that the general feeling was that the ministerial meeting was declared closed most unexpectedly, when most of the delegations were expecting it to continue. Both side, the rich and the poor were blaming each other for the failure of the talks, he articulated. He mentioned that the developed countries took different positions in two groups of EU, USA and Japan.

The Developing countries organised into a new group as G-21 plus, including India and China, he added. He under scored that the breaking point cited in many statements was tagging the Singapore Issues to the Agricultural issue at the last moment, particularly by the EU to be concluded within the current deadline; that was an impossible task to do. He opted that break down of the talk undoubtedly worsen the economic prospects of developing countries and shift the balance of economic and political power in favour of the rich countries and nobody knows for how long this new divide would continue.

Mr Syeduzzaman further remarked that for Bangladesh the issue was vital for meeting the objective of its PRSP. He pointed out that over the decade Bangladesh's export growth has become of double digit, except for 2001 and 2002. And in 2003 its performance indicates that the slacks of the previous two years had been overcome and it was showing an upward trend. In this situation, “What will be the position after

the Cancun collapse? Our main interest is duty free and quota free access to industrial countries,” he added. He then mentioned that in the present situation the critical questions for Bangladesh were, therefore, “When will the next round start? And in which point?

Shall we wait for the salvage of the Cancun? Or, Shall we explore alternatives, such as bilateral and regional trading arrangements as mentioned by many?” Surprisingly as known by all trade barriers between developing countries were greater than trade barriers between developing and industrial countries, he pointed out. “Finally, how can we strengthen our behind the border efforts to facilitate trade and investment so that poverty can be reduced?” he added. He urged for a guideline from the policy makers and from the political leaders on these matters.

KEYNOTE PRESENTATION BY DR DEBAPRIYA BHATTACHARYA

In the beginning of his presentation of the keynote paper titled “*Cancun WTO Ministerial: An Ex Post Assessment*”, Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya, Executive Director of the *Center for Policy Dialogue* (CPD) mentioned that the dialogue was the first comprehensive assessment done in Dhaka on the whole Cancun process and the outcome.

The Cancun Backdrop

1. Doha Development Round Agenda

Recalling the chairman’s opinion Dr Debapriya mentioned that the development round launched in Doha basically drew essence from Seattle and those were debatable issues; it had linked development issues with trade and tried to bring in a host of issues which were put together in order to give “something for everybody” under a single umbrella. In some ways it was what was called written in creative ambiguity in order to not to get into details, he added.

Dr Bhattacharya mentioned that the Cancun Mandate was basically a stalk taking exercise. It intended to stalk taking of the on going negotiations, which were already in Geneva, starting from Agriculture, TRIPS, GATS and others.

Dr Bhattacharya explained that the negotiation under the Doha Development Round (DDR) was to be carried forward in Geneva under the auspicious of the WTO General Council. Then he mentioned the number of meetings held under various negotiating groups. He noted that the maximum numbers of meetings was on Agriculture followed by the Market Access, which obviously showed where the emphasis had been given in the Geneva Process.

Dr Bhattacharya informed that after Doha and before Cancun numerous proposals and submissions were made in Geneva on market access, agriculture, special and differential (S&D) Treatment, GATS and Singapore issues. There were 107 proposals on agriculture, 28 on market access, 88 on S&D, 3 on GATS and 34 on Singapore issues.

Focusing on the highest number of proposal made for agriculture, he articulated that it highlights the interest of the members on the agriculture issues. And then there was the GATS, request offer issues. He also explained that Singapore Issues was also under very active debate. Pointing on the Singapore issues he mentioned that 34 mean that all were in favour; some were in favour and some were against it.

Dr Bhattacharya underscored that one of the important features of the Doha Round was the missed deadline. He reminded that all most none of the deadlines that were given in Doha was never met in the course of Geneva discussion. Pointing out the missed deadline *Debapriya* mentioned that conversion of S&D measures into mandatory provisions, which was one of the salient point of the Doha Round, never met the deadline of July 31, 2002.

Implementation Issues which play at the heart of the concerns of the Developing Countries and the LDCs could not meet the deadline of December 31, 2002. TRIPS and Public Health also did not meet the deadline of December 31, 2002. The Agriculture modalities which was an open agenda did not meet the deadline of March 31, 2003. The GATS offer-request was never completed within given the deadline of March 31, 2003. Finally, the NAMA modalities could not be agreed upon by May 31, 2003.

Highlighting these missed deadline the keynote presenter said that the above-mentioned process were quite open till the beginning of the Cancun Ministerial.

2. The Cancun Process

Debapriya reminded that in January, 2002 negotiations stopped in Geneva and during 2002-2003 four Mini-Ministerials were held. *Debapriya* mentioned about the four *Mini-Ministerials* which were held in *Sydney, Tokyo, Sharm-el-Shaikh and Montreal*. Four discussed major issues including TRIPS and Public Health, S&D, NAMA, Singapore issues, Services and Implementation issues.

Debapriya articulated that the issues of Agriculture, TRIPS, NAMA were coming back to all discussions again and again, and the issue of *Development* was discussed in a proper way only in Montreal. He reminded that Bangladesh was invited to the last two Ministerials, where the honourable Commerce Minister of the Government of Bangladesh participated.

The keynote presenter articulated that apart form the Mini-Ministerial there was the *Dhaka LDC Ministerial* that took place during May 31 to June 02, 2003 in Dhaka. He also mentioned that the Dhaka LDC Ministerial was preceded by an *International Civil Society Forum* which held on May 29-30, 2003 and was organised by CPD.

The historic *Dhaka Declaration* was adopted during the Dhaka LDC Ministerial Meeting.

Commenting on the Chairman's *First Draft* which was released on July 18, 2003 the keynote presenter articulated that it was skeletal in nature and was very fractured in terms of substance, because that reflected the state of disagreement in Geneva at that

point of time. There were major disagreements, lots of brackets and dots and annexes, he mentioned.

Dr Bhattacharya also mentioned that in the First Draft *Singapore issues* were unbundled and till that time there was a general paragraph for Singapore issues in all declarations.

He mentioned that the legitimacy of the Draft was seriously questioned, because it was circulated at the Chairman's own responsibility. Chairpersons summary was not necessarily the reflection of the views of the majority of the members in many cases; so the legitimacy became an issue.

He informed that Chairman's *Second Draft* came out on August 24, 2003 leaving little time for discussion and reactions before the Cancun meeting. He also stated that improvements on the earlier text were observed, and this time text provided a General Framework which was absent in the First Draft; however targets, timeframes and deadlines were left blank. *Debapriya* informed the participants that there were seven annexes on Agriculture, NAMA, S&D and Singapore Issues.

Commenting on the annexes *Debapriya* mentioned that four Singapore Issues were put as four annexes; and for the first time, S&D, which in some ways was trying to address the concerns of developing countries, was included. But the annexes were full of controversy with square brackets and also a lot of missing points. The text put all controversies in annexes under the "Framework Approach" proposed by the USA.

He explained that the four Singapore annexes revealed the motive of developed countries, that is to achieve something on at least one of the four issues. He mentioned that TRIPS and Public Health were showing Early Harvest. He pointed out that the Second Draft was again circulated under the Chairman's own responsibility. He mentioned that the text "on chair's responsibilities" undermined the motive of developed countries legitimacy and ignored the demand of the member countries as regards transparency and democratisation of the WTO procedures. He added that although there was annex C on S&D but the word "Development" was largely missing from the text, and the text itself did not satisfy most of the people.

According to *Dr Bhattacharya* Geneva could not resolve the contentious issues; it was left open in many cases for the Ministerial to decide; so crucial decisions were left to political level consultations in Cancun." "And the EU-US consensus on Agriculture did not meet the expectations of the Developing Countries," he added.

Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya informed that Negotiations in Cancun were focused on four issues; (i) Agriculture, (ii) NAMA, (iii) Singapore Issues, & (iv) Development Issues.

On Agriculture 'G-21 or G-21 Plus' emerged as a strong group, proposing language and number to the text. But they really could not agreed on subsidy cut formula that was the major point. And Extension of Peace Clause which carries on all the trade distorting matter within the Agriculture from the Pre-Uruguay Round situation. This was very disappointing, *Dr Bhattacharya* told. The debate on NAMA centered around 'formula issue' and the whole issue was on what formula and what approach should

adopted. Progress on Singapore issues became dependent on negotiations on Agriculture, Implementation issues and S&D. And at Cancun, Agriculture issue and Singapore Issue were competing with each other. The cotton issue became a human issue in Cancun.

The Implementation issues never got due attention despite attempts by LDCs and developing countries to discuss it because it was overshadowed by the discussions on agriculture and Singapore issue.

There was a strong interest of the US, the EU, Korea and Japan for inclusion of Singapore issues. *Dr Bhattacharya* pointed out that government Procurement and Trade Facilitation emerged as top priorities among the four Singapore Issues. The keynote presenter reminded that G-21 obviously opposed the Singapore issue and only showed some flexibility towards the end of the Ministerial.

Debapriya mentioned that the emerge of G-21 was the hallmark of the Cancun process, but it was separate of Non Aligned Movement (NAM). He remarked that they were prepared and outspoken but unfortunately they were not always actively supportive to LDC interests. There were lack of sensitivities on the part of developing countries regarding LDCs, because they always thought that LDCs are trying to get something more extra than what they are entitle to *Dr Bhattacharya* added. The speaker explained that interests of the G-21 are well known. These were: (i) elimination of domestic subsidies that benefit corporations over small farmers and leads to global dumping in agriculture and (ii) exclusion of export subsidies and export credit.

3. Cancun Outcome

Commenting on the third draft or second revision *Dr Bhattacharya* told that the third draft which came out on the fourth day of the Cancun Ministerial on September 13, 2003 was a very interesting document because it was a document which was beyond expectations in many ways. It did not really reflect the hard work done during the first three days and some would consider it that the third draft itself for the deliberate step towards break down of the Ministerial. It ignored the demand for explicit consensus on Singapore issues and floated the proposal for immediate negotiations on Transparency in Government Procurement and Trade facilitation; Investment was tagged with Agriculture and NAMA issues. There was no development on the Agriculture Text. The draft on Implementation related issues was a disappointment; the draft simply noted some “progress”, and only instructed relevant bodies to increase their efforts on the issue and to come back in the next Ministerial.

Dr Bhattacharya informed that the proposal of 24 provisions which were there for the early harvest did not have much significant economic value. And other 62 proposals (which were 88 earlier) were on the post Cancun back burner.

Terming Cancun a collapse *Dr. Bhattacharya* referred to a number of reasons for such outcome.

He noted that there was no development in the third draft on Agriculture which was unacceptable to G-21 and LDCs; there was no progress on modalities on NAMA by

that time; cotton issue was gunned down. though cotton issue is some thing which was studied very closely; on Environment, a new article was included in the third draft which allowed international agencies to observe negotiations on para 31 of the Doha Declaration.

Dr Bhattacharya mentioned that though there were some improvements in the LDC Text, LDCs were still frustrated about the lack of treatment on S&D and Implementation Related Issues. *Dr Bhattacharya* remarked, “At the end of the day everybody was unhappy. But some were more unhappy than the others. The G-21 and LDCs were more unhappy as you can understand.”

Debapriya termed Singapore Issues as the a Red Herring. “This is at issue which really distracted the whole focus of the negotiation away from the Agriculture.” he added. However, Agriculture perhaps remained the main reason, *Debapriya* opined. He mentioned that the strategy of developed countries was to divert attention from Agriculture to Singapore Issues. *Bhattacharya* noted that on this ground sincerity about commitment of developed countries as regards to trade liberalisation was questioned. He mentioned that developed countries insisted on developing countries on Non-reciprocity as a principle of Negotiation. *Bhattacharya* opined that there was lack of sincerity regarding the removal of trade distorting measures and export subsidies.

Commenting on whether the outcome of the Cancun was a political gain or a loss the keynote presenter said that the major success of the collapse was that it had refocused people’s attention to the issue concerns of *development* in trade talks. After the Doha Ministerial it was fading out, the Cancun collapse brought back the general global attention to the concerns of development which needs to be integrated into the trade analysis.”

He explained that it is definitely true that the concerted engagement on the part of developing countries and LDCs can really make a difference. Commenting on WTO Decision Making Process the keynote presenter said that the WTO Decision Making Process has been brought into question more fundamentally from very unexpected quarters. Till the other days it was developing countries and LDCs, which were questioning the transparency and inclusiveness of the WTO process. But this time it is developed countries which were questioning the WTO Decision Making Process.

He also reminded the remark of Pascal Lammy who termed WTO as a mediaeval organisation, *Mr Pascal Lammy* also told that with more than hundred and fifty members, it is difficult to get a consensus and to take any decision, and therefore one has to think of different governance & structure of the WTO. *Dr Bhattacharya* remarked that the Decision Making Process of WTO governance is one major issue which will be coming up in the general discussion in the coming days.

Dr Bhattacharya then went on to explain on the outcome of the Cancun Meeting from the LDC perspective. He informed that LDCs were exempted from the new requirement to reduce domestic support. They were exempted from all reduction commitments in Agriculture. Duty free quota free market access was committed, but the ‘shall’ and the ‘should’ were still there within brackets. He explained, “As you may know ‘shall’ makes ‘mandatory’ and ‘should’ makes ‘normative’.” He

mentioned that if one could get the 'shall' than it was a great success; but in the Text it was still open.

On NAMA, the formula was coming too but the number was never put. There was call for autonomous and predictable duty free and quota free market access, but it was urged upon others to expeditiously; it was basically a bilateral call in some way and also asking others which means the non-developed countries could also give such kind of market access. This is a progress for LDCs, *Dr Bhattacharya* opined. On services, special modalities were approved. According to *Dr Bhattacharya* this is a great improvement for LDCs.

Debapriya noted that the progress is that for the first time it was brought into the discussion and that should not be undermined. The ball is in the court of LDCs to identify the sectors in which they have the advantage.

On the issue of Rules of Origin, there was a soft text which talks about the implementation of flexible Rules of Origin; but it doesn't talk about the harmonised universal Rules of Origin issues. The Text on Capacity Building was not encouraging, *Dr Bhattacharya* mentioned.

Pointing on the accession of Nepal and Cambodia into WTO, he emphasized that such accessions of LDCs during the post Uruguay situation is the high point of the LDC achievements. *Dr Bhattacharya* also noted that Paragraphs on LDCs were better than other parts of the text.

However, LDCs were disappointed for a number of reasons which include: (i) call for duty free, quota free market access was delegated to bilateral initiatives, without a time frame (ii) Although Mode-4 was mentioned, lack of clarity in the text made it fall marginal short of expectations and (iii) there was no financial commitment to support LDCs' integration in the global economy.

4. Cancun and Bangladesh

Dr Bhattacharya told that the preparation for Cancun in Bangladesh demonstrated an incremental progress in capacity building.

He mentioned that adequate consultations took place through the WTO Advisory Committee at the Ministry of Commerce; the five Working Groups for specific issues were working efficiently; thematic Task Forces were created on special issues which were also working; there was also an active role of the Civil Society, particularly of CPD, the speaker told.

According to him the homework was basically much better than before which had developed over time. Disagreeing with the opinion of some people that Bangladesh did not get it priorities right, *Dr Bhattacharya* opined that Bangladesh did get her priorities right and there were basically three priorities:

(i) Priority 1: Market Access; (ii) Priority 2: Market Access and (iii) And Priority 3: Market Access.

He clarified his remarks by saying that priority one was market access in Non-Agricultural Products; priority two was market access in services and priority three was Mmarket access in Agriculture. *Dr Bhattacharya* mentioned that this identification of priorities was done at home and was done very rightly.

Debapriya mentioned that Bangladesh was having dilemma wearing the three hats. These were the LDC leader, the National Leader and the Vice Chair of the Cancun Ministerial. So there was a tension among the three roles which had to be played and when.

Commenting on the participation of Bangladesh he said that Bangladesh was very active in the Ministerial out through chairing 3 of 9 sessions and having access to the green room.

He articulated that Bangladesh did not give adequate attention to the Agriculture issue, because it was thought that it is not so important for Bangladesh. But we found that in order to play the role of LDCs the Cotton issue and the Agriculture Issue needed to be adequately addressed.

Dr Bhattacharya observed that Bangladesh was ambivalent on Singapore issue and probably was ready to show some flexibility on this. He also mentioned that Bangladesh had a front role on NAMA and GATS. *Dr Bhattacharya* remarked that the Cancun outcome was *A Victory Without Joy*.

5. Life After Cancun

Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya pointed out that the Cancun perception that WTO has collapsed is not right. He mentioned it as a total lack of understanding about WTO. He mentioned that the Doha Mandate is very much in force. So it is not like that the Cancun has collapsed and there is nothing to do.

However, he mentioned that the major issue would be whether Geneva can progress on issues that political leaders failed to act on?" Geneva process will be led by bureaucrats, and will need mandate from their capitals which is not easy. *Dr Bhattacharya* told that political leaders can take risks in negotiations which is not possible on the part of bureaucrats for obvious reasons.

So it is not clear what will happen to the Cancun Draft, he observed. He also added that a number of issues were now on the table. What will be the starting point for the subsequent Consultation Process in Geneva? What will be the benchmark of the future discussion? Will it start from the mid-day of the 14th of September in Cancun or from 24th of August inn Geneva?

Commenting on the implications of the Cancun outcome for Bangladesh he told that market access to the USA would hardly come to a multilateral process. This is almost an impossible task as it appears after Cancun.

Dr Bhattacharya mentioned that Cancun collapse does not mean that RMG Quota Phase will stop, there should be no illusion about that, he added. He told that Cancun process tells us that we will have to revisit Bilateral Trade Cooperation Strategies, with our neighbours and major trading partners. He also told that amongst the neighbours it obviously relates to India and amongst the global partners it relates to the USA.

Dr Bhattacharya told that during the coming months Bangladesh should reinforce bilateral engagements for market-access; revisit LDC Strategies with a forward-looking approach build up; relationship with G-21 and make strategic alliance on issues; make better use of the breathing space up to December 15, 2004 and prepare a work programme during the next three months.

OPEN DISCUSSION

Following *Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya's* keynote presentation, there was a lively discussion on various aspects of the issue.

Collapse of Cancun

Mr Golam Quader, Honourable Member of the Parliament remarked that as a general public and as a citizen of the country what he understood was that, in Cancun all countries of the world met together to see how countries can derive benefit from each other, and to get the maximum benefit out of this meeting.

He further mentioned that from the excellent deliberation of *Mr Bhattacharya* it was clear that in Cancun LDCs, developing countries, and G21 were together and they wanted to negotiate with developed countries to get some concessions and to get some duty free access, for example quota free access, and ultimately developing countries and LDCs could not get benefits which they wanted to get. So it failed. And this has created a negative impact on our country; many people thought, we have lost many things. He added that now he understood that may be we did not lose much out of this negotiation though it was not much successful.

Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury remarked that many people did not understand why Cancun meeting was over so early. In this context he recalled what *Dr Debapriya* had mentioned that is some people were extending their stay in Cancun, rearranging their flights schedule, and all that all of a sudden around 2:30 in the afternoon Cancun talks collapsed.

Mr S M Al-Husainy, former Secretary, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources said, "We do not rejoice the collapse of Cancun, the gainer would have been LDCs".

Dr Rita Afsar of BIDS opined that the whole Cancun had given another evidence of the existence of LDCs. "And their own interest should be taken forward," she added.

Dr Salma Chaodhuri Zohir of BIDS told that the paper had brought out very clearly that Cancun was not a failure, at least for LDCs. She pointed out three things that came up.

Firstly, the call for duty free access. Quota free and market free access was delegated to bilateral initiatives. This is very important for Bangladesh. Secondly, on the Rules of Origin, WTO members would adopt and implement *Flexible Rules of Origin* for exports from LDCs. Thirdly, text on effective capacity building and technical assistance under integrated framework. We have to take it very seriously.

Commenting on the situation after the Cancun failure, *Mr Abul Hasan Chowdhury*, former State Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned that there could be 3 possibilities in this context:

(i) An option for dumping WTO, which is not possible (ii) Embracing the WTO, whatever it prescribes, should be accepted (iii) Plead and petition for our bargain, but that is out of question. He also mentioned that we have to build up the capacity within us and within the region. He mentioned that though we were talking about the movement of the natural persons we had not been able to address this issue within our region, within SAARC countries.

He told in this regard that we certainly have to deal bilaterally. He mentioned that the GSP, the Multifibre Arrangement was going to come into effect. He noted that whatever input was required in Washington, delegation was going from Bangladesh. And he wished that a delegation was able to deal with USTR.

Mr Abul Hasan Chowdhury emphasised the need for strong link and liaison between between Dhaka and Geneva. He made optimistic note saying that the Europe today is not what it was 50 years back, so we need to build capacity on the core issue of Cancun and for strong bargaining position.

Commenting on the aftermath of Cancun *Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury* remarked, it was generally recognised that there was a big setback. How to proceed with the Doha Development Agenda? He opined that it was clear that developing countries showed their interest on Singapore Issues and it was adequately taken care of. He also mentioned that it was apparent that development related issues such as cotton subsidy, substantial reduction of domestic support in Agriculture, Special & Differential Treatment (S&DT) were not addressed adequately in the current negotiation.

He remarked that the General Council Meeting in Geneva by December 15, 2003 would have to prioritise agenda for LDCs in order to forward movement, and there was also a need for political commitment from all concerns.

Strategy after Cancun

Mr Golam Quader, Honourable Member of the Parliament mentioned that from *Dr Bhattacharya's* deliberation he understood that there was a need to reinforce bilateral engagement for market access which meant more bilateral agreements or bilateral efforts. *Mr Quader* mentioned that there is a need to revisit LDC strategy with the forward looking approach.

As a citizen of the country he wanted to know from the Minister the following matters:

What government should do now? What is the strategy of government, in view of the Cancun failure? What was our expectation we did not reach? And to overcome that what else is the government doing now?

Market Access & Free Trade Agreement (FTA)

Ambassador *Farooque Sobhan* agreed with the general thrust of the paper and focused that we should certainly give special attention to the whole issue of market access in the context of our big neighbour India. He equally stressed for other Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with other neighbours. In this respect he said, “I think we can benefit from the example of the Indo-SriLankan Free Trade Agreement and Free Trade Agreement between Nepal and India.”

Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury, Commerce Secretary of the Government of Bangladesh articulated that the three *market access issues* identified by *Dr Debapriya* were really the *core issues* on which Bangladesh delegation worked hard during the Ministerial, roughly for three and a half days.

Duty free access of RMG

Urging the duty free access for RMG *Dr Salma Chaodhuri Zohir* of BIDS articulated that for duty free access of RMG there should be a national consensus because it is not only a problem of the entrepreneur, it is a national problem.

Commenting on how to get *duty free access to USA*, she mentioned that the role of the donors were also important. The country was going to have not only employment loss, but also a balance of payment crisis. She mentioned that the World Bank and IMF have to come in at one point of time.

Capacity Building

Mr Hasanur Rahman from Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DCCI) remarked, “Perhaps *Dr Bhattacharya* has rightly pointed out that we trying for market access. But perhaps he would also agree with me that *capacity building* is a must.” In this context he wanted to know what were the major aspects of core capacity building.

Ambassador *Farooque Sobhan* remarked that capacity building was a critical issue in the context of problems faced by us such as anti-dumping.

He emphasized that we have to develop expertise on the Singapore Issues since sooner or later these would be put up on the table. He opined that we must develop some in-house expertise on the Singapore Issues.

Mr Anisur Rahman Sinha, former President of BGMEA mentioned that *Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya* had given a very good analysis of the post Cancun position, about the international forum of our foreign policy and also what we need to do.

He added that being an LDC the position of Bangladesh was not too strong; we are too dependent on the mightiest countries. So if post Cancun comes, how we need to prepare ourselves in the home front is also very important, he added.

He opined that one of our post Cancun positions should be to develop our own capacity.

He also articulated that to employ our people, we have to be competitive in the world market, we have to improve our infrastructure facilities, we have to see that our products are competitive in terms of quality.

Private Public Collaboration

Mr Farooque Sobhan suggested that given the multiplicity of issues private public collaboration was important. He also suggested a division of work can be made among Bangladesh Foreign Trade Institute, Centre for Policy Dialogue and Bangladesh Enterprise Institute.

Bilateral Trade

Many participants urged for bilateral trade since multilateral trade since become tough after the collapse of Cancun. With regard to trade with India *Mr S M Al-Husain*, Former Secretary, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources told that we would have to find out the appropriate strategy.

In this context *Mr Golam Quader*, Honourable Member of the Parliament remarked that today our main business partner is India and we are not having good business relation; we are having a big trade deficit with India. In this context he wanted to know what government is doing to compensate for the excess deficit and to make better trade with our neighbours and other countries.

Rules of Origin

Commenting on the rules of origin *Dr Salma Chaodhuri Zohir* of BIDS told that we have to get a relaxed rules of origin from the EU for the woven sector. She reminded that we had done great things to get relaxed rules of origin for the Knitwear, and that it could be a lesson for us.

Migration under Mode 4 of GATS

Dr Rita Afser, BIDS stressed on the migration under mode 4 of GATS and pointed out that most of the G-21 and LDCs are sending labourers to other countries, so we need to have both bilateral and regional negotiations as labour-sending countries. She pointed out that Bangladesh is increasingly becoming dependent on remittances and that every year 200 thousand people are migrating from Bangladesh which is solving our unemployment problems concentrating to our development budget and the trade deficit. So we have to bring the issue of migration under trade agreement. In this context she articulated that there should be collaboration with the migration stakeholders and the Ministry of Commerce, and we should come into bilateral and multilateral agreements with the region and with the other countries.

In response to *Dr Bhattacharya's* comment *Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury* informed that there has to be a distinction between immigration issue and the Movement of

Natural Persons (MNP). Explaining that MNP is totally different thing he told that we have to be careful of not getting mixed up with these two issues.

Product Specific Discussion on Agriculture

Ms Nilufer Begum of the Ministry of Agriculture remarked that she understands that Agriculture was widely discussed in Cancun. She wanted to know whether there was any specific discussion on any product that covered rice, wheat, potato, pulses, oil seeds, crops, foods, vegetables etc, and if so, she was interested to know how the negotiation was conducted? According to her we should have product specific negotiation in Agriculture.

Cotton Issue

Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury, Commerce Secretary of the Government of Bangladesh pointed out that for African LDCs Cotton issue was important. In the Dhaka Declaration it was decided to plead for elimination of subsidy of cotton by developed countries. But in Cancun it was neither supported nor accepted by developed countries. He mentioned that for the first three days in Cancun it was assumed that the Cotton issue would get broad support as a human issue; but due to stop opposition from some developed countries it did not happen.

Strategy that had been Adopted for the Cancun Ministerial

Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury mentioned that Bangladesh had taken Dhaka Declaration as the basis for its negotiation. He added that since the agenda of LDCs, the ACP and African Union Countries were also similar, Bangladesh had associated itself with those countries. Moreover, a good number of LDCs belong to those regions.

LDCs Participation in the Ministerial Conference and their Demand

Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury mentioned that as a leader of LDCs Bangladesh had a significant role to play. He told that LDCs did not intervene in all the areas of discussion but only on the issues of specific interests to LDCs, as elaborated in the Dhaka Declaration. He pointed out that LDCs demand mainly focused on: (i) duty free and quota free market access; (ii) free access to temporary movement of natural persons under Mode 4 of GATS; (iii) flexibility in undertaking commitment; (iv) technical assistance for supporting diversification of production and export bases and trade related capacity building (TRCB); (v) resolving all S&DT issues, addressing the cotton subsidy for some LDCs, especially for African LDCs and (vi) non-negotiation on Singapore issues.

Achievements of LDCs and Bangladesh

Mr Suhel Ahmed Chowdhury highlighted the achievements of LDCs before the collapse of the Cancun Ministerial. He remarked that there is no denying the fact that in negotiations, particularly in the sensitive areas under the WTO, no nation or group can expect to achieve 100 percent success. He mentioned that Bangladesh being the coordinator of LDCs achieved considerable success during the negotiations before it

finally collapsed. He unveiled that two major demands of LDCs, that were finally included in the second revision of the Cancun Ministerial Text are:

- (i) the duty free and quota free market access for the products originating from LDCs,
- and (ii) temporary movement of less skilled persons under Mode 4.

The Commerce Secretary articulated that it has been stated in the para 26 of the Draft Cancun Text that WTO members acknowledge the seriousness of the concerns of LDCs as expressed in the Dhaka Declaration. He cited this as an undoubtedly tremendous achievement.

He opined that since the Cancun Ministerial is basically a mid-term review and we have the opportunity to continue discussion to get our things done. He added that at this moment the major achievement for us is the image building. The Commerce Minister of Bangladesh was one of the three Vice Chairmen of the Cancun Ministerial Conference. Bangladesh presided over 3 plenary sessions out of 9 including the concluding session. In the Cancun Ministerial Bangladesh was invited to attend every meeting, starting from the plenary, the final discussion and the green room to group meetings. It is expected that even in future WTO will not take any decision on any matter keeping us in the dark, he commented.

REMARKS BY THE SPECIAL GUEST

In the very beginning of his speech *Mr Tofael Ahmed*, the Special Guest of the Dialogue mentioned that he was very much fortunate to get the opportunity to attend three Ministerials when he was the Minister of Commerce and Industries during the last government. He mentioned that these three Ministerials were Singapore, Geneva and the Seattle. And throughout his speech he shared his experiences that he gathered during these Ministerials.

He mentioned that Bangladesh played very important role in the First Ministerial Conference which was held in Singapore. He told that at that time 22 members delegation was accompanied with him and most of them were business leaders. He informed that neither the media nor the people of this country, were aware of WTO issue because the WTO came into 1st January 1995, after the completion of the Uruguay Round Agreements.

People were unaware of the implication of liberalisation and globalisation process. He opined that the fruits of such process have not always been favourable for LDCs and they could not benefit from the Uruguay Round Agreement as much as they should have. Developed countries have dominated on this front.

He noted that in the Uruguay Round Agreement there was a provision known as S&DT allows LDCs to take compensatory measures. This idea was on the table at the first ministerial conference in Singapore.

Mr Tofael further mentioned that during the Core Committee Meeting or the Green Room Meeting of the Geneva minister conference when he proposed the issue of market access he was opposed by the rich and powerful countries.

He also mentioned LDCs were united at that time and LDCs had several parallel meetings when the core Committee Meeting was going on. *Mr Tofael* mentioned that he was only member from LDCs who attended the core Committee Meeting and spoke about market access for LDCs. Then the meeting was postponed for 15 minutes. They made negotiation with him and it was decided that in Para 14 of 23-point declaration, duty free quota free market access would be given on an autonomous basis to LDCs.

Then there would be high level meeting in 1997 in Geneva, where the comprehensive plan of action would be taken in favour of LDCs. For the first time Para 14 of the Ministerial Declaration included duty free quota free market access on the basis of S&D provision. However when the duty free quota free market access was accepted developed countries were busy with other issues like Singapore issues.

And there were another points, too, such as the labour standard and environment It was decided that in the ILO is the competent body to deal with labour standard which is mentioned in the para 4 of the declaration. *Mr Tofael* remarked that according to his perception Singapore Ministerial Conference was the most successful ministerial conference.

The former Minister of Commerce and Industry noted that the second ministerial conference in Geneva was not an actual ministerial conference; it was the observance of GATT anniversary where many eminent world leaders were present.

He remarked that after his return from the third Ministerial Conference in Seattle that he realised that developed countries will never help poor countries. He, of course conveys his gratitude to the EU, because of its support towards the proposal of market access made by him at that time. *Mr Tofael* further mentioned that this time he is not a minister and he saw in the newspapers that there were negotiations with the USA and the EU who are united on Agriculture issue.

He mentioned that after the collapse of Cancun many people took it as victory for the African and LDCs. But we did not think that it was a victory. Because we are getting market access in many countries bilaterally. The USA says it is difficult on their part to give market access since it is related to their domestic producers. On the other hand, they are now talking about new issues like EPZs, Trade Union and GSP. He mentioned that we have treaty with the USA that if their soldiers are arrested in Bangladesh we cannot go for trail.

He further mentioned that we are going to make another agreement on investment protection which was being discussed when he was the Industry Minister. He told that though we may give every thing but it is very difficult for us to get market access in the US market. Talking about the market access in India he informed that when he was the Commerce Minister he put forward 192 items under 25 categories for giving us duty free market access. He mentioned that even though the Prime Minister of India declared during his visit to Bangladesh that on principle India agreed with that but sadly it has still not been implemented as yet. He pointed out that nobody wants to give benefit to us; every body wants to take benefits from us. Benefits of measures

such as liberalisation, the globalisation and the reduction of our duty from 350 percent to 32.5 per cent were taken by India.

He also remarked that in the beginning of 1990s we did not have any compulsion; because WTO did not exist at that time. But due to the pressure from the IMF and the World Bank we had to reduce duty and Bangladesh became a big market of India. Finally *Mr Tofael Ahmed* expressed his hope that our Honourable Commerce Minister will be able to negotiate successfully to get market access in India and USA.

Remarks by the Chief Guest

Reminding the comment of *Mr Syduzzaman* the chairperson of the dialogue, Honourable Minister of Commerce *Mr Amir Khosru Mahmud*, Chief Guest of the dialogue remarked that perhaps Cancun is the best sea resort in the world, but they were totally confined within four walls of the Conference Room, so they did not get the scope to enjoy this beauty. He mentioned that they used to start sometime 7 in the morning and most of the days they had two or three hours left to sleep.

Mr Khosru remarked that wearing the three hats was not an easy situation – it was interesting and undoubtedly was a big exposure. He felt very honoured to be of only eight members who were in the decision making group. *Mr Khosru* pointed out that the First Text that came out was very skeletal, so they rejected it, and wrote to all LDC Ministers saying that it cannot be accepted without the changes. Then the Second Text came on 24th of August which have some improvement of course, and that had market access in bracket again. He also added that it had Mode 4, movement of natural persons in bracket again.

He also remarked that even when it had all the *S&D* and other things that we are talking about we are still not happy, because it was again at the responsibility of the Chairman. And it was left to the Ministerial, the political masters to decide at Cancun. So everybody went to Cancun was perhaps looking at the Ministers' political decisions more than anything else.

About Bangladesh's concern *Mr Khosru* remarked market access was the main concern of Bangladesh as said by *Mr Debpriya* and *Mr Tofael*. Therefore the Dhaka Declaration incorporated market access as the number one agenda for Bangladesh. We have been able to get it in the Text for the first time that all LDCs will have duty free quota free market access, and the only thing that was left for the Green Room was "shall" or "should". He also told that the mood in Cancun, in Green Room, Yellow Room was very much favourable to LDCs.

There were objections from certain countries; so it was very much left for between shall and should. The way came in the Text was a great achievement for LDCs on Agriculture. He pointed out that on Non-Agriculture again for the first time there was the deadline in bracket. So it was left in the Green Room And that was also a strategic point to save it for the Green Room for the bracket. Commenting on Mode 4 of GATS on the Movement of Natural Persons Mode 4, *Mr Khosru* said it was an important issue for Bangladesh and it was the second point of Dhaka Declaration. He also mentioned that it was not a very much important issue for Africans. But in Dhaka

Declaration we managed to trade off with the African leaders with the cotton issue. He also pointed out that in the Second Text MNP came in the bracket which means no consensus.

Mr Khosru noted that there was a Third Text that emerged at Cancun. And in the Third Text we managed to get rid of all the brackets. In other words things were recognised as a framework of modalities for negotiations of mode 4; MNP was there for the first time which was a great success, the Minister told. He said that he did not think that Africans were the winners. He claimed that we are the winners, because what we have been able to achieve in the text is not going away, it would be used as point of reference in future negotiations. So we came home as winner not the Africans.

He highlighted on what happened in the Green Room during the Ministerial talks. He mentioned that it was thought by the bureau of eight ministers that Agriculture was the 'mission impossible'. So Singapore issues came up. And after long discussion two sides were divided and positions were entrenched. The EU was very enthusiastic to start discussion on Singapore issues. And three or four hours before the closing ceremony there was tremendous amount of discussion in the Green Room on Singapore issues. Eventually when the talk was about to break down, *Pascal Lammy* took few minutes off to talk to his ministers and came back with the proposal of dropping two issues from Singapore issue i.e., competition policy and investment policies.

Then as the coordinator of LDCs *Mr Khosru* took an hour from the Green Room and discussed about the situation with members of LDCs, African Union and ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) which was 90 plus out of 146 members of the WTO, and asked for their opinions. There were five speeches from the Ministers, and they all gave their opinions in favour of not building any consensus on Singapore issue.

Then *Mr Khosru* went back and relayed the message from his group; that is no to Singapore issues. He informed that after that the Korean Minister took the floor and blamed *Mr Pascal Lammy* for dropping the investment and competition policy. He also mentioned that when the EU announced this, the USA opposed to it. They wanted all the four issues. He noted that by then it was all over, and very suddenly and unexpectedly *Mr Derbez*, Chairman of the session declared the session closed. So there was no agreement at Cancun. *Mr Khosru* told that if there had been an agreement, we could have come away with big achievement for Bangladesh and LDCs. But he was optimistic to say that it remains in the text and it is going to be the reference for future negotiations. He mentioned that LDCs' market access and MNP are very much there. LDCs have been very much recognised in Cancun on all issues. It was also image building for Bangladesh, he added.

On cotton issue *Mr Khosru* remarked that he did not want to say much about cotton issue, because this is another reason for frustration. He mentioned that the mood of the house was very bad because the cotton issue was taken as a human issue like TRIPS and Public Health, and not as an economic issue. So it triggered lots of unhappiness, lots of discomfort in the house, and that did not help to move forward.

Commenting on the future of the WTO *Mr Khosru* told that some people wonder whether WTO is going to be just a dispute settlement agency in future Or a negotiating center. He said that he very much believes that WTO will remain useful for everyone. He added that WTO negotiation is going to continue, and we have to be ready for the next round of negotiations.

Mr Khosru mentioned that the Ministry of Commerce has done some capacity building during the last two years. He also thanked CPD for recognising capacity building. And this is for the first time government and the private sector working together in this area. For the first time Bangladesh has set up a Bangladesh Foreign Trade Institute (BFTI), where private sector has 50 percent equity and the rest 50 percent is from the government. It is running independently of the Ministry. And this is the think tank that going to work to give input to the government and to the private sector. The research work to be done at this institute will be disseminated through the training programme to the businessmen, to the staffs, to the government employees, and to Bangladeshis who are going to get appointment in our foreign missions. He mentioned that now there are five commercial councilors who were appointed.

He further added that they would all be going to BFTI; they are going to have their training on the specific country where they are going to work and on the global trade issues. So from the first day they have to perform. Every two months their performance will be evaluated, and if they do not perform they will have to come back home. They will not be able to finish their term unless they can perform. He told that in terms of capacity building a lot have been done on WTO and on international trade.

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY THE CHAIRPERSON

In his concluding remarks *Mr Syeduzzaman*, the Chairperson of the dialogue and the honourable member of the Board of Trustee of CPD mentioned that it is probably correct to say that the Cancun collapse is a wake up call for developing countries, especially for Bangladesh. Referring to our increasing dependence on trade and increase in export, *Mr Syeduzzaman* emphasised that we have to proceed on two fronts:(i) strengthen our bilateral and regional efforts for promoting our exports, and (ii) strengthen our efforts as rightly mentioned by *Mr Sinha*, Former Chaiman of BGMEA. He referred to recent statements of the outgoing UK High Commissioner and the new US Ambassador on these issues. The World Bank country director in the recent meeting with MCCI also referred to the same issue, he added. He opined that if we are committed to the goals of the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP) we have to be earnest in these two areas.

At the same time we have to remain aware of two new emerging issues, which were not so much highlighted in the discussion, he added. These are :(i) many developing poor countries are worried about China and (ii) the USA with its growing trade deficits, is misleading its commitment to free trade. He emphasised that these are the emerging risks for developing countries, and hoped that our policy makers would remain conscious of these issues. Finally, *Mr Syeduzzaman* thanked all the participants for their important contributions to the dialogue.

List of Participants
(in alphabetical order)

<i>Dr Rita Afsar</i>	Research Fellow, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
<i>Mr Tofail Ahmed</i>	Former Minister, Ministry of Industries
<i>Mr Nasimul Ahsan</i>	Advocacy Chief, INCIDIN Bangladesh
<i>Ms Shirin Akhter</i>	President, Kormojibi Nari
<i>Dr Rajani Alexander</i>	First Secretary (Development), Canadian High Commission
<i>Mr M Liaquat Ali</i>	Director, (Physics), Bangladesh Standards and Testing Institution
<i>Dr Anisuzzaman</i>	Member, CPD Board of Trustees and Professor, Department of Bangla, University of Dhaka
<i>Ms Ferdous Ara</i>	Secretary , DCCI
<i>Ms Nilufar Begum</i>	Deputy Chief (PPB), Ministry of Agriculture
<i>Dr Irina Bhattacharya</i>	
<i>Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya</i>	Executive Director, CPD
<i>Alhajj Md Karim Uddin Bhorosha,MP</i>	Member, Parliamentary Standing Committee Ministry of Commerce
<i>Mr Suhel Ahmed Choudhury</i>	Secretary, Ministry of Commerce
<i>Mr Amir Khosru Mahmud Chowdhury, MP</i>	Minister for Commerce, Government of Bangladesh
<i>Mr Aminul Bari Chowdhury</i>	PS to Hon'ble Minister for Commerce, Government of Bangladesh
<i>Dr Zafrullah Chowdhury</i>	President, Consumers Association of Bangladesh (CAB)
<i>Mr Abul Hasan Chowdhury</i>	Former State Minister for Foreign Affairs
<i>Mr Hasanur Rahman Chowdhury</i>	Deputy Secretary, DCCI & Country Network Facilitator
<i>Mr G Cohlle</i>	Embassy of the Republic of Italy
<i>Dr Uttam Kumar Deb</i>	Research Fellow, CPD
<i>Ms Janet Donnelly</i>	First Secretary, Development Assistance, Australian High Commission
<i>Mr Syed Manzur Elahi</i>	Member, CPD Board of Trustees, Chairman, APEX

	Group of Industries
<i>Ms Elora Ferdous</i>	Campaign Facilitator , Oxfam
<i>Md Abdul Halim</i>	South Asia Enterprise Development Facility (SEDF)
<i>Mr Tom B Hansen</i>	Minister (Counsellor), Royal Danish Embassy
<i>Mr Q K M Nashirul Haq</i>	Member Directing Staff, Bangladesh Public Administration
<i>Dr Dil Afroz Haque</i>	Deputy Secretary & Deputy Chief in Charge , Ministry of Labour and Employment
<i>Md Aslam Hossain</i>	APS to the Hon'ble Minister for Commerce
<i>Dr Zahid Hossain</i>	Senior Economist, ADB
<i>Md Khalid Hossain</i>	Research Officer, Bangladesh Tariff Commission
<i>Mr S M Al- Husainy</i>	Former Secretary, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Government of Bangladesh
<i>Mr Imtiyaz Hussain</i>	Chairman, Imtiyaz Hussain & Co
<i>Dr Iftekharuzzaman</i>	Executive Director, Bangladesh Freedom Foundation
<i>Professor Tajul Islam</i>	Department of Economics, Jahangirnagar University
<i>Mr Khan Jahirul Islam</i>	Student, Department of Economics, Shahjalal University
<i>Ms Laila Rahman Kabir</i>	Member, CPD Board of Trustees
<i>Ms Rokeya Kabir</i>	Executive Director, Bangladesh Nari Progoti Sangstha
<i>H E Mr Esko Kentrschynskyj</i>	Ambassador, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission
<i>Dr M Fouzul Kabir Khan</i>	Executive Director and CEO, Infrastructure Development Co. Ltd (IDCOL)
<i>Dr Omar Farooq Khan</i>	Senior Development Advisor, CIDA
<i>Mr Md Aziz Khan</i>	Chairman, Summit Group of Companies
<i>Dr Mostafa Abid Khan</i>	Deputy Chief, Bangladesh Tariff Commission
<i>Mr Kazi Amir Khosru</i>	Deputy Secretary (Policy), Ministry of Textile, Government of Bangladesh
<i>Ms Fabienne Drout Lozinski</i>	Deputy Head of Mission, French Embassy
<i>Mr Amir Humayun Chowdhury Mahmud</i>	President, Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and Industry
<i>Mr M A Mannan</i>	Executive Director, Credit and Development Forum
<i>Ms Anne Marchal</i>	Second Secretary, European Commission
<i>Ms Nasreen Awal Minto</i>	President, Women Entrepreneurs' Association of

	Bangladesh
<i>Ms Asma Parvin</i>	Programme Administrator, Oxfam
<i>Mr G M Quader</i>	Member of Parliament
<i>Professor Mustafizur Rahman</i>	Research Director , CPD
<i>Dr Ananya Raihan</i>	Research Fellow, CPD
<i>Ms Luna Shamsuddoha</i>	Chairman, Dohatech
<i>Ms Selina Shelley</i>	Programme Representative, Oxfam
<i>Mr Rafiqul hasan Siddique</i>	Research Officer, Bangladesh Tariff Commission
<i>Mr Anisur Rahman Sinha</i>	Former President BGMEA & Chairman, Opex Group
<i>Mr Farooq Sobhan</i>	Former Foreign Secretary and President
<i>Mr M Syeduzzaman</i>	Member, CPD Board of Trustees & Chairman, Bank Asia
<i>Dr Md Rahmat Ullah</i>	Lecturer, Department of Law, University of Dhaka
<i>Mr Martin Vender Wijch</i>	Manager, Centre for Expertise and Regulation, Katalyst
<i>Ms Yumiko Yamakawa</i>	Economic Researcher, Embassy of Japan
<i>Mr Shamsul Haque Zahid</i>	President, Bangladesh Economic Reporter's Forum
<i>Dr Salma Chaodhuri Zohir</i>	Research Fellow, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies

Annexure B

List of Journalists
(in alphabetical order)

<i>Mr Syed Zahirul Abedin</i>	The New Nation
<i>Mr Khalid Ahmed</i>	UNB
<i>Mr Bashir Ahmed</i>	The Sangbad
<i>Mr Monzur Ahmed</i>	The Prothom Alo
<i>Mr M Shafiqul Alam</i>	The Financial Express
<i>Mr Naimul Haq</i>	The Daily Star
<i>Mr Tariqul Islam</i>	Channel I
<i>Mr Sayed Islam</i>	The Daily Ittefaq
<i>Mr Aminur Rashid</i>	International Television Channel Ltd. (NTV)
<i>Ms Sharmin Rinvy</i>	Channel I
<i>Mr Billal Hossain Sagor</i>	Radio Bangladesh