

WORKSHOP SESSION

NAFTA and GATT—What do they mean for Florida Agriculture?

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It's good to be back in Florida with so many dear friends, even for such a short visit. One of my responsibilities in 1972 as a fieldman for Florida Citrus Mutual, was to attend and participate in this Society's annual meeting. The late Cecil Hull, a citrus grower from Clermont and fellow co-worker at Mutual, encouraged me to join the Florida State Horticultural Society. I found the proceedings very valuable to me personally and professionally.

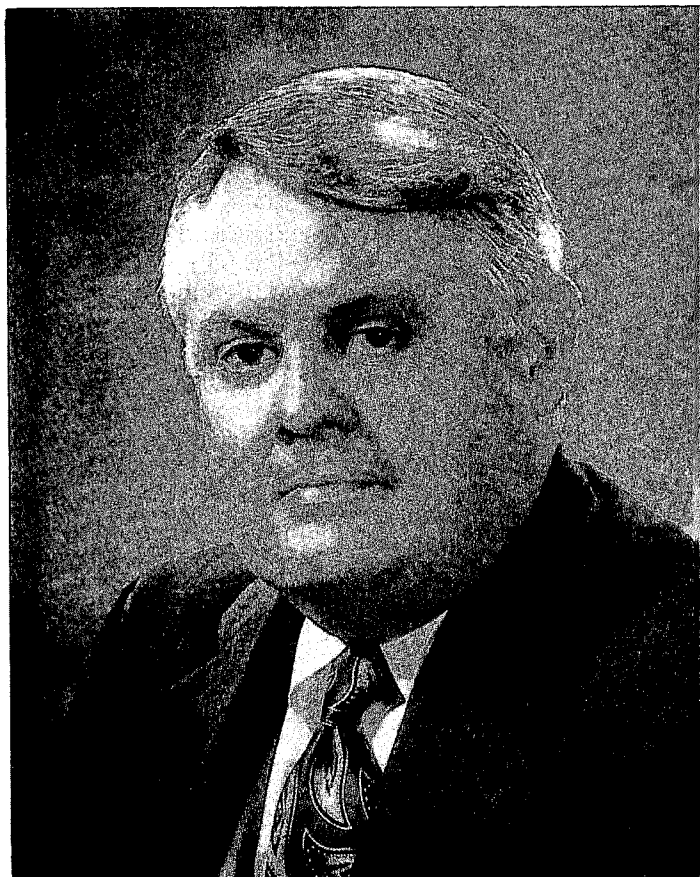
A Little History

The first annual meeting I attended, was held 20 years ago, as many of you may remember, in Miami. It was, like now, a presidential election year. Richard Nixon was re-elected President, and later his administration began to plan for the last major, successful GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade) negotiation, called the Tokyo Round; agriculture was not included in the resulting trade agreement. Four years later, during President Jimmy Carter's administration, there was a lot of discussion about trade normalization with Cuba. Some of the members of this Society took a trip to Cuba with then Congressman Richard Kelly to look at agricultural conditions. Here we are years later, still discussing the probability of trade with Cuba. We are engaged in trade negotiations with Mexico & Canada, and are still working on the six year old GATT Uruguay Round. We have seen some markets open to us, especially Japan for citrus. We continue to compete in many others. Most Florida agricultural commodities would face stiff unfair competition, if there were not provisions in trade law and regulation which endeavor to seek a level playing field for Florida producers.

Several months ago when Michael Irely, your Sectional Vice President for Citrus asked me to speak on the trade talks, I believed then that by now, the talks would have reached a conclusion, and we would be considering them in the US Congress. But that is not the case.

Fritz Stein, who was president of the Florida Sugar Cane League from 1984 to 1986, spent many hours working on industry issues and discussing plans for the future. On one such occasion we discussed international trade, and agreed that while the cane and beet farmers of the US had been successful in Farm Bill legislation, our next big challenge would be to keep a strong sugar farming enterprise in the face of trade liberalization. Our industry is now in the "end-game" on trade talks that could fundamentally change the way we farm in the United States. The same is true for all Florida products. How did we get in this predicament?

Let's step back for a moment and take a look at what's happening in the world. If we can pull ourselves from the fight briefly, perhaps we can see the theme of trade liberalization or the driving force behind it. One of my Washington colleagues, Luther Markwart, EVP, American



DALTON YANCEY

Sugarbeet Growers, and one of our industry's "aces" on trade issues, points out four themes or driving forces behind President Bush's desire for trade liberalization, they are:

1. *World Peace.* For the first time in many years, the world is at relative "peace". The two super powers, ready to blow each other to pieces for the last 50 years are at rest, or at least, pursuing other matters. The USA doesn't seem to have the stomach for war, nor the pocketbook to fund one. So, how do you maintain peace? Maybe we can tie the world together in trade where all depend on each other for economic reasons with jobs and economic opportunity.

2. *Immigration.* When the Berlin wall tumbled down, the first thing to happen was a flood of immigrants into Western Europe. Eastern Europeans have frustrated Prime Minister Kohl's unification of Germany. Russian Jews are immigrating in large numbers to Israel. Haitian citizens are picked up daily in our Gulf, only to be shipped back or be warehoused in Guantanamo Bay. Mexicans wade across the shallow waters of the Rio Grande each night. How do you keep people at home? By jobs and economic opportunity!

3. *New Market Oriented States.* The Establishment of Market Oriented States in Third World and Developing Countries has changed the way we look at things. Dictatorships

have fallen; controlled economies have failed. How do you keep the new democracies healthy? By jobs and economic opportunity.

4. *The Twin Giants of Budget and Trade Deficits.* The financial centers told the Bush Administration that these two deficits must be controlled if the financial system is to remain viable. How to? By economic growth with jobs and economic opportunity.

Now this all sounds great doesn't it? But, there's one big problem. . . . how do you keep your job, your farm, your factory, or your business when others are either trying to trade them or take them away? VERY CAREFULLY!

The problem with trade talks in the last couple of years in the USA, is they have had a driving force of their own—Presidential and Congressional Elections. The rush to get a deal to be used as political cannon fodder, may have resulted in a "deal for the deal's sake".

Most of us in this room have purchased a car in the last few years. One thing we all learned at the very beginning was bargaining for the new car. If we were in a hurry, we usually made a bad deal, but if we took our time and checked around and held out, we got a better deal!

Trade negotiations are no different. We as a nation were in a hurry, pressed by the November election. We hurried and made a deal; we as a nation and, more precisely, as Florida agriculture producers, may lose.

The right issue for trade negotiators is how do we maintain our economic base in the US while helping other nations to have economic growth. We must negotiate with our interests in mind, or we risk losing basic industries, and the jobs and economic prosperity which accompany them. We cannot negotiate in a hurry or in a vacuum shrouded in secrecy.

The British magazine, "The Economist", noted last year that "trade talks are held in secret, by international specialists. Most outsiders know very little of what they do, many who try to have an impact on negotiations, fail."

Florida's sugar farmers though, *have* made an impact. We made our first solid impact when, at the start of the Uruguay Round of this negotiation of the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade, we told the Secretary of Agriculture that we would gladly give up the sugar program if the rest of the world would also! Our studies strongly illustrate that our price here in the USA would be higher than current prices, and should trade in the 21-23 cents per pound area. (Raw Value, Caribbean ports)

We geared up soon after that meeting almost 6 years ago and have been aggressively following and contributing to the trade talks. Our group of Washington Representatives has learned a new "game". We have retained a trade consultant, Tom Kay, who is the former Director of the Foreign Agriculture Service, USDA. Mr. Kay has been a valuable asset to US sugar farmers. We have made an impact on the negotiations and the trade specialists are listening to us; we have alerted Members of Congress and they are speaking out on this issue, but it's not over.

Well, what's the situation today, what are the prospects, and what must we do?

GATT Situation

On the GATT. While most observers believe there will be an agreement at some point, the current negotiations continue to be stalled; they are already nearly two years

behind schedule. The Europeans and many other countries are not as "time" oriented as we Americans; they also don't want to give up much. There are three factors impacting the current situation of the Uruguay Round.

1. *The "so-called" CAP Reform.* Although the EC has widely promoted what they call a 29% reduction over the next three years, a study of their reform tells a different story. While they do call for hectare set-asides, there is a monetary payment added to farm income which nets the EC farmer support where he started! His farm income stays the same. Add to this very little impact on dairy and beef and no change in sugar, wine, and tree fruits & nuts, all of which are heavily subsidized. So far the US isn't buying this "reform".

2. *The US/EC Oilseed Dispute.* The US soybean farmers are irate that this case never received the attention it merited. EC oilseeds are subsidized three to four times higher than the US. And while the US has threatened retaliation and the EC has offered meager compensation, nothing has happened and little is expected. In the quest for a deal, each US offer became weaker. US oilseed farmers thought they had the ear of the White House, and while the Administration was reluctant to move, they had to know that a bad deal on oilseeds would ultimately hurt them politically.

3. *The Maastricht Treaty.* The Maastricht Treaty is poised to unite Europe with common currency and a stronger central government. When Denmark disapproved the treaty in June, it sent the EC "Eurocrats" in a tailspin. Later the close vote in France threatened President Mitterand's regime. Up to now, the Maastricht Treaty has been approved by referendum in Ireland, a close vote in France, while Denmark rejected it narrowly. Parliamentary approval is expected of other EC states, but the Treaty faces strong opposition from the conservatives in the United Kingdom. It is unknown at this time how Denmark will treat a second referendum on the Treaty. In order to go into effect, the Maastricht Treaty must be approved by all 12 member states of the EC.

NAFTA Situation

Concerning NAFTA, the US had wanted an agreement by June 12th, but missed that date. The negotiators then focused on July 15th with the idea of that being the last date to notify Congress for the "Fast Track" procedure. But, as we all know, President Bush "notified" Congress on July 17, 1992, just before the Republican Convention in Houston, that the NAFTA was complete. It was not. Many issues remained unresolved and although there was a "ceremonial signing" in San Antonio, last October, the agreement remains unsigned and cannot be signed until at least the 18th of this December 1992. Most observers think there will be an agreement eventually.

Mexico sees a once-in-an-era window of opportunity in the NAFTA. Their negotiators have been more aggressive and did a better job than US negotiators, who were hampered by the big push from the White House. Many are beginning to say that it made little sense for agriculture to be in these talks, because Mexico could become the "funnel" of the world market of agriculture products into the US. In effect, Mexico could "launder" world market goods through Mexico to the US market.

During the last 10 years, without a new GATT or a NAFTA, trade has been growing between countries—

much of this new trade has made good sense. It happened because someone had something the other wanted and trade took place. In the hurry to get a deal, agriculture is a small segment of the big picture; sugar and other Florida commodities are even smaller.

During the 1992 elections, Florida producers, through the outstanding leadership of Commissioner Bob Crawford, asked Congressional candidates and Members of Congress how they would vote on trade agreements. We needed to know what they intend to do. We need to work with the various agricultural associations to study, plan, and be ready to fight the agreement, the old fashioned way, if necessary—beat it on the floor of the US House and Senate.

What Can We Do?

We should be prepared for the probability of failure of getting what we need for Florida agriculture. What can we do? We must continue to become more efficient. If a bad agreement passes, there may be hard times for Florida agriculture, but afterward, those who survive may have some opportunities, but only the most cost conscious and productive will be players. Research on better yielding varieties, cultural practices which increase production in the fields and greater productivities in the processing facilities will be important. These things don't happen overnight, so *continue to endeavor to achieve more productive results through forums such as this and more investment into research.*

NAFTA SUMMARY FOR ORANGE JUICE¹

TREATMENT OF TARIFFS:

- U.S. and Mexican tariffs on both frozen concentrated orange juice (FCOJ) and single-strength juice will be phased out over 15 years.
- The United States will have a tariff-rate quota for FCOJ that will give Mexico annual access for 40 million gallons (single strength equivalent) at one-half of the most-favored-nation (MFN), applied tariff rate. There will be no growth in the quota volume over the transition period. The over-quota tariff, beginning at the current MFN, applied rate of 9.25 cents per liter, will decline a total of 15 percent over the first 6 years, then stay constant for years 7 through 10, and then will be phased-out in equal installments over the remaining 5 years. The in-quota tariff will remain unchanged until it equals the over quota tariff (in year 13), at which point it will be phased-out at the same rate as the over-quota tariff.
- For single-strength orange juice, Mexico will have a tariff-rate quota for 4 million gallons of juice at one-half the MFN, applied tariff. Any juice above this quantity will be assessed the current applied, MFN rate of 5.3 cents per liter, to be phased out on a straight-line basis over 15 years. The in-quota tariff will remain un-

changed until it equals the over-quota tariff (in year 8), at which point it will be phased out at the same rate as the over-quota tariff.

- For other orange juice made from concentrate, the current US applied, MFN tariff of 9.25 cents per liter will be phased out over 15 years.
- Mexico will match our tariff line changes, duties, and 15-year phase-out periods. Mexico's new specific duties will be phased out over the applicable transition period. The duty assessed on imports from the United States cannot exceed Mexico's own ad valorem duty of 20 percent.

TREATMENT OF NON-TARIFF BARRIERS:

There are no non-tariff barriers affecting trade in orange juice.

RULES OF ORIGIN:

- For **citrus**, all single-fruit juices—fresh, frozen, concentrated, reconstituted, and fortified—must be made from one hundred percent NAFTA fresh citrus fruit.

NAFTA SUMMARY FOR FRESH CITRUS

TREATMENT OF TARIFFS:

- Several new U.S. tariff lines will be created for oranges, mandarins and tangerines.
- Mexico will match the U.S. tariff line changes and duties on oranges and grapefruit.
- Mexico will eliminate immediately its 20 percent duty on lemons.
- The U.S. phase-out schedule for citrus items will be:

Item	Season	Tariff	Phase-out
Oranges	Dec 1-May 31	2.2 cents/kg	5 years
Oranges	Jun 1-Nov 30	2.2 cents/kg	Immediately
Mandarins/ Tangerines	Oct 1-Apr 30	2.2 cents/kg	10 years
Mandarins/ Tangerines	May 1-Sept 30	2.2 cents/kg	5 years
Lemons	Jan 1-Dec 31	2.75 cents/kg	10 years
Limes	Jan 1-Dec 31	2.2 cents/kg	10 years
Grapefruit	Aug 1-Sept 30	2.2 cents/kg	Immediately
Grapefruit	Oct 1-Oct 31	1.8 cents/kg	10 years
Grapefruit	Nov 1-Jul 31	2.9 cents/kg	10 years

TREATMENT OF NON-TARIFF BARRIERS:

There are no non-tariff barriers affecting trade in fresh citrus.

11/3/92
NAFTASPH.WPS

¹Dalton Yancey's office can supply a NAFTA summary for sugar.

NAFTA and Florida's Future

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There is also a lot of ground to cover regarding the impact that NAFTA will have on Florida's horticulture if it is adopted in its present form. What I would like to do in the next few minutes is look at the following four areas:

- 1) What is the NAFTA?
- 2) Where are we chronologically in the development of NAFTA?
- 3) What are the areas of potential negative impact on Florida horticulture if NAFTA is adopted in its present form?
- 4) What should be done to make NAFTA a *fair* trade agreement?

What is the North America Free Trade Agreement?

It is an agreement that is designed to eliminate or phase out trade barriers between the US, Mexico, and Canada. Phase out periods for trade barriers involve 5, 10, or 15 years depending upon the commodity. Although NAFTA involves trade with Canada, for the most part my remarks will focus on trade between the US and Mexico. When the NAFTA becomes effective both Mexico and the US will be required to immediately eliminate all non-tariff barriers like unjustified sanitary and phytosanitary standards. The agreement calls for growers to use either ordinary tariffs or tariff-rate quotes (TRQ's). What are TRQ's? It means imports will be able to come in at a zero or reduced tariff rate up to a certain quantity. TRQ's might be helpful in allowing a reasonable transition into a more open market if they are set at the right levels and are imposed at the right time. It will be difficult to know just where to set the duty free quotas as statistical data on certain Mexican crops are difficult to obtain.

Under the current NAFTA agreement approximately one-half of US-Mexican bilateral agricultural trade is expected to be duty free and all products except those which are highly sensitive will be tariff free by the year 2000.

The Chronology of NAFTA Development

January 1988 - US/Canadian Free Trade Agreement was announced. Tariff removed and phased out over a 10-year period on many products.

June 1990 - President Bush and Mexican President Salina de Gortari issue a joint statement endorsing the concept of a comprehensive free trade agreement.

February 1991 - President Bush and counterparts from Mexico and Canada announce their intention to pursue a North American Free Trade Agreement, which would create one of the world's largest liberalized markets.

June 1991 - NAFTA negotiations begin between the three country's trade ministers. Talks are highly confidential.

August 1992 - US, Mexico, and Canada indicate they have reached agreement in the formation of a free trade zone. Agreement still confidential.

September 1992 - Text of the North American Free Trade Agreement released to the public.

December 1992 - President Bush is expected to sign NAFTA and send it on to Congress for consideration for passage. Congress will have 90 session days to vote on it. Congress cannot modify the agreement, they can only vote yea or nay.

January 1994 - NAFTA takes effect if approved by Congress.

Year 2004 - Most tariffs eliminated between the three countries.

Year 2009 - Last tariffs dropped.

Concerns to Florida agriculture Re: NAFTA

The current version of the NAFTA fails to address to satisfy many of Florida agricultural concerns. The title NAFTA bothers me a little in itself. The word "free" sends the wrong message. I'm not sure anyone really wants free trade, but would rather have *fair* or equal trade.

Key issues that should be considered to develop NAFTA into a fair trade agreement are:

1) **Tariff phase out** - Throughout the negotiations winter fruits and vegetables, citrus and sugar were identified as being the most sensitive to tariff reductions. However, only 4% of Florida's winter fresh fruits and vegetables are within the longest phase out period. The agreement must be modified to provide sensitive commodities with a transition period that will afford producers the maximum time for adjustment to new trade practices and market changes.

2) **Safeguards** - A mechanism is needed to assure that a reasonable price and volume balance is maintained to protect the industry from downward price pressure caused by import surges that might occur during the transition period. The NAFTA contains a volume-based tariff rate quota mechanism that may artificially alter planting patterns during the quota periods. This, in turn, will likely result in depressed prices early in each tariff window. The NAFTA must be modified to include better, more comprehensive price based special safeguards for perishable commodities. In addition, the tariff windows for the TRQ's should be no longer than 30 days.

3) **Standards** - Another area that is of concern are the differences in environmental, food safety, and labor regulations between the US and Mexico. As many of you know, compliance with these laws and regulations are a major factor in the cost of doing business in the US and more specifically, the State of Florida. Mexico has developed pretty good standards, but they lack the resources to carry them out or properly enforce them. To establish a level playing field for both countries, environmental, food safety, and labor regulations need to be standardized.

within a reasonable period of time. In addition, the agreement must include language to require equitable enforcement of each nation's laws and regulations regarding the production of goods and services.

4) Sanitary and Phytosanitary Regulations - All of the concerns raised here today are important; however, one issue that may outweigh the rest is the concern that free trade may bring new unwanted plant pests and disease threats to US agriculture. Florida has spent over 150 million dollars over the past two decades to eradicate exotic pests that if left unchecked would have crippled Florida's agriculture through pest control costs and quarantines on the movement of various products into the market place.

Mexico having a climate similar to Florida has many plant pest and disease problems that we do not need to inherit with free trade. Examples are the Mexican fruit fly, Mediterranean fruit fly, the African honeybee, and avocado seed weevil just to name a few.

The USDA is not without their reservations about NAFTA. The USDA/APHIS in a September 1991 report stated the following concerns relative to free trade with Mexico:

1) APHIS is concerned that free trade may not be based on technical working group biological justification.

2) APHIS is greatly concerned over increased agricultural pest exclusion activities that may result from free trade, not to mention the opportunity for increased smuggling.

3) The potential exists for less US Customs assistance to APHIS in agricultural pest detection efforts if overall US Customs activities are decreased.

4) Although the free trade agreement is supposed to eliminate unfair trade restrictions, the USDA fears political pressure will emerge from NAFTA on both sides of the border to protect certain segments of agricultural trade.

As a side note, it is interesting that the USDA spent 34 million dollars in Mexico in FY 1990 conducting pest exclusion efforts south of the border. Doesn't that make you feel secure in Mexico's ability to properly certify additional agricultural commodities for entry into the US.

Another interesting fact is that for the most part plant pests tend to be detected on legally imported products from Mexico. Currently, the USDA is looking at less than 5% of all agricultural imports from Mexico. With free trade it will be even less. One has to question the resources of Mexico's Department of Agriculture (Secretaria de Agricultura y Recursos Hidraulicas). Recently at the 1992 National Plant Board meeting a high ranking Mexican agricultural official stated that they were still attempting to upgrade the quality of their inspectors and establish a research and extension staff.

Simply put, their plant protection resources are inadequate.

Other issues that are of concern include the possibility of nonparticipating countries transshipping or substituting commodities for movement through Mexico into the US thus taking unfair advantage of the NAFTA.

Also, the lack of reliable data on Mexican agriculture production is a key concern. This information is essential

to help establish reasonable tariff rate quotas during the phase out periods.

How to Make NAFTA a Fair Agreement

I have spent the last few minutes talking about more problems than solutions. I believe a big part of the problem is in the process used to negotiate the NAFTA. Secret fast track negotiations have left many gaps or uncertainties within the agreement. The importance of maintaining a strong and viable agricultural base in this country is in the process of being compromised.

Apparently, US governmental leaders and trade negotiators have forgotten that the most valuable asset of any country is its agricultural base and the ability to feed its people.

Florida agriculture is a 6 billion dollar plus industry that quite literally supplies the nation with fresh produce during the winter months. As Commissioner of Agriculture, Bob Crawford, has questioned, is it wise to rely on Mexico or any foreign country for a large portion of our food supply? US agriculture that is threatened by unfair trade or any other detriment must be protected.

There are solutions to the problems within the trade agreement. Agricultural trade should be negotiated by parties that understand agriculture. A bi-national committee approach to agricultural trade with Mexico could do much to resolve the Tariff phase-out issues, safeguards, standards, sanitary and phytosanitary, and other issues. Some stakeholder input is needed from both sides of the border. Secret negotiations behind closed doors are not needed by parties that know little about agricultural issues.

At a recent meeting of southern state agricultural officials in Jackson, Mississippi, long time Mississippi Commissioner of Agriculture, Jim Buck Ross, told a story that relates very closely with the subject we are addressing here today. He related his experience of being invited to take a short voyage on a nuclear powered submarine off the coast of Mississippi. As the sub left port and submerged, Commissioner Ross was amazed at the advanced technology of the vessel. After a while, he asked the captain, "How long can this sub stay down without surfacing?" The captain replied without hesitation, "As long as we have something to eat." This simple story speaks volumes of the importance of maintaining a strong and viable agricultural base in Florida and throughout the country. The future of Florida agriculture is dependent on its continued protection from foreign agricultural pests and unfair competition.

Florida's agriculture industries have been united in the opposition to the NAFTA as it now stands and have been adamant in insisting on maximum protection of our important citrus, winter vegetables, and other horticultural industries from unfair trade.

I can assure you that the Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services is committed at all levels, from Commissioner Crawford to the field inspector, to continue to fight with you to protect and enhance Florida's vast and important horticultural industries now and in the future.

SOME ADVICE TO YOUNG PEOPLE ENTERING THE FRUIT BUSINESS

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Editor's note: Norm Todd is a graduate of the University of Florida and a loyal supporter of IFAS, so he often is invited to come back to the fruit growing classes to express his philosophy and tell of his experiences in citrus production.

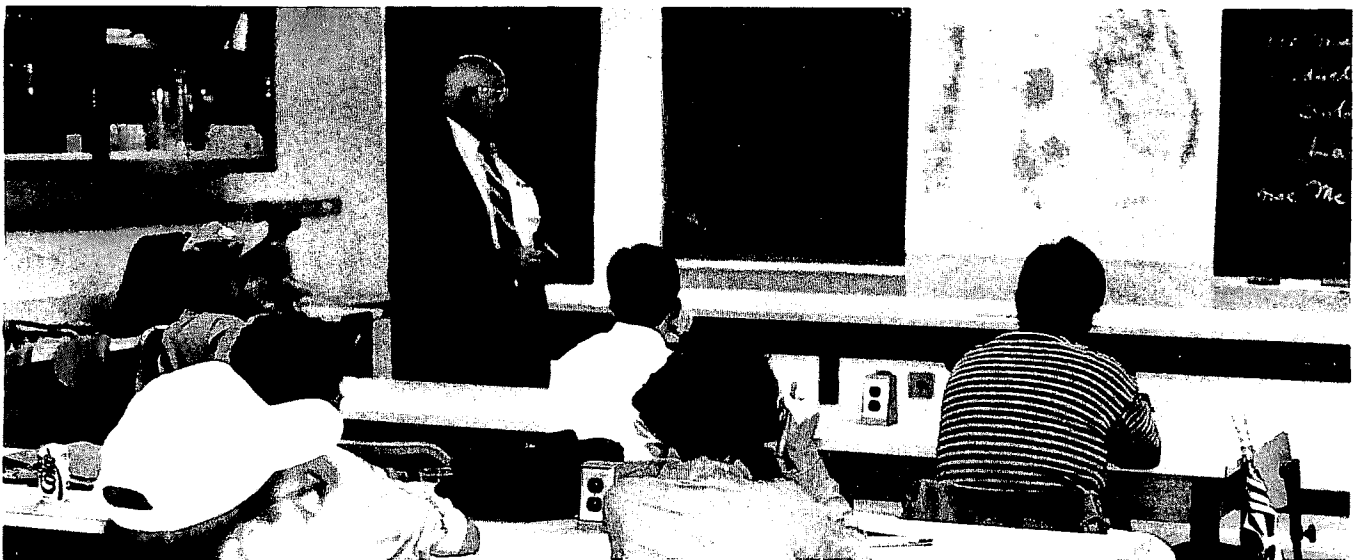
To succeed in the business world, there are few, if any, jobs where *ability* alone is sufficient to succeed. You also must give your employer the following:

- I. SINCERITY: Sincerity to the boss's cause, not falsified or perverted in any way - genuine.
- II. ENTHUSIASM: Enthusiasm for his cause. Eager, intensity of feelings on behalf of his cause.
- III. COOPERATION: Cooperation for his cause. A joint operation. A combination of persons for his purpose.
- IV. LOYALTY: Loyalty to his cause. Faithful adherence to his cause.
- V. HONESTY: Honesty with him. Do not lie, cheat, or steal.

A man named Hubbard made this statement about loyalty long ago. "If you work for a person or institution, in Heaven's name, work for them. Speak well of them and stand by them. Remember, an ounce of loyalty is worth a pound of cleverness. If you must growl, condemn, and eternally find fault, why, resign your position and when you are on the outside, damn to your heart's content. But, as long as you are a part of the institution, do not condemn it. If you do, the first high wind that comes along will blow you away. And you likely will never know why."

Now, if you doubt the importance of honesty, let me quote the words of some rather successful folks. Samuel Johnson said, "The first step in greatness is to be honest." Abe Lincoln said, "No man has a memory long enough to be a successful liar." And Mark Twain summed it up in a few words when he said, "When in doubt, tell the truth," and I might add that the Good Lord, in stone, wrote, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

It is far easier to maintain your respect than it is to attempt to regain it after it is lost. To the forementioned guides to success, let's add two more ingredients. (1) *WORK* Work! Work, harder than is expected of you, and keep doing it. Give full time and be on time. And let me add, that if the work you do in your chosen field seems like work, you have chosen the wrong field. (2) *Avoid "tunnel vision"*. What is that? In my opinion, it is simply the opposite of being broad, broad minded, broad thinking, broad planning. But maybe more specific. In agriculture, it is what you do with your eyes. One successful grower I worked for will take his new employee with him in his car, and drive through a block of trees while discussing a production problem. And when he reaches the other side and pulls away, he will casually ask, "Did those trees look a little hungry? Do they need irrigation? Did you notice some leaves on the ground? What kind of a crop was on the trees?" And, when you're young, and riding with the boss, and feeling mighty proud of it, and the good impression you think you are making, you say, "Oh! Maybe it wasn't too green, and and I didn't notice any leaves on the ground, and I wasn't thinking about irrigation or how good of a crop was on the trees. And, he glares at you and says, "*Damn it. boy!* Keep your eyes open. Make every minute count when you're in an orchard. When you come out the other side, know everything about that block of trees." And who knows, someday, after you have mastered these techniques, any one of you might become a famous grower (Ben Hill Griffin). Thank you so much.



Norm Todd is a favorite grower coming to the University of Florida, Gainesville, to discuss his citrus growing experiences over the years. He has numerous color slides. The course title is, "Horticultural Production Managers Seminar".