# 21st Century Regionalism

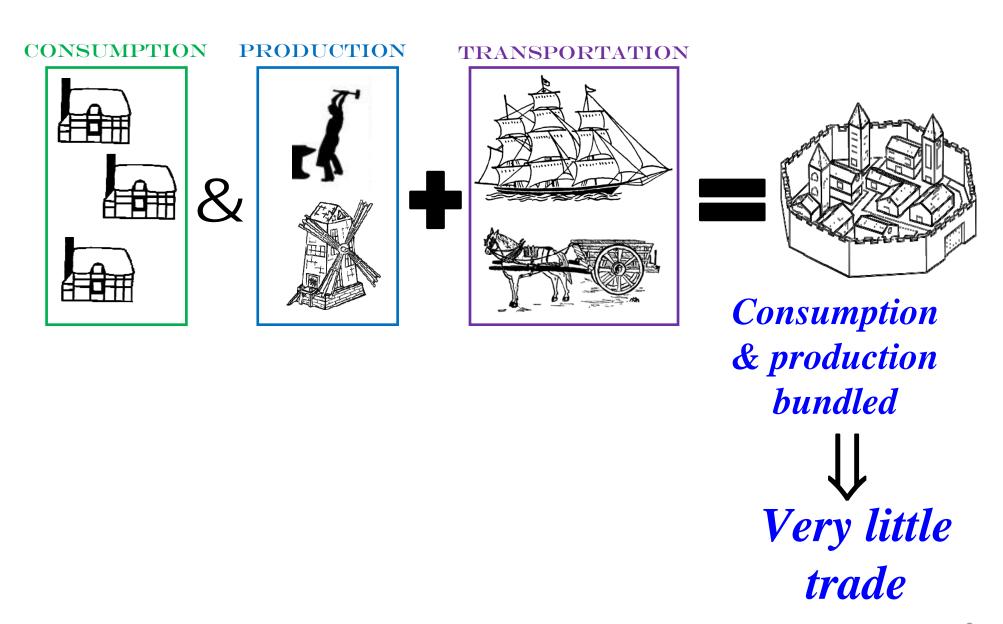
Richard Baldwin Graduate Institute, Geneva

RIETI Tokyo, 2 February 2011

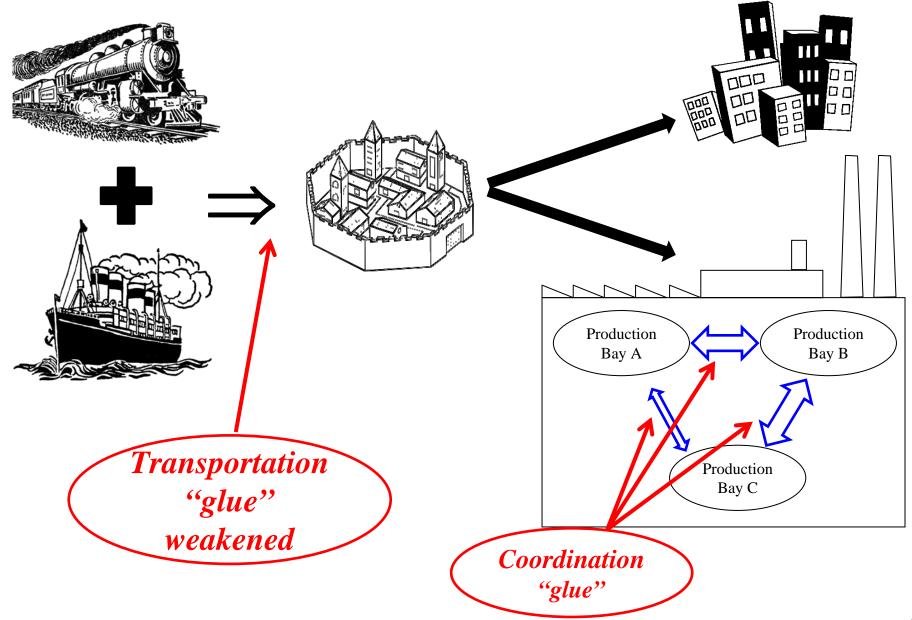
## Globalisation as 2 unbundlings

 Put 21<sup>st</sup> century regionalism into broad canvas of economic globalisation.

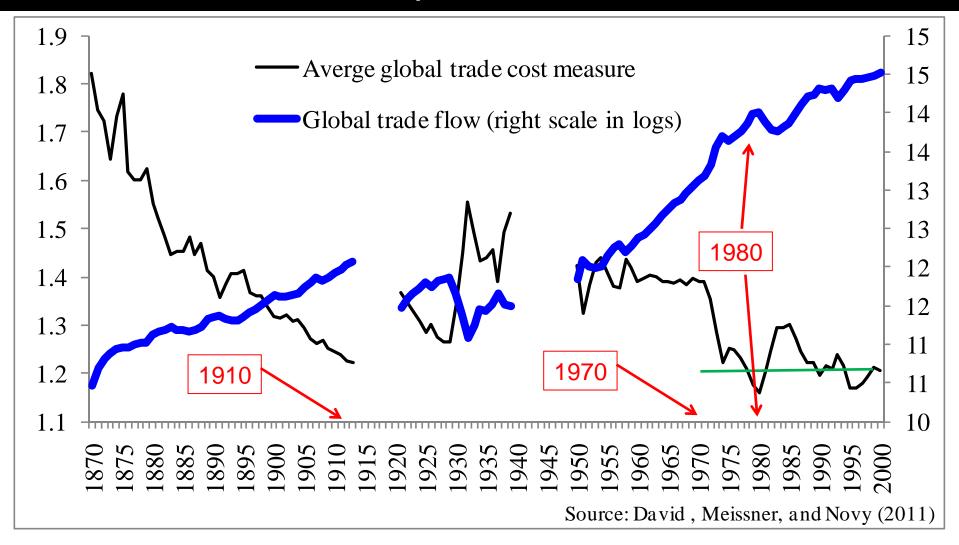
### **Pre-Industrial Revolution**



# Globalisation's First Unbundling



## Estimated Transport costs, 1870 - 2000

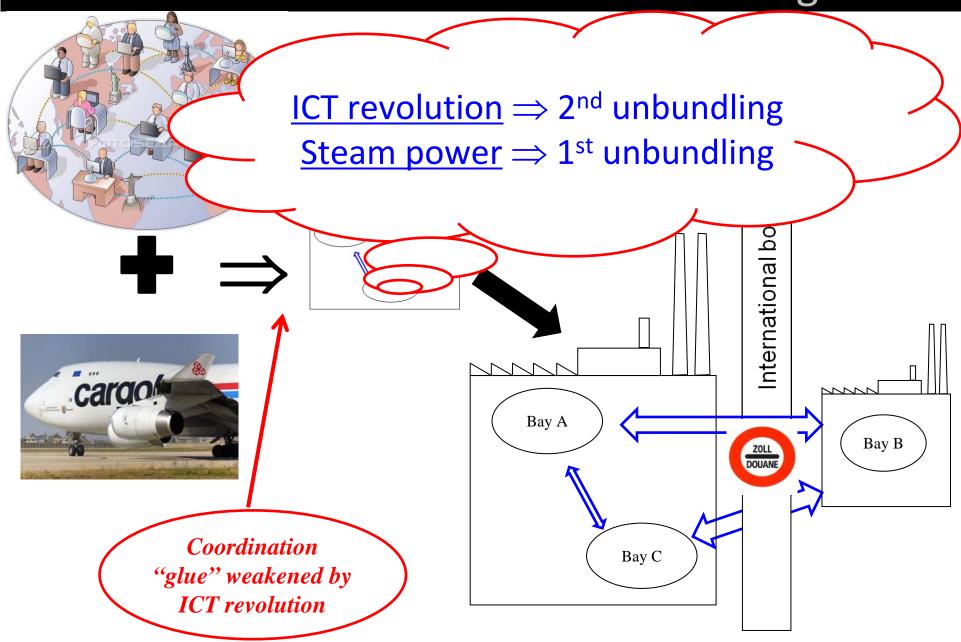


# 20<sup>th</sup> trade & trade governance

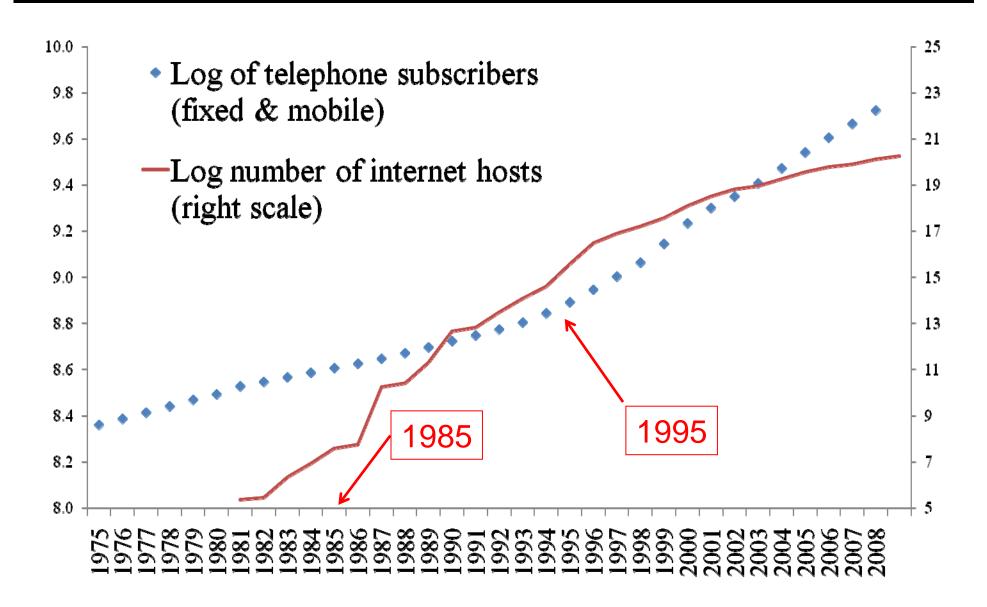


- International commerce = goods crossing borders.
- 1. Trade disciplines required = fairly simple: GATT 1947.
- 2. Trade liberalisation = tariff cutting.

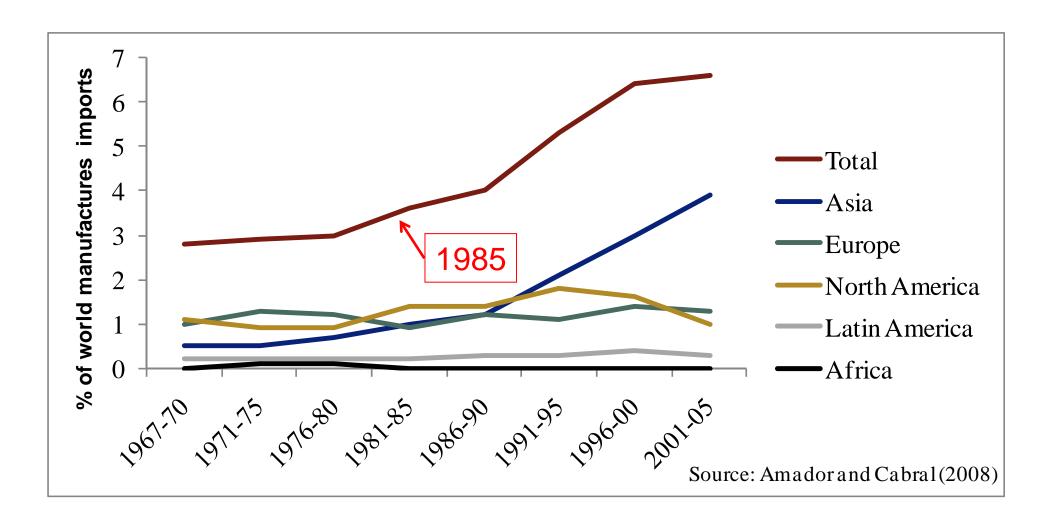
# Globalisation's Second Unbundling



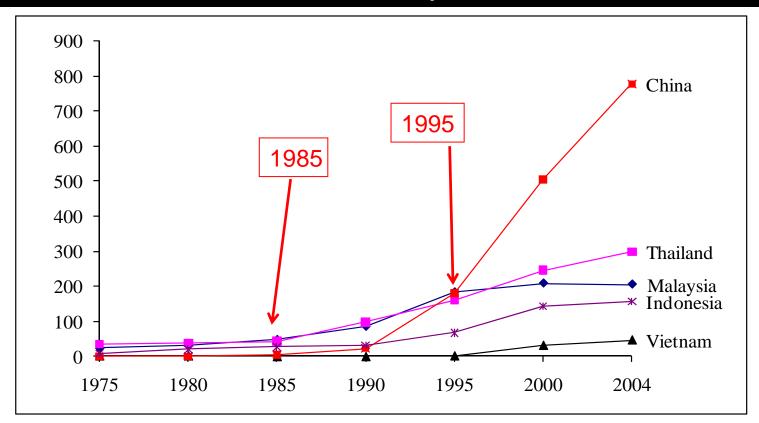
### ICT revolution indicators



# Outward processing trade, 1967 – 2005.



# Number of Japanese auto and electrical machinery plants in East Asia, 1975 – 2004



Source: Fujita and Hamaguchi (2006).

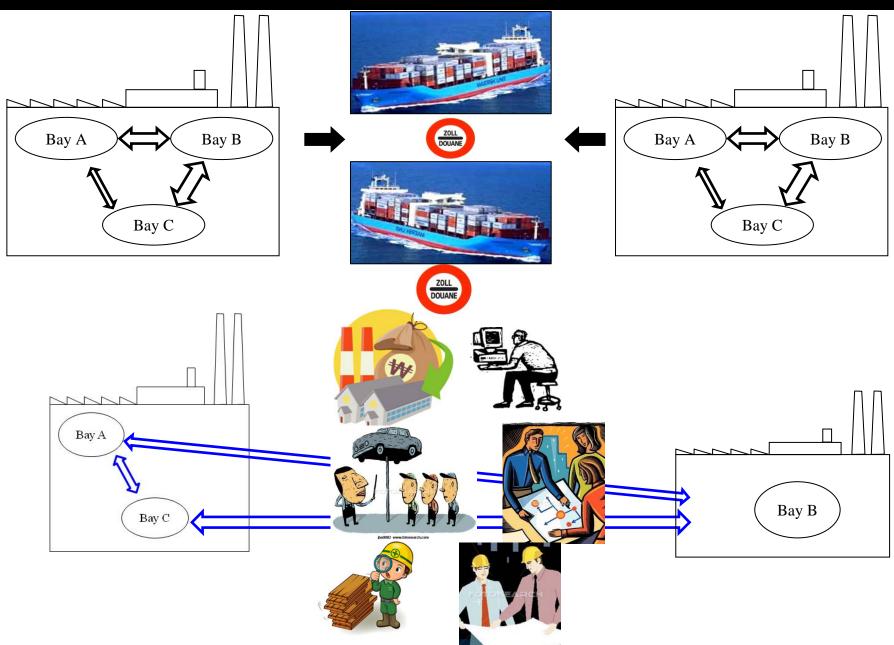
#### Widening and deepening of Factory Asia, 1985 and 2000

#### International input-output matrix

1985	China	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore	Taiwan	Korea	Japan
Indonesia						8%			_
Malaysia						16%			
Philippines									
Thailand									
China				2%		14%			
Taiwan						3%			
Korea									
Singapore		3%	7%						
Japan _	3%	12%	14%	4%	9%	12%	7%	8%	
RoW		15%	19%	19%	14%	11%	10%	16%	8%
2000	China	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore	Taiwan	Korea	Japan
2000 Indonesia	China	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore 2%	Taiwan	Korea	Japan
	China	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines 3%	Thailand 4%		Taiwan 2%	Korea	Japan
Indonesia	China	Indonesia	Malaysia			2%		Korea	Japan
Indonesia Malaysia	China	Indonesia	Malaysia 4%			2%		Korea	Japan
Indonesia Malaysia Philippines	China	Indonesia 2%		3%		2% 12%		Korea	Japan
Indonesia Malaysia Philippines Thailand	China		4%	3%	4%	2% 12% 3%	2%	Korea	Japan
Indonesia Malaysia Philippines Thailand China	China 2%		4% 3%	3% 3%	4% 4%	2% 12% 3% 5%	2%	Korea	Japan
Indonesia Malaysia Philippines Thailand China Taiwan		2%	4% 3% 5%	3% 3% 5%	4% 4% 3%	2% 12% 3% 5% 3%	2% 2%	Korea	Japan
Indonesia Malaysia Philippines Thailand China Taiwan Korea		2%	4% 3% 5% 4%	3% 3% 5% 8%	4% 4% 3% 3%	2% 12% 3% 5% 3%	2% 2%	Korea 7%	Japan

Source: Baldwin (2006) "Managing the Noodle Bowl"

# 21st century trade more complex



### Summary

- 21<sup>st</sup> century trade is more complex.
  - 20<sup>th</sup> century trade = goods made crossing borders.
  - 21<sup>st</sup> century trade = multi-directional (mostly regional) flows of people, goods, services, capital, and information.
- ICT is to 2<sup>nd</sup> as steam was to 1<sup>st</sup>,
  - Not mostly about trade costs, rather about coordinating production internationally.

### Governance Gap

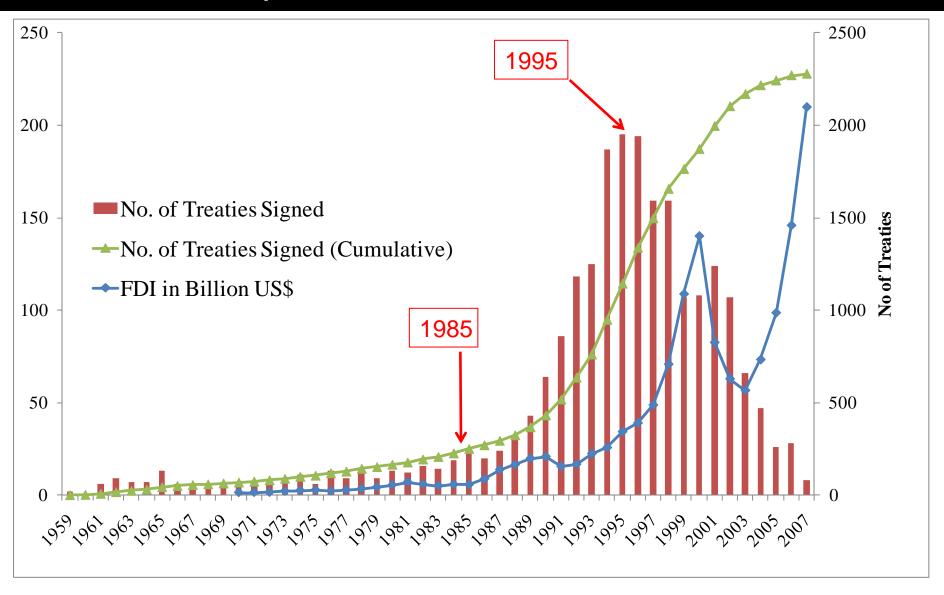
- 21<sup>st</sup> century trade needs deeper disciplines.
- Early recognition & policy response (1986):
  - EU's Single Market Programme.
  - US-Canada FTA.
  - Uruguay Round's new issues.
- ICT revolution accelerates N-S unbundling ⇒
  - Need for new disciplines North-South.
  - WTO is otherwise occupied.
    - $\Rightarrow$  Governance gap.

# 21st century regionalism

### Filling governance vacuum:

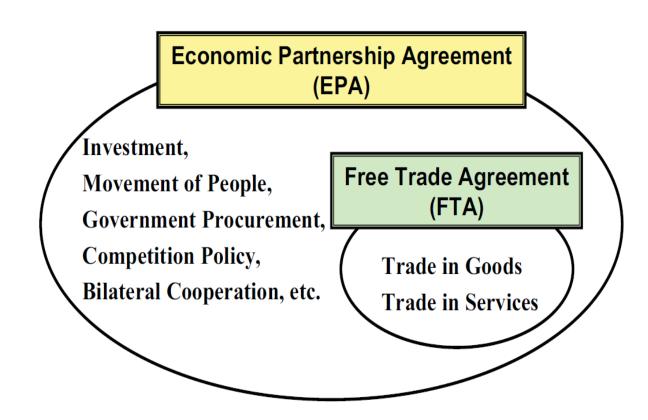
- 1. Explosion of BITs 1990s.
- 2. North-South deep RTAs.
- 3. Unilateral liberalisation (tariffs & pro-biz reforms).

# Explosion of BITs in 1990s

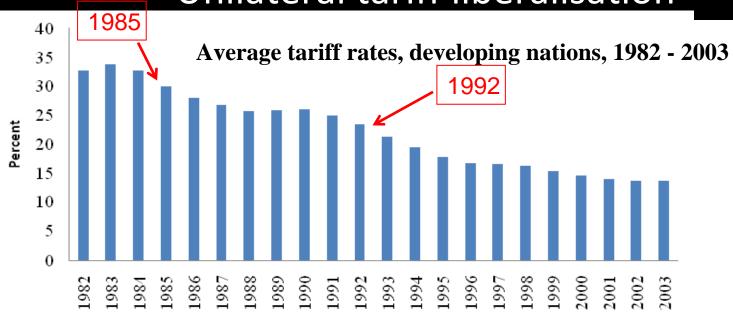


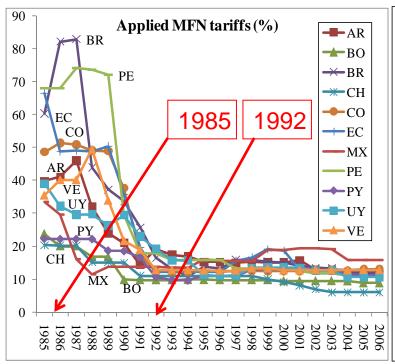
### North-South Deep RTAs

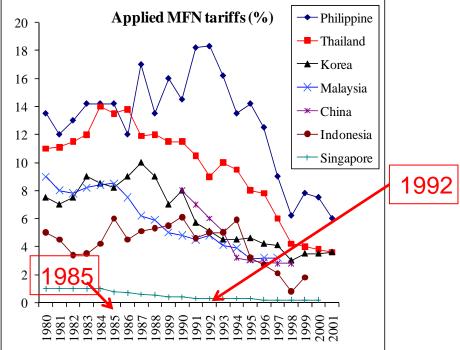
- US's NAFTA-like agreements (after 1994)
- Japan's EPA-like agreements (after 2007)
- EU's Association agreements (after 1994).



### Unilateral tariff liberalisation







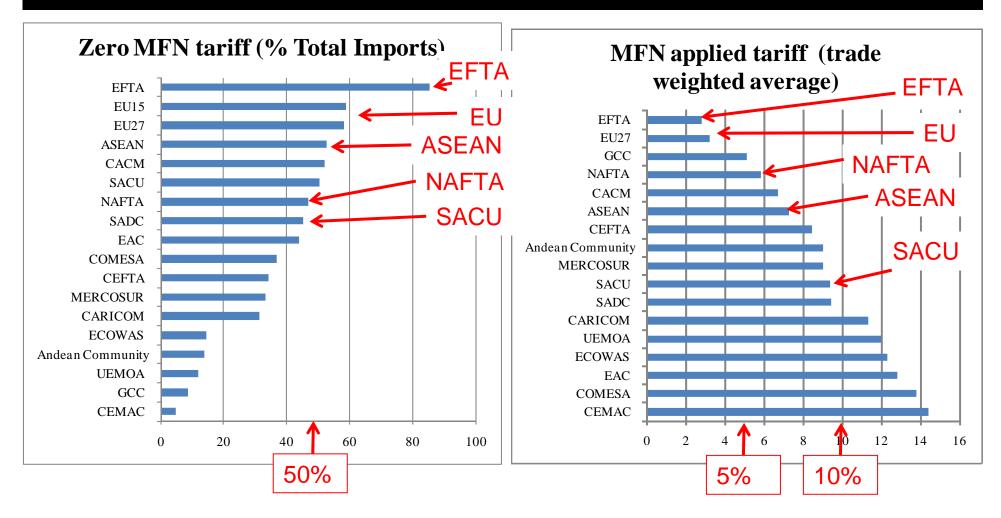
### Unilateral Pro-biz Reforms

- Some "import liberalisation" help you export and/or attract offshored factories.
  - Pro-FDI policies.
  - Pro-customs facilitation policies.
  - Pro business-establishment policies.
  - Pro 'infrastructure services' liberalisation.

## Summary: RTAs Not About Tariff Preferences

- 20<sup>th</sup> century regionalism (tariff preferences) still matters:
  - A lot for small RTAs,
  - A little for big RTAs.
- FACTS:

# Possible preference margins are low

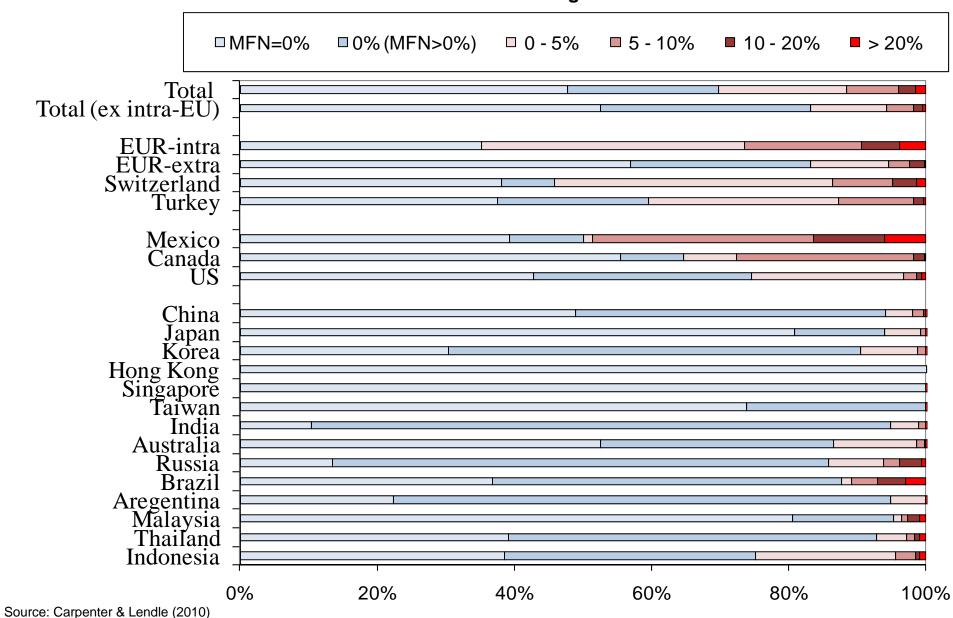


### **Detailed Data**

- Carpenter & Lendle (2010)
  - Detailed tariff-line import and tariff data,
  - covering almost 90% of world imports in 2008.
- Results:
  - 50% of trade over RTAs, but
  - Only 16% eligible for preferences (due to zero MFN).
  - Less than 2% imports have preferences over 10%.
- ERGO: RTAs are not only about preferential tariffs.

# Death of preferences

#### **Preferential margins**



# Numbers

	unknown	MFN=0%	0% (MFN>0 %)	0 - 5%	5 - 10%	10 - 20%	> 20%
Total	1.2%	47.3%	21.8%	18.5%	7.5%	2.4%	1.4%
Total (ex intra-EU)	0.7%	52.3%	30.3%	11.0%	3.9%	1.3%	0.5%

# Conceptual frameworks

# Traditional regionalism v 21st regionalism

• Traditional view: RTAs = tariff preferences

• 21<sup>st</sup> regionalism: RTAs = disciplines underpin 2<sup>nd</sup> unbundling

### Difference without distinction?

- Why we care about regionalism:
  - Economic inefficiency from discrimination
  - Injustice and power asymmetries
  - Threats to support for multilateral liberalisation

# Traditional view: preferential tax economics



Smith's certitude = Preference-getter wins.



Haberler's spillover = third nations lose.



Viner's ambiguity = Preference-giver might lose.

# Received wisdom thinking

### Vinerian economics & implied political economy



Krugman: "Is bilateralism bad?"



Bhagwati: "Termites in the system"



Summers: "I like all the 'isms'

# Regulation economics, not tax economics

- 21<sup>st</sup> century regionalism not about preferences, so Vinerian economics is moot or insufficient.
- Regulation economics far more complex than tax economics.
  - Frictional barriers (BBBs).
  - Entry restrictions.

# 21st c. Regionalism: Different economics

- Frictional barrier liberalisation
  - If rules-of-origin-like tools available
    - Only Viner's ambiguity dead.
  - Without discrimination tools (many TBTs)
    - Haberler's spillover <u>also</u> dead.
      - {E'metric estimates of external trade creation}
- Domestic entry liberalisation
  - Incumbents v entrants; not home vs foreign.
  - Discrimination very difficult.
- Property right assurances
  - Ditto

### Regulation economics, not tax economics

#### Should policy be in WTO?

- Tariffs = strong logic for centralisation at global level (MFN better than RTA).
- Regulation = mixed logic for centralisation.
  - "Fiscal federalism": e.g. competition policy? Bank regulation? Telecomms regulation?

### Injustice & power asymmetries

- Deep RTAs worse that shallow RTAs (power p.o.v.).
  - Article 24 limits large partner's bargaining power.
  - Article 5 GATS ditto (weakly) for services.
  - No such WTO disciplines on BBBs
    - de facto = NS deep RTAs almost exclusively one-sided on BBBs.

### Threats to WTO support

### Different political economy

- 1. Basic nature of bargain
  - Traditional = exchange of market access.
  - 21st c. = Northern factories for Southern reform.

#### 2. Implications:

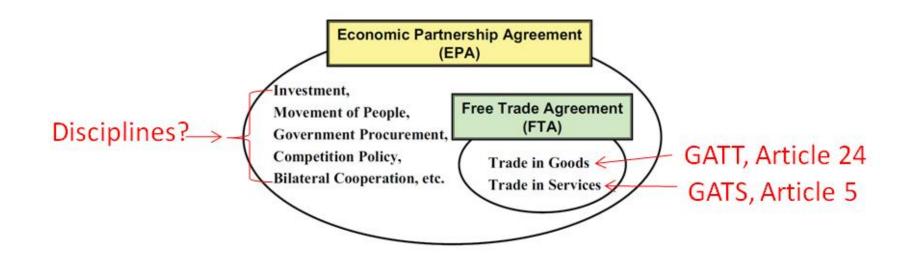
- Only EU, US & Japan can do this deal (yet).
- WTO = no factories on offer.
- RTA tariff cuts multilateralisable; BBBs disciplines maybe not;
  - EU, US, Japan disciplines incompatible?
- 3. Unilateral tariff cutting = hole in WTO fuel tank.

### Sum up

- 1<sup>st</sup> unbundling:
  - GATT & RTAs mainly about tariffs.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> unbundling:
  - 21st century regionalism mainly about BBBs
  - Politics: factories for reform
- Key questions 21<sup>st</sup> c. regionalism:
  - Are US, EU and Japanese disciplines multilateralisable?
  - Can & should some disciplines be brought under WTO?

# Sum up (cont'd)

 Should we develop WTO disciplines like Art.24/Art.5 for deeper disciplines?



How do new trade giants (China, India, Brazil, etc.)
 fit in?

### **Future scenarios for WTO**

- Plan A (WTO centricity restored):
  - WTO disciplines updated to match 21<sup>st</sup> century trade.
- Plan B (WTO centricity eroded):
  - WTO unreformed, RTAs & BITs continue to lead.
  - Drift back towards a 19<sup>th</sup> century Great Powers world?
- B.1: WTO stays vibrant with Marrakesh disciplines only; deeper disciplines outside.
- B.2: WTO credibility withers; bicycle falls over.

### End

Thank you for listening.

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