East Asian Regionalism:

Managing the Noodle Bowl

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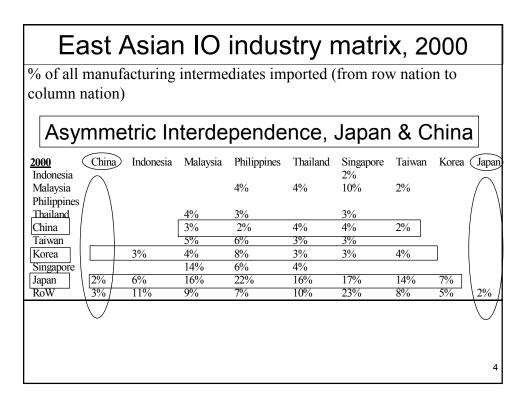
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Plan of talk

- Long paper, little time.
- Talk focuses on policy implications.
- Bottom line:
 - East Asian regionalism is fragile.
 - No clear plan for fixing it.
 - The pressing need is now for management, not vision.
 - ASEAN should take the lead; its moment in history.
- Plan: (i) Sources of fragility, (ii) likely trajectory, (iii) solutions.

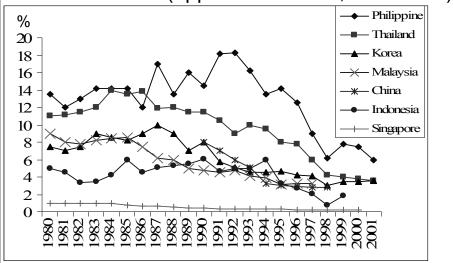
"Factory Asia"

 Extreme interdependence of region's manufacturing sectors.



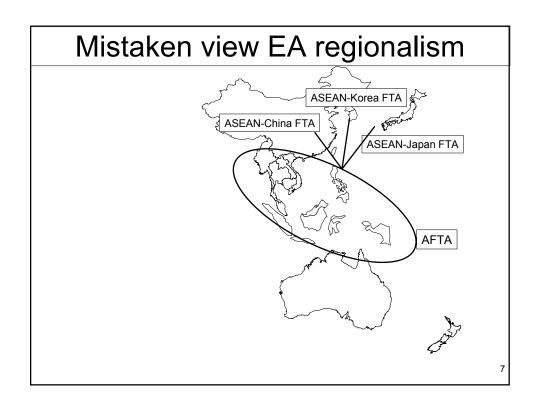
What underpins this trade?

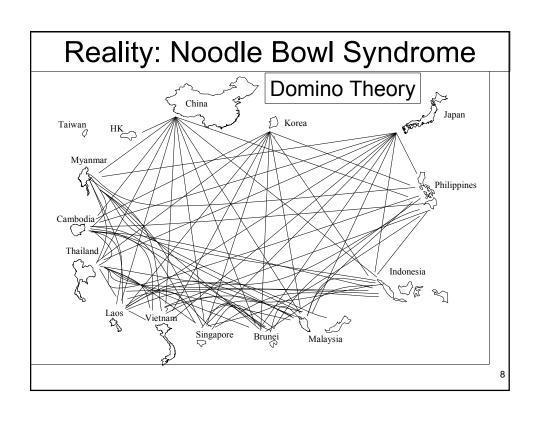
"Race-to-bottom unilateralism" by ASEANs,
 China & Korea (applied MFN cuts, not bound).

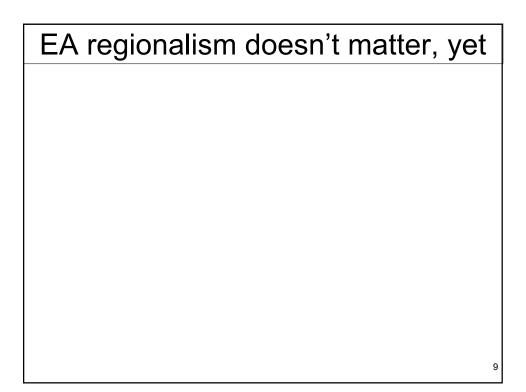


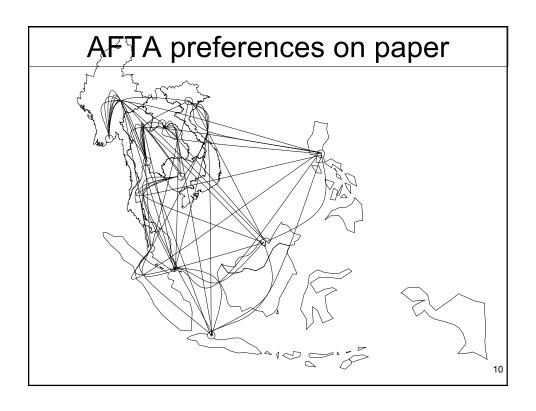
East Asian Regionalism: 5 oddities

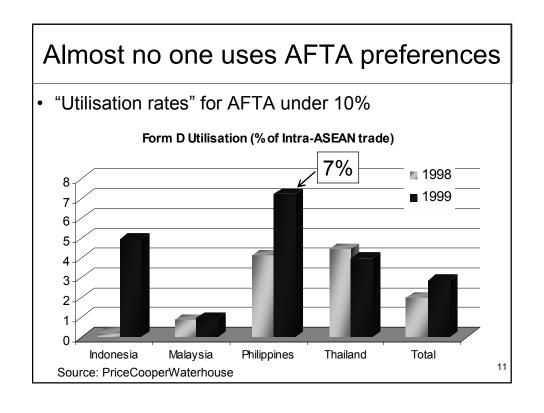
- East Asian regionalism is a mess: Noodle Bowl Syndrome.
 - Domino theory of regionalism explains spread of EA deals & predicts much more.
- 2. ASEAN FTA (AFTA) does not matter yet.
- 3. Little discrimination now, but much promised for the future, 2010.
- Japan's bilaterals with major ASEANs are very different.
- 5. Largest trade flows in the region excluded.

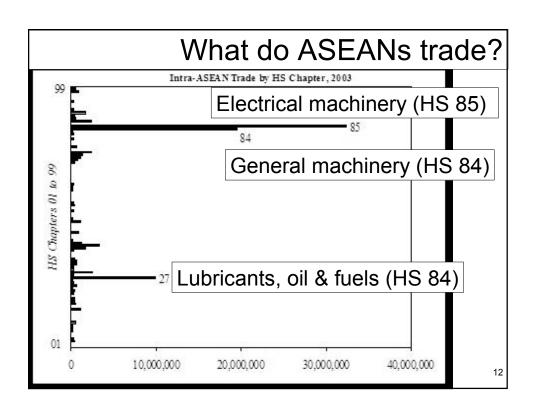












No margin of preference

MFN v. AFTA's CEPT on Machinery

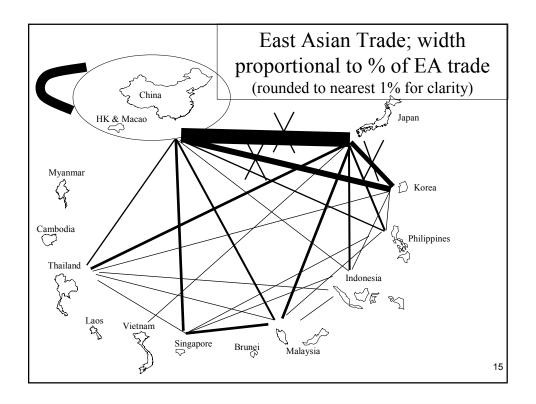
Sector:	East Asia	N. America	EU
General machinery (84)	1.5	1.9	2.5
Electrical machinery (85)	1.4	1.5	2.2
All products	7.4	5.5	7.2

Source: MacMap

1:

Japan's bilaterals are different

- Japan-Malaysia, Dec.05
- Japan-Philippines, Sep.06
- Written like European FTAs.
- Announced under Article 24, not 'Disabling Clause'.
- Mercantile interests will ensure they are implemented; not so for ASEAN-China and ASEAN-Korea.



Likely Trajectory?

- If domino theory is right:
 - Other Japan bilaterals with big ASEANs will get done.
 - Next round of dominos?
 - Hub-hub (JK, KC, JKC)? US or EU moves?
 - It will spread beyond EA.
 - cf. EU has preferences with 141 of 148 WTO members.

Fragility of the Current situation

- 1. Extreme interdependence of 'Factory Asia'
 - Worrying asymmetry of interdependence.
- 2. Lack of WTO discipline.
- 3. Noodle bowl:
 - -un-tamed & no tamer.
- 4. No serious tariff discrimination yet, but a great deal is promised by 2010.

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System Fragility

- Think of East Asia as a magnificent factory, fantastically complicated, just-in-time factory.
- Think of regional trade as "conveyor belts."
- If a few 'conveyor belts' break down, whole factory suffers.
- NB: Same in North America & Europe, but those systems are not fragile.
 - WTO bindings & well functioning RTAs.
 - Well established leadership.
- Who calls the meeting if the wheels start to come off?

Solutions

Academics, problems v. answers

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Solutions

- Management, not vision.
 - Vision deadlock (rice & high-end industry).
- Urgent:
 - Discrimination is a source of conflict; Discrimination is scheduled to start 2006 2010.
- New East Asian Management Effort:
 - ASEAN+3 group.
 - Management is a 'club good'.
 - Membership should be limited to those most involved in the collective action problem.
 - Reduce likelihood of free-rider or strategic behaviour.
 - Include all that are most affected.

Solutions

- 2. Management priorities:
 - #1: Bind the MFN applied rates.
 - · Get credit in DDA, NAMA.
 - #2: Transparency and confidence building deliverables.
 - -#3: Keep talking.
- ¿ ASEAN's "moment in history"?

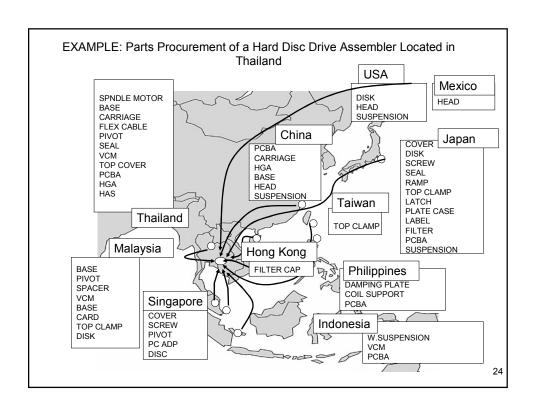
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Bottom line

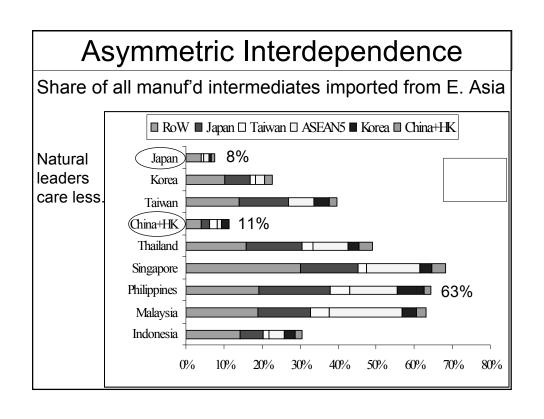
- · Vision would have been best.
 - Window of opportunity was missed.
- Concrete foundations of EA regionalism have been poured and are hardening.
- What East Asian needs is management now.
- Need is pressing since discrimination is about to begin to emerge & discrimination can foster tensions.

Thank you for listening.

Papers (Domino theory, 1994 book, etc) can be download from hei.unige.ch/baldwin



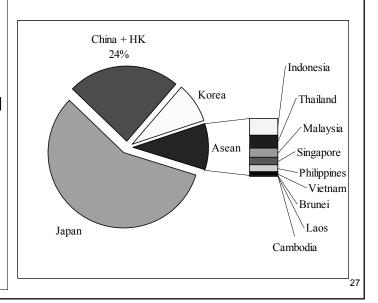
Lack of WTO discipline								
	Binding Coverage	Final bound	sciplined Applied	Import duties as share of total imports				
Japan	99.6	2.3	2.5	n.a.	0			
Korea	94.5	10.1	6.7	n.a. 3.2 Not discil	line			
China	100.0	9.1	9.5	2.7				
Malaysia	83.7	14.9	9.1	3.1				
Thailand	74.7	24.2	13.3	3.4				
Indonesia	96.6	35.6	6.7	1.2				
Philippines	66.8	23.4	5.8	5.4				
Vietnam								
Taiwan	100.0	4.8	5.5	n.a.				
Singapore	69.2	6.3	0.0	0.3	:			



Very uneven market sizes

- 2 big
- 1 medium
- many small or tiny
- ASEAN-10
 is about
 9% of EA
 GDP
- ASEAN-4& Vietnam

Economy size



MFN v. CEPT on Machinery

Table 1: Intra-East Asian preference margins vis-à-vis EU and North America

			D., f.,			
	Exporter to East Asia			Preference margins:		
Sector:	East Asia	North America	EU	over N.Amer. Exporters	over EU Exporters	
Mining products (HS25-27)	1.7	2.6	1.7	0.9	0.3	
General machinery (HS 84)	1.5	1.9 •	2.5	0.4	1.4	
Electrical machinery (HS 85)	1.4	1.5	2.2	0.1	-0.3	
Others	1.4	1.7	2.6	0.3	-0.6	[
Wood and paper	1.4	1.3	1.5	-0.1	0.5	
Precision apparatus	1.2	1.3	2	0.1	0.7	
Agriculture	41	29.7	30.9	-11.3	10.7	
Light industry	26.8	8.3	12.8	-18.5	4.1	
Food and beverages	21.8	26.4	25.8	4.6	9.8	\Box
Textiles and clothing	7.3	7.6	7.8	0.3	-3.1	
Transportation machinery	4.6	2.8	8.6	-1.8	5.3	
Pottery products	2.9	3.6	4.4	0.7	-1.3	
Chemicals	2.4	3	2.7	0.6	-1.4	
Basic metals	1.8	2.6	2.3	0.8	-0.7	
All products	7.4	5.5	7.2	-1.9	1.5	

Note: Tariff data for 2002; see the paper for aggregation schemes.

Source: Author's reorganisation of data drawn from Freudenberg and Paulmier (2005), Table 3.

