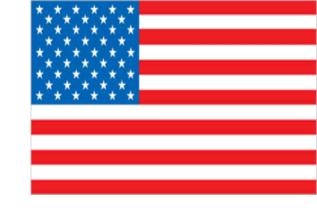


# Japan-US Leadership in the Asia-Pacific



--- Uncertainties and Responses ---

## Asia-Pacific Economic Integration Seminar JETRO/CSIS

Prof. Yorizumi WATANABE
Faculty of Policy Management
KEIO UNIVERSITY (SFC)
Washington DC, June 9 2015

## Uncertainties and Possible Risks (1): Global Trade Issues

- Failure of the DDA ("Doha Round") resulting in a weakening of the trade multilateralism embodied in the WTO
- Proliferation of Bilateral and Regional Trade Agreements
- Lack of Multilateral Trade Rules on New Issues such as Investment, Competition, Government Procurement, State-owned Enterprises (SOEs), Labour, and Environment
- Missing TPA (Trade Promotion Authority, US "Fast-track")

# Uncertainties and Possible Risks (2): Regional Trade Issues in Asia-Pacific

- East Asia discriminates against East Asia: Protectionism
- China emerges as a Regional Hegemonic Power
- China emerges as a Game-changer: e.g. the Solar Panel Dispute with the EU, AIIB
- New "Regionalism": the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO, June 2001) and the Russia-centred Customs Union Russia: Russia, Belarus, Kazkhstan, Jan. 2010)

#### East Asia discriminates against East Asia:

East Asia imports from East Asia with high tariffs for agricultural products and light industry.

#### Tariff Rates in East Asia in 2002

| Exporter              | East Asia | EU-25     | NAFTA |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Importer              | East Asia | EU-25     | NAFTA |
| Agricultural products | 41.0      | 6.8       | 3.9   |
| Light industry        | 26.8      | 0.0       | 0.1   |
| Food & Beverages      | 21.8      | 5.3       | 9.4   |
| Textile & Garment     | 7.3       | 0.0       | 0.1   |
| Electrical appliances | 1.4       | 0.0       | 0.1   |
| Total                 | 7.4       | 1.9       | 0.7   |
| Exporter              | East Asia | EU-25     | NAFTA |
| Importer              |           | East Asia |       |
| Agricultural products | 41.0      | 30.9      | 29.7  |
| Light industry        | 26.8      | 12.8      | 8.3   |
| Food & Beverages      | 21.8      | 25.8      | 26.4  |
| Textile & Garment     | 7.3       | 7.8       | 7.6   |
| Electrical appliances | 1.4       | 2.2       | 1.5   |
| Total                 | 7.4       | 7.2       | 5.5   |

#### Market Access of the WTO Members in 2007

|                    |        |         | Agric | ultural | Non-agricultural |         |  |
|--------------------|--------|---------|-------|---------|------------------|---------|--|
|                    | All go | oods    | god   | ods     | goods            |         |  |
|                    |        |         |       |         |                  |         |  |
|                    |        | MFN     |       | MFN     |                  | MFN     |  |
|                    | Final  | applied | Final | applied | Final            | applied |  |
|                    | bound  | tariffs | bound | tariffs | bound            | tariffs |  |
| 3runei Darussalam  | 25.3   | 3.6     | 30.7  | 7.9     | 24.5             | 3.0     |  |
| Cambodia           | 19.0   | 14.2    | 28.1  | 18.1    | 17.7             | 13.6    |  |
| China              | 10.0   | 9.9     | 15.8  | 15.8    | 9.1              | 9.0     |  |
| Hong Kong, China   | 0.0    | 0.0     | 0.0   | 0.0     | 0.0              | 0.0     |  |
| India              | 50.2   | 14.5    | 114.2 | 34.4    | 36.2             | 11.5    |  |
| Indonesia          | 37.1   | 6.9     | 47.0  | 8.6     | 35.6             | 6.7     |  |
| Japan              | 5.1    | 5.1     | 22.7  | 21.8    | 2.4              | 2.6     |  |
| Korea, Republic of | 17.0   | 12.2    | 59.3  | 49.0    | 10.2             | 6.6     |  |
| Lao PDR            | -      | 9.7     | -     | 19.5    | -                | 8.2     |  |
| Malaysia           | 24.5   | 8.4     | 76.0  | 11.7    | 14.9             | 7.9     |  |
| Myanmar            | 83.0   | 5.6     | 102.2 | 8.7     | 21.1             | 5.1     |  |
| Philippines        | 25.6   | 6.3     | 34.6  | 9.6     | 23.4             | 5.8     |  |
| Singapore          | 12.1   | 0.0     | 36.5  | 0.1     | 6.3              | 0.0     |  |
| Taipei, Chinese    | 6.6    | 6.3     | 18.4  | 17.5    | 4.8              | 4.6     |  |
| Thailand           | 28.1   | 10.0    | 40.2  | 22.0    | 25.5             | 8.2     |  |
| Viet Nam           | 11.4   | 16.8    | 18.5  | 24.2    | 10.4             | 15.7    |  |

Source: International Trade Centre.

Yorizumi Watanabe, Keio University

Source: WTO Country Profile.

## SCO(上海協力機構)の構成国

### Members of the SCO

| 構 成 国<br>Members      | 人 口(百万人)<br>Population(million) | 首 都<br>Capital     | 国土面積 (million kml) |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 中 国<br>China          | 13億5 <b>千万</b><br>1,350.0       | 北 京<br>Beijing     | 9.60               |
| カザフスタン<br>Kazakhstan  | 15.07                           | アスタナ<br>Astana     | 2.72               |
| キルギスタン<br>Kyrgystan   | 5.2                             | ビシュテック<br>Bishkek  | 0.2                |
| ウズベキスタン<br>Uzbekistan | 26.5                            | タシケント<br>Tashkent  | 0.45               |
| タジキスタン<br>Tajikistan  | 7.0                             | ドゥシャンベ<br>Dushanbe | 0.14               |
| ロシア<br>Russia         | 142.0                           | モスクワ<br>Moscow     | 17.08              |

### Responses and Challenges in Asia-Pacific

- De-facto Business-driven Integration through Supply-chain and Production Networks
- FTA/EPAs to consolidate the merits of the De-facto Integration
- From Bilateral FTA/EPAs to Wider Regional FTA/EPAs: (ASEAN+1)x5, ASEAN+3, ASEAN+6=RCEP, Japan-China-Korea EPA
- Beyond Regional FTA/EPAs ⇒⇒⇒ the TPP as an inter-regional FTA

#### Japan's FTA/EPA Achievement so far

- Japan-Singapore EPA (in force since 2002.11)
- Japan-Mexico EPA (negotiations started in 2002.11, in force since 2005.4)
- Japan-Malaysia EPA (in force since 2006.7)
- Japan-Chile EPA (negotiations started in 2006.2, in force since 2007.9)
- Japan-Thailand EPA (agreement in substance 2005.9, in force 2007.11)
- Japan-Indonesia EPA (negotiations started in2005.7, in force 2008.7)
- Japan-Brunei EPA (negotiations started in 2006.6, in force 2008.7)
- Japan-ASEAN EPA (negotiations started in 2005.4, in force 2008.12)
- Japan-Philippines EPA (agreement in substance 2004.11, in force 2008.12)
- Japan-Switzerland EPA (negotiations started in 2007.5, in force 2009.2)
- Japan-Vietnam EPA (negotiations started in 2007.1, in force 2009.10)
- Japan-India EPA (negotiations started in 2007.1, in force 2011.8)
- Japan-Peru EPA (negotiations started in 2009.5, in force 2012.3)
- Japan-Australia EPA (negotiations started in 2007.4, agreement in substance in 2014.04, in force 2015.01)

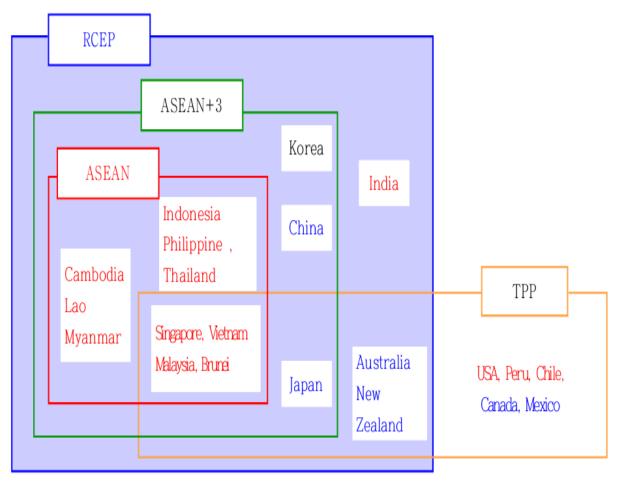
Prof. Yorizumi Watanabe, Keio University

- Japan-Mongolia EPA (negotiation started in 2012.6, signed in 2015.02)
- Japan-Korea EPA (negotiations started in 2003.12, suspended in 2004.11)
- Japan-GCC EPA (negotiations started in 2006.9)
- Japan-Canada EPA (negotiation started in 2012. 10)
- Japan-Colombia EPA (negotiation started in 2012. 12)
- Japan-EU EPA (negotiation started in 2013.03)

## Substance of Japan's EPA

|                  |             | T Market Access | .⊑ SPS/TBT | က္ခ Mutual Recognition | Market Access | e National Treatment | se Treatment | Movement of Natural Person | National Treatment |               | Prohibition of performance requirements | Dispute Settlement between state and investor | Government<br>Procurement | Intellectual Property | Competition | Improvement Of Business Environment | Cooperation | Energy and Mineral<br>Resources |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------|---|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
|                  | Vietnam     | 0               | 0          |                        | 0             | 0                    |              | 0                          |                    |               | 0                                       |   |                           |                       | 0           | 0                                   | 0           |                                 |
|                  | Philippine  | 0               |            | 0                      | 0             | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       |   |                           | 0                     | 0           | 0                                   | 0           |                                 |
|                  | ASEAN       | 0               | 0          |                        |               |                      |              |                            |                    |               |   |   |                           |                       |             |                                     | 0           |                                 |
| ASEAN            | Brunei      | 0               |            |                        | 0             | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       | 0   |                           |                       |             | 0                                   | 0           | 0                               |
| AN               | Indonesia   | 0               |            |                        | 0             | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       | 0   |                           | 0                     | 0           | 0                                   | 0           | 0                               |
|                  | Thailand    | 0               |            | 0                      | 0             | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       | 0   |                           | 0                     | 0           | 0                                   | 0           |                                 |
|                  | Malaysia    | 0               | 0          |                        | 0             | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       | 0   |                           | 0                     | 0           | 0                                   | 0           |                                 |
|                  | Singapore   | 0               |            | 0                      | 0             | 0                    |              | 0                          | 0                  |               | 0                                       | 0   | 0                         | 0                     | 0           |                                     |             |                                 |
| Latin<br>Amer    | Chile       | 0               | 0          |                        |               | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       | 0   | 0                         | 0                     | 0           | 0                                   |             |                                 |
| Latin<br>America | Mexico      | 0               | 0          |                        |               | 0                    | 0            | 0                          | 0                  | 0             | 0                                       | 0   | 0                         |                       | 0           | 0                                   | 0           |                                 |
| Europe           | Switzerland | 0               | 0          |                        | 0             | 0                    | 0            | O<br>Prof. Yorizur         | O<br>ni Watanabe,  | O<br>Keio Uni | O<br>Versity                            | 0   | 0                         | 0                     | 0           | 0                                   | 8           |                                 |

# Membership and Economic Importance of Regional Integration Frameworks



|         | Trade<br>(2012) | Trade<br>(2012) | GDP<br>(2011)   | GDP<br>(2011) |
|---------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
|         | Billion<br>US\$ | Share<br>(%)    | Billion<br>US\$ | Share (%)     |
| JCK FTA | 6,619           | 17.9            | 14,280.9        | 20.4          |
| RCEP    | 10,470          | 28.4            | 19,929.9        | 28.5          |
| TPP     | 9,545           | 25.9            | 26,593.4        | 38.0          |
| TTIP    | 15,602          | 42.3            | 32,686.5        | 46.8          |
| World   | 36,890          | 100.0           | 69,899.2        | 100.0         |

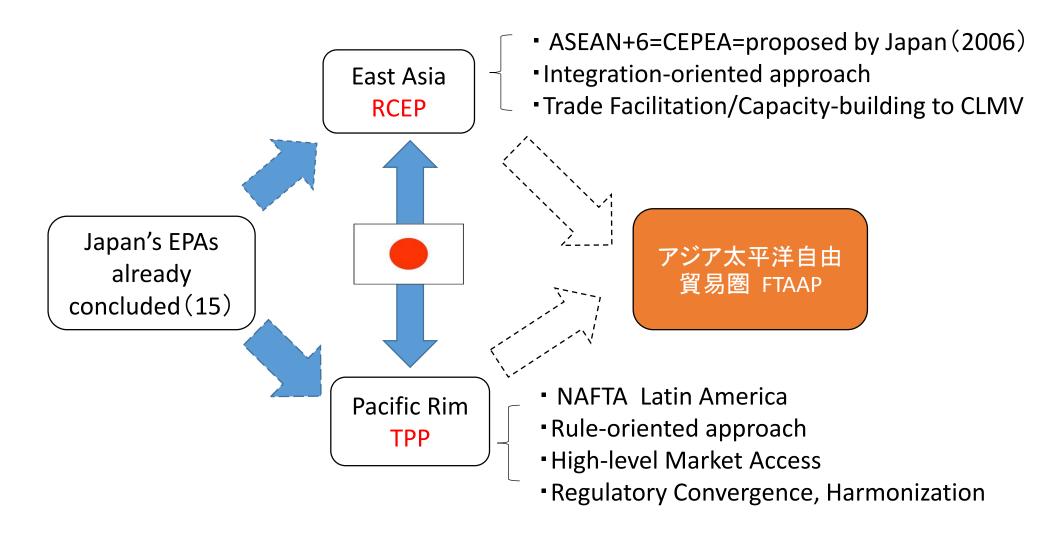
## Japan-China-Korea: a missing piece of jigsaw

Share of Trade (2010)

| EXPORT (%) | Japan          | China           | Korea          | IMPOR<br>(%) |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| Japan      |                | 19.4%<br>(No.1) | 8.1%<br>(No.3) | Japar        |
| China      | 7.7%<br>(No.3) |                 | 4.4%<br>(No.4) | China        |
| Korea      | 6.0%<br>(No.3) | 25.1%<br>(No.1) |                | Korea        |

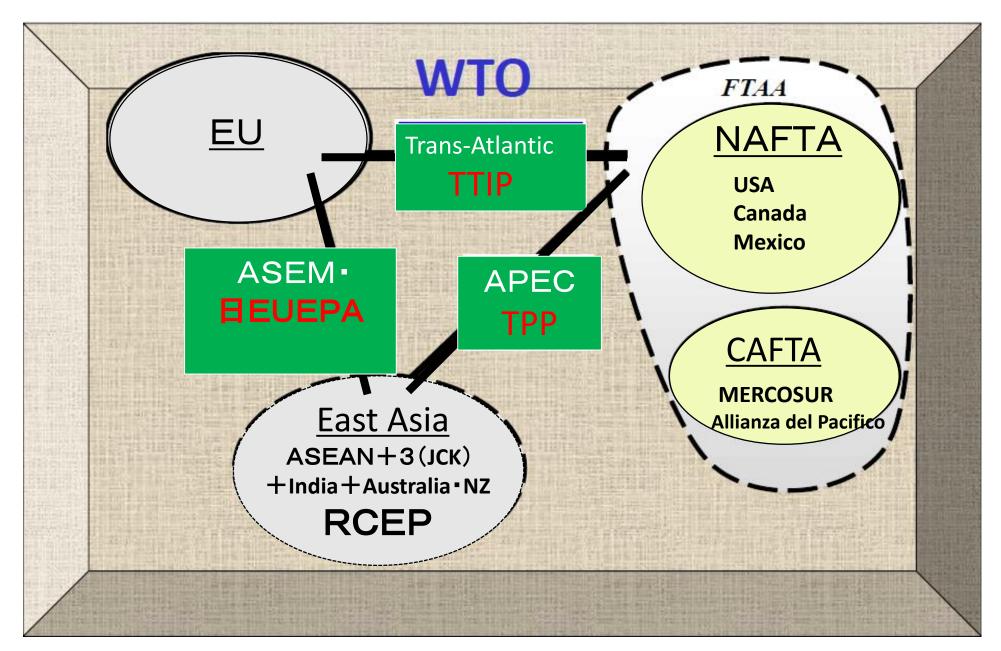
| IMPORT<br>(%) | Japan           | China           | Korea          |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Japan         |                 | 22.1%<br>(No.1) | 4.1%<br>(No.6) |
| China         | 12.7%<br>(No.1) |                 | 9.9%<br>(No.2) |
| Korea         | 15.1%<br>(No.3) | 16.8%<br>(No.1) |                |

## Japan's EPA Strategy -- Japan as a Pivotal Centre between TPP &RCEP --



## Concluding Remarks: Increasing Coherence Japan's FTA Policy to Multilateralise Regionalism

- TPP(Asia-Pacific): an ultimate FTA with the ultimate partner; i.e. USA
- RCEP(East Asia): Providing a Legal Framework to Secure "de-facto Business-driven Integration"
- Japan-China-Korea FTA: missing parts of the jigsaw puzzle
- Japan-EU FTA: towards an Asia-Europe partnership
- Joint Efforts to Multilateralize the Preferential Deals with a view to Strengthening the WTO



### Multilateralizing Mega-FTAs: Three Reasons

- Systemic Reasons: from non-binding cooperation to fully-binding high level FTAs
- Functional Reasons: from regional production network to global value chains by making new rules on investment, competition, government procurement etc.
- Institutional Reasons: gather like-minded countries to shape a "critical mass"

### Multilateralizing Regionalism

- Convergence of Liberalization Efforts in 3 Mega FTAs, i.e. TPP, TTIP, and the Japan-EU EPA
- A New Momentum to reinforce the Trade Multilateralism embodied in the WTO
- Japan and the US should demonstrate leadership in TPP and beyond

## Thank you for Your Attention --- Free Trade for a Better Future ---

