Era of Mega FTAs -Challenges and Global Governance

July 12, 2013
Michitaka NAKATOMI
Consulting Fellow,
Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry
Special Advisor,
Japan External Trade Organization

I Emergence of Mega FTAs

1 Why?

Stalemate in the WTO and Doha Round

- -"Slowness" and "Narrowness" of the Round
- Flaw of decision making system based on consensus and single undertaking
- 2 Proliferation of FTAs381 RTAs are in force according to the WTO.

I Emergence of Mega FTAs

3 Mega FTAs

TPP

RCEP

Japan-China-Korea

Japan- EU (EIA)

EU-US (TTIP)



Japan is involved in 4 of them!

Development of Japan's EPA/FTA Networks

Took Effect/Signed 12 countries and 1 region **Under Study/discussion** 1 country **Under Negotiations** 5 countries and 4 regions EU Turkey China-Japan-Korea Under negotiations Under joint study **Under negotiations** Canada **Under negotiations** Mongolia Republic of Korea **Under negotiations TPP** Negotiations suspended Welcomed Japan as **USA Switzerland** India **ASEAN (AJCEP)** a new participant Took effect Took effect in Dec. 2008 in negotiations Took effect in Sep. 2009 in Aug. 2011 Colombia **Thailand Vietnam** Mexico **Under negotiations** Took effect Took effect Took effect Malaysia GCC in Nov. 2007 in Oct. 2009 in Apr. 2005 Took effect **Under negotiations** Revised in in Jul. 2006 **Philippines** Brunei Apr. 2012 GCC : Saudi Arabia. Kuwait, United Arab Took effect Took effect Singapore Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, in Jul. 2008 in Dec. 2008 Peru Took effect Took effect in Nov. 2002, Indonesia In Mar. 2012 revised in Sep. **Australia** Took effect 2007 **Under negotiations** in Jul. 2008 Chile

RCEP

Under negotiations

Took effect

in Sep. 2007

I Emergence of Mega FTAs

Importance of Japan-EU FTA (EIA)

- -Growth
- -Trade and Investment
- -Employment
- -Innovation
- -Global Value Chains
- -Third Country Collaboration, etc.

Benefit of EIA for EU and Japan through Reducing Tariffs and NTMs

"Assessment of barriers to trade and investment between the EU and Japan" (February 3, 2010) prepared for the European Commission, DG Trade, by Copenhagen Economics

- While tariff dismantling would be beneficial to both economies, the real gains would be reaped by lowering regulatory differences.
- The study focuses predominantly on regulatory measures in seven key sectors in Japan. (Pharmaceuticals, medical devices, processed foods, cars, transport equipment, telecoms, and financial services)
 - The study estimates that trade flows could increase by €43 billion for the EU and €53 billion for Japan.
 - e.g.) EU motor vehicles exports to Japan could increase by up to 84% (by up to €4.7 billion)
 - EU pharmaceutical exports to Japan could increase by 60-100% (by up to €3.4 billion)
 - EU medical devices exports to Japan could increase by 51% (by €1.1 billion)
 - While more than half of the trade benefits go to Japan, two-thirds of the welfare benefits go to the EU (€33 billion for the EU and €18 billion for Japan).
- The study uses information on the trade costs of regulatory barriers obtained through a survey of European firms operating in Japan.

Summary of Impact	EU	Japan
Export Effects (Tariffs)	+€14bn	+€25bn
Export Effects (NTMs)	+€29bn	+€28bn
Welfare Effects	+€33bn	+€18bn

Huge Job Creation by Japanese Companies in Europe



No. 1 Investor in Japan 7,314 billion yen(2011) No. 4 Investor in the EU 129 billion euro(2010)

Source: BOJ, Eurostat

Japanese overseas affiliates in the EU

Survey of Overseas Business Activities as of 2011(FY), METI

Number of employees: over 437,000

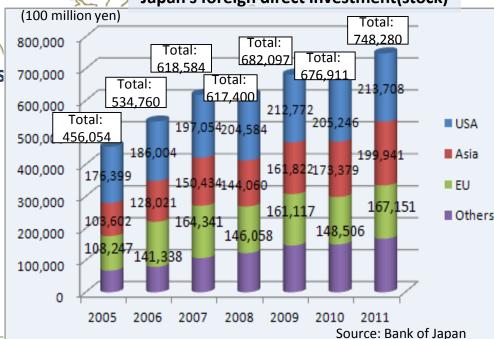
Sales: <u>27,437 bln yen</u>

Intraregional procurement: 5,646 bln yen

*Number of Employees by Japanese affiliates

UK140,705Netherland58,227Germany59,304Belgium33,226France25,319Italy21,545Spain12,848

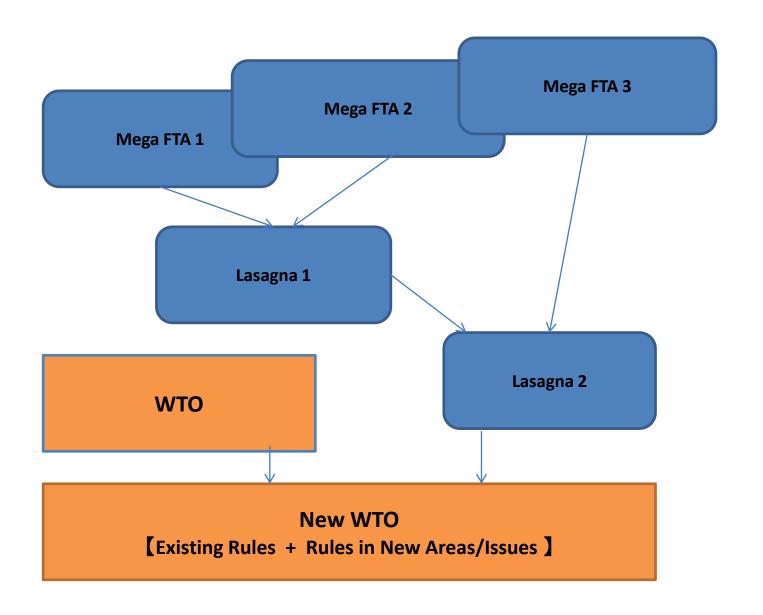
Japan's foreign direct investment(stock)



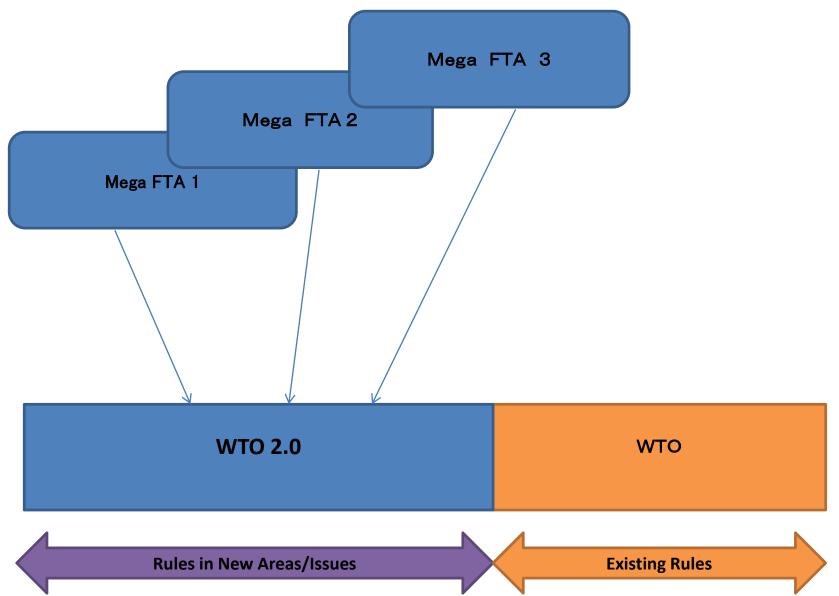
II 4 Possible Scenarios for Global Governance in the Era of Mega FTAs

- 1 Euphoric Scenario
- 2 WTO 2.0 (Richard Baldwin's Scenario)
- 3 Fragmentation Scenario (Spaghetti Bowl in Rules)
- 4 Scenario for avoiding Fragmentation e.g. Utilization of Issue-Based Plurilateral Agreements

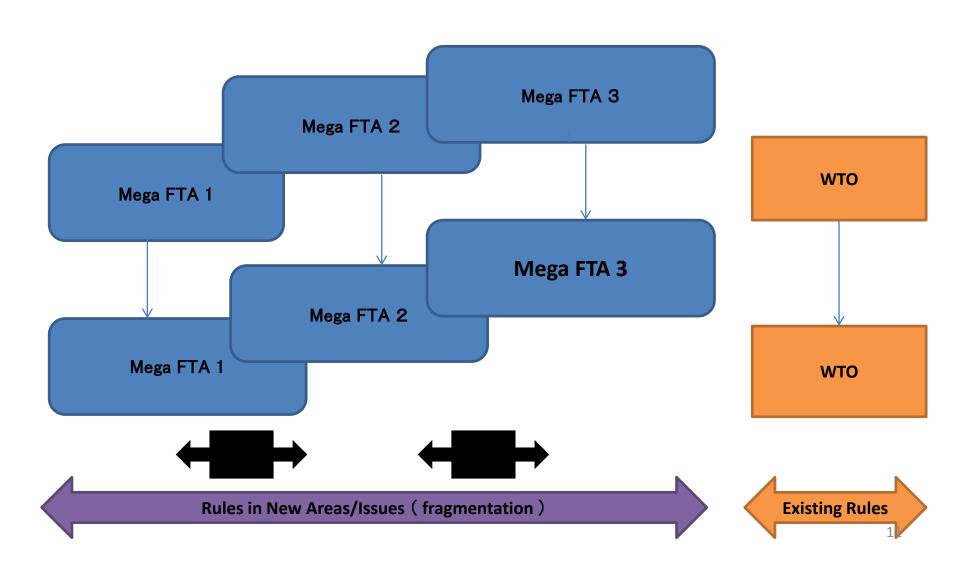
Scenario 1 Euphoric Scenario



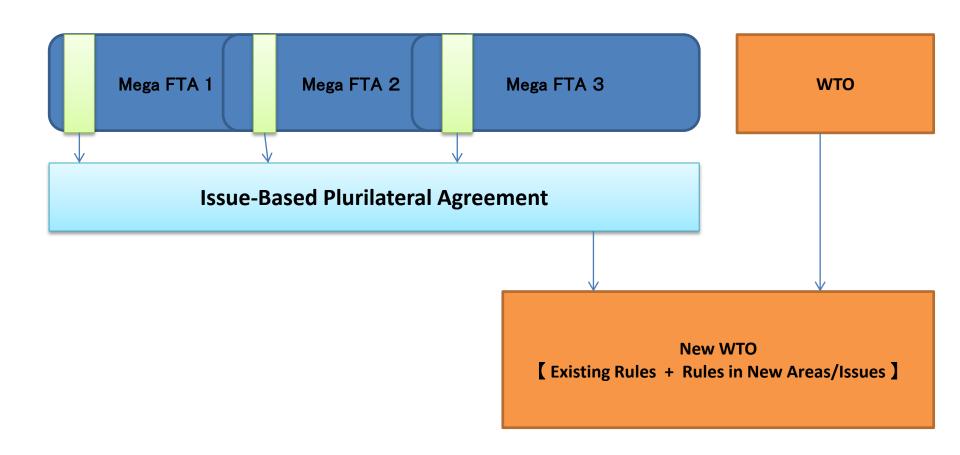
Scenario 2 WTO 2.0 (Baldwin's Scenario)



Scenario 3 Spaghetti Bowl in Rules (Fragmentation Scenario)



Scenario 4 Scenario for avoiding Fragmentation e.g.Utilization of Issue-Based Plurilateral Agreements (e.g. ISCA)



III What should we do to avoid "Spaghetti Bowls" in Rules?

- 1 To have a clear vision on the future of the global trade system
- Avoidance of "hegemonic" trade games
- Importance of the WTO system
- 2 Collaboration toward a "global solution"
- FTAs are "regional" in definition
- 3 Concept of "Global Value Chains" based on governmentbusiness collaboration
 - e.g. Creation of Industry Advisory Body to the WTO
- 4 Issue-based rulemaking
- Utilizing issue-based plurilateral agreements as well as FTAs to complement the WTO
 - e.g. ITA, ACTA, ISCA

III What should we do to avoid "Spaghetti Bowls" in Rules?

See

Michitaka Nakatomi, "Plurilateral Agreements: A viable alternative to the WTO?" (in Richard Baldwin, Masahiro Kawai, Ganeshan Wignaraja, eds, *The Future of the World Trading System: Asian Perspectives*, VoxEU eBook (June 11, 2013))

Michitaka Nakatomi, "Exploring Future Application of Plurilateral Trade Rules: Lessons from the ITA and the ACTA" (2012, RIETI)

5 Transparency

 Internal transparency in FTAs and external transparency to non-members

IV International Supply Chain Agreement (ISCA)

 A trial to regain global governance in the era of mega FTAs
 See ISCA Concept Paper by the author (Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2012)

Key Concepts

- Issue-based plurilateral agreement covering multiple supply chain related issues
- Complementary to WTO agreements
- Issues are selected in close consultation by the major countries and their industries
- MFN extension to provide the basis for future rules
- Avoiding the fragmentation of trade rules and the spaghetti bowl phenomenon
- Conclusion within a maximum of 3 years

IV International Supply Chain Agreement (ISCA)

 WEF Enabling Trade Report 2013 and World Bank blog by Bernhard Hoeckman and Selina Jackson referred to ISCA as a possible "holistic approach" to GVC issues

Recent Sweden National Board of Trade Report also referred to ISCA

References:

World Economic Forum, "Enabling Trade: Valuing Growth Opportunities" (2013),P27

Bernard Hoeckman and Selina Jackson, "Shifting Focus in Trade Agreements-From Market Access to Value Chain Barriers" (2013) (http://blogs.worldbank.org/trade)

National Board of Trade, Sweden, "Global Value Chains and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership" (2013), P6

V China in Global Trade Regime

- 1 Recent changes and challenges
- Deceleration of Growth
- Cost Overhang
- Environmental and Sustainability Issues
- Demography (Aging Population)
- Tensions with Neighboring Countries
- 2 Necessity for collaboration among major players (EU, US, Japan, etc.) to encourage China to become a stakeholder in the global system

V China in Global Trade Regime

- 3 Illustrations of possible collaborations in trade areas
- Enforcing WTO compatibility
 e.g. Rare Metals Case, Anti-dumping Cases
- Investment Regime
 e.g. Plurilateral Investment Agreement
- Intellectual Property
 e.g. Inviting China to the ACTA
- 4 RCEP and Japan-China-Korea FTA are paving the way for the future in integrating China as a real stakeholder in the global trade regime and value chains.