平成22年度 日米フォーラム(米国)

JEF-PIIE Conference

A Joint Conference sponsored by the Japan Economic Foundation and Peterson Institute for International Economics

報告書

2010年10月25日(月) (米国 ワシントン DC 開催)

財団法人 国際経済交流財団



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平成22年度 日米フォーラム 2010年10月25日(月) (於:米国ワシントンDC)



開会の辞 バーグステン所長



開会の辞 畠山会長



開会の様子



セッション



セッション キャンベル国務次官補



会場の様子



セッションII



セッションII シンクレア氏とワイゼル女史



セッション|| 豊田氏と畠山会長



セッションIV



セッションIV 渡辺氏とショット氏



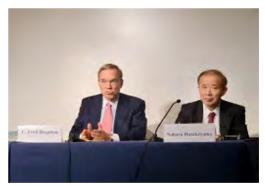
会場の様子



セッションⅢ ブレイディー下院議員(ビデオ出演)



セッションIV ショット氏 ペトリ氏 畠山会長



最終セッション バーグステン所長と畠山会長



会場の様子

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1. 開催趣旨

アジア太平洋地域では域内経済の相互依存関係を一層深化・統合するための自由貿易圏創設に向けた様々な枠組みが模索されている。EAFTA (ASEAN+3)、CEPEA (ASEAN+6)がその代表的なもので、それぞれについて政官学民の立場から共同研究が行われてきたが、2009年10月には同時並行で政府間の議論に移行することになり、新たなフェーズに入った。

一方、アジア太平洋地域全体を包含するFTAAP(アジア太平洋の自由貿易圏)構想については長期的な目標と位置付けられ、これまでにもAPECの場で議論が重ねられてきたが、本年11月横浜で開催される第18回APEC首脳会議ではその実現に向けてより掘り下げた議論が行われるものと期待されている。

また、シンガポール、ブルネイ、ニュージーランド、チリの4カ国でスタートしたTPP(環太平洋戦略的経済連携協定)については、2009年11月に米国が参加の意向を公式に表明したほか、オーストラリア、ペルー、ベトナムなどもすでに参加の意向を表明しており、これら諸国により2010年3月にはオーストラリアで、6月にはサンフランシスコで拡大発展に向けた会合が開催された。

米国のTTPへの参加表明は経済分野における米国のアジアへの関与を約束するばかりでなく、TPPの将来性を一気に高める効果を持つとともにAPECをベースとするFTAAP創設に向けたBuilding Blockとしての役割を明確にするものといえよう。

こうした状況を背景に、国際経済交流財団はPeterson Institute for International Economics (米国ワシントンD.C.) と共催で、TPPの経済効果、乗り越えるべき障害、盛り込むべき内容、加盟国、産業界からの視点、中長期的目標としてのFTAAP構想に向けたロードマップなどに焦点を当て、TPP拡大発展の過程で生じる問題点を整理し、将来の方向性を明確にする方途を提言することを目的に、日米カンファレンスをワシントンD.C.で10月下旬に開催した。

なお、本事業は財団法人 J K A より機会工業振興事業補助金の交付を受けて実施したものである。

2. 開催概要

1. 開催日時: 2010年10月25日(月)9:30AM~4:30PM

2. 開催地: 米国 ワシントン DC

The Peterson Institute for International Economics(PIIE)の会議室 1750 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036-1903, U.S.A

3. 主催者: 日本側 財団法人国際経済交流財団 Japan Economic Foundation(JEF) 米国側 The Peterson Institute for International Economics(PIIE)

4. $\mathcal{F} - \mathcal{P}$: "A Trans Pacific Partnership and the Future of the Asia Pacific Region"

5. 出席者: スピーカー/ディスカッサント 計13名

(日本) 5名

(敬称略/アルファベット順)

畠山 襄 財団法人国際経済交流財団 会長

小島 明 公益社団法人日本経済研究センター 研究顧問

豊田 正和 財団法人日本エネルギー経済研究所 理事長

渡辺 喜宏 株式会社三菱東京 UFJ 銀行 顧問、ABAC 日本委員

井上 勝 財団法人国際経済交流財団 業務部長

(ニュージーランド) 1名

Mark Sinclair, Lead Negotiator, Trans-Pacific Partnership, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFAT), New Zealand

(米国) 7名

C. Fred Bergsten, Director, Peterson Institute for International Economics Kurt Campbell, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Daniel Price, Senior Partner, Sidley Austin LLP

Barbara Weisel, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Southeast Asia and the Pacific

Congressman Kevin Brady (R-TX) [via Video Conference]

Jeffrey Schott, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics

Peter A. Petri, Carl J. Shapiro Professor of International Finance, Brandeis University and Senior Fellow, East-West Center 6. 形 式: オープン・シンポジウム (来場者:約150名)

7. 使用言語: 英語

8. お問合先: 日本側 財団法人国際経済交流財団 (JEF)

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Yvonne Priestly, Meetings coordinator (email:ypriestley@piie.com)

3. 詳細日程

A TRANS PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP AND THE FUTURE OF THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION

A Joint Conference sponsored by the Japan Economic Foundation and Peterson Institute for International Economics

Monday, October 25, 2010

1750 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036

Agenda

9:30 – 9:45 a.m. Welcome and Introduction

C. Fred Bergsten, Peterson Institute for International Economics Noboru Hatakeyama, Japan Economic Foundation (JEF)

9:45 – 11:00 a.m. Session I: The Economic and Strategic Context

Kurt Campbell, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Akira Kojima, Senior Research Fellow, Japan Center for Economic Research (JCER)

Daniel Price, Senior Partner, Sidley Austin LLP

11:00 – 12:30p.m. Session II: Shaping the Trans Pacific Partnership: Substance and Membership

Masakazu Toyoda, Chairman and CEO of the Institute of Energy Economies, Japan

Barbara Weisel, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Southeast Asia and he Pacific

Mark Sinclair, Lead Negotiator, Trans-Pacific Partnership, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), New Zealand

12:30–2:00 p.m. Lunch and Session III: How Congress Views the TPP

Congressman Kevin Brady (R-TX) [Via Video Conference]

2:00 – 4:00 p.m. Session IV: The Trans Pacific Partnership and Prospects for an FTAAP

Yoshihiro Watanabe, Advisor, Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ, Ltd; APEC Business Advisory Council Member of Japan

Jeffrey J. Schott, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics

Discussants: *Peter* A. *Petri*, Carl J. Shapiro Professor of International Finance, Brandeis University and Senior Fellow, East-West Center

4:00 – 4:30 p.m. Session V: Conclusions and Recommendations

Noboru Hatakeyama, Japan Economic Foundation

C. Fred Bergsten, Peterson Institute for International Economics

4. 出席者

シンポジウムには、約150名の聴衆が来場した。政府関係者、駐米各国大使館や国際機関をはじめ、シンクタンク、大学、民間企業、並びに新聞・TV・通信社等各種メディア(日系・米系・中国系・韓国系等)の出席があった。米系メディアではNPR、AP通信をはじめとし、日系メディアでは、新聞(朝日、読売、日経、産経)、TV(NHK、TBS、テレビ東京、TV朝日)、通信社(時事通信社、共同通信社)が出席していた。また、中国系メディア、韓国系メディアも複数名の出席があった。

(in order of appearance)

C. Fred Bergsten

C. Fred Bergsten has been director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics since its creation in 1981. The Institute is the only major research institution in the United States devoted to international economic issues. It has been called "the most influential think tank on the planet," has a staff of about 50, moved into its award-winning new building in 2001, averages two or three publications per month, and holds at least one conference or policy meeting every week. Dr. Bergsten has been the most widely quoted think-tank economist in the world over the eight-year period 1997–2005. He testifies frequently before Congress and appears often on television. He was ranked 37 in the top 50 "Who Really Moves the Markets?" (Fidelity Investment's *Worth*), with Alan Greenspan ranked first, and as "one of the ten people who can change your life" in *USA Today*, along with the inventor of the World Wide Web and the discoverer of ozone layer depletion.

Dr. Bergsten was assistant secretary for international affairs of the US Treasury during 1977–81. He also functioned as undersecretary for monetary affairs during 1980-81, representing the United States on the G-5 Deputies and in preparing G-7 summits. During 1969–71, starting at age 27, Dr. Bergsten coordinated US foreign economic policy in the White House as assistant for international economic affairs to Dr. Henry Kissinger at the National Security Council. He has been a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution (1972-76), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1981), and the Council on Foreign Relations (1967–68). He is co-chairman of the Private Sector Advisory Group to the United States-India Trade Policy Forum. Dr. Bergsten was chairman of the Eminent Persons Group of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum from 1993 to 1995, authoring its three reports that recommended "free and open trade in the region by 2010 and 2020" as adopted at the APEC summits in 1993 and 1994. He was also chairman of the Competitiveness Policy Council created by the Congress from 1991 through 1995; its 12 members included corporate CEOs, labor union presidents, and Cabinet officers and were appointed by the president and the congressional leadership. Dr. Bergsten was a member of the two leading commissions on reform of the international monetary system: the Independent Task Force on The Future International Financial Architecture, sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations (1999), and the International Financial Institutions Advisory Commission created by Congress (2000, on which he led the dissenting minority).

Dr. Bergsten has received the Meritorious Honor Award of the Department of State (1965), the Exceptional Service Award of the Treasury Department (1981), and the Legion d'Honneur from the Government of France (1985). He has been named an honorary fellow of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1997).

Dr. Bergsten was born in 1941. He received MA, MALD, and PhD degrees from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a BA magna cum laude and honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from Central Methodist University. He has been married to the former Virginia Wood since 1962 and has one son, Mark, now a doctor, born in 1968. His favorite hobbies include playing basketball, photography, and snorkeling.

Noboru Hatakeyama

Noboru Hatakeyama is the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Japan Economic Foundation

(JEF) since 2002. He served as the Chairman and CEO of Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) during the period between 1998 and 2002. Originally, he joined the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) in 1959 and he served as a Secretary to Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki from 1980 to 1982. He had been appointed as the Director-General of various bureaus and department which included the Petroleum Department of the MITI's Agency of Natural Resources and Energy from 1984 to 1986, International Trade Administration Bureau from 1986 to 1988, the Basic Industries Bureau of the MITI from 1988 to 1989, the International Trade Policy Bureau from 1989 to 1991. He was appointed the MITI's Vice-Minister for International Affairs from 1991 to 1993. During this period, he was a Japan's representative in GATT Uruguay Round negotiations and other negotiations mainly with the U.S. and the EU especially on automobile issues. He is well-known as a pioneer of Japan's free trade agreements, including the Japan-Mexico, Japan-Chile and Japan-Singapore FTAs. He authored a book 'Trade Negotiation, Dramas around National Interest', published in Japanese by the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Inc. He graduated from Tokyo University's Faculty of Law in 1959.

Kurt M. Campbell

Kurt Campbell became the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs in June 2009. Previously, he was the CEO and Co-Founder of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) and concurrently served as the director of the Aspen Strategy Group and chairman of the Editorial Board of the Washington Quarterly. He was the founder of StratAsia, a strategic advisory firm, and was the senior vice president, director of the International Security Program, and Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He was also associate professor of public policy and international relations at the John F. Kennedy School of Government and assistant director of the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University.

Dr. Campbell has served in several capacities in government, including as deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asia and the Pacific, a director on the National Security Council Staff, deputy special counselor to the president for NAFTA in the White House, and White House fellow at the Department of the Treasury. For his service, he received the Department of Defense Medals for Distinguished Public Service and for Outstanding Public Service. He served as an officer in the U.S. Navy on the Joint Chiefs of Staff and in the Chief of Naval Operations Special Intelligence Unit.

He is the co-author with Jim Steinberg of Difficult Transitions: Why Presidents Fail in Foreign Policy at the Outset of Power, with Michael Flournoy of To Prevail: An American Strategy for the Campaign against Terrorism, with Michael O'Hanlon of Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security, and he co-authored with Nirav Patel The Power of Balance: America in iAsia. He is the editor of Climatic Cataclysm: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Climate Change, and The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices with Robert Einhorn and Mitchell Reiss.

He received his B.A. from the University of California, San Diego, a Certificate in music and political philosophy from the University of Erevan in Soviet Armenia, and his Doctorate in International Relations from Brasenose College at Oxford University where he was a Distinguished Marshall Scholar.

Akira Kojima

Kojima Akira is currently Senior Research Fellow of the Japan Center for Economic Research (JCER) and also visiting professor of GRIPS(National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies). He

is a graduate of Waseda University, and was a British Council Scholar at Manchester University (1969-70). His current positions include: vice Chairman of World Trade Center(Tokyo), member of the Trilateral Commission, Councilor for Aspen Institute, Japan; and member of the Board of Trustees of United States—Japan Foundation. He has published several books in both Japanese and English including A New Development Model of Japan(2008, Japan Journal), Reporting on the Global Economy (2000, Japan Society, NY); US—Japan Relationship in the 21st Century: The Changing Context of U.S. Japan Relations (1998, Nihon Keizai Shimbun Press) and Community Building with Pacific Asia: A Report to the Trilateral Commission, 1997).

Daniel M. Price

Daniel M. Price is Senior Partner for Global Issues and a member of the Executive Committee at Sidley Austin LLP. He works with Sidley lawyers worldwide advising clients on a wide range of international regulatory, transactional and policy matters, including global financial regulation, trade and climate change. He also represents clients in the resolution of international disputes. Mr. Price rejoins Sidley after serving as Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economic Affairs in the Administration of George W. Bush. In this role, he was the senior White House official responsible for international economic issues, including international trade and investment, humanitarian relief, and the international aspects of financial system reform, energy security and climate change. Mr. Price was the President's personal representative to the G8, the G20 Financial Summit and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum. He also served as U.S. chair of various cabinet-level bilateral economic dialogues, including the Transatlantic Economic Council.

Prior to his White House service, Mr. Price was chair of Sidley's 50-member International Trade & Dispute Resolution group and counseled multinational companies, financial institutions and trade associations on market access, services, investment, CFIUS and sanctions issues and matters arising in intergovernmental negotiations. Mr. Price also advised companies and governments in disputes arising under international trade agreements and investment treaties such as the WTO and NAFTA. He has served as counsel or arbitrator in multi-million dollar, precedent-setting disputes under all major international arbitration rules.

From 2002-2007, Mr. Price served by Presidential appointment on the Panel of Arbitrators of the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), and was a party-appointed arbitrator in a number of investment disputes. President Bush re-appointed Mr. Price to the ICSID Panel as of January 20, 2009. He also serves on the Board of Directors of the American Arbitration Association.

Mr. Price served as USTR Principal Deputy General Counsel (1989-1992), where he negotiated trade and investment agreements with the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Latin America. He also served as USTR's lead negotiator on investment issues in the NAFTA talks. Mr. Price served as Deputy Agent to the Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal in The Hague (1984-1986), representing the U.S. government and advising U.S. businesses in arbitrating claims against Iran stemming from the Iranian revolution.

Mr. Price has been a commentator on BBC, CNBC, Reuters, PBS, Bloomberg and NPR. His articles have appeared in the *New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Politico*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Harvard International Law Journal*.

Mr. Price received his B.A. with high honors from Haverford College in 1977; a Diploma in Legal Studies in 1979 from Cambridge University, where he was an American Keasbey Scholar;

and his J.D. in 1981 from Harvard Law School, where he was Articles Editor of the Harvard Law Review.

Masakazu Toyoda

Masakazu Toyoda is the chairman and chief executive officer of the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ). Toyoda began his career in 1973 in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and his experience in such fields as trade, energy and environment is extensive. In particular, he held such positions, in the International Trade Policy Bureau, as director of the Americas division, and director-general of the Multilateral Trade System Department. In 2003, he was named the director-general of the commerce and information policy bureau. In 2006, Toyoda became the director-general of the Trade Policy Bureau and was made vice-minister for international affairs the following year. During the period in charge of trade policy, he made substantial contribution to create APEC, conclude Uruguay Round, resolve US/Japan auto trade dispute, launch Doha developmental round and so on. In 2008, he became secretary general at the secretariat of strategic headquarters for space policy, Cabinet Secretariat. He has also served as special adviser to the cabinets on the Asian economy and climate change. He attended the University of Tokyo, graduating in 1973 with a bachelor degree in law. He continued his education at The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, and graduated in 1979 with a master's degree in public affairs.

Barbara Weisel

Barbara Weisel joined the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative in 1994 and was appointed to the position of Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Southeast Asia and the Pacific in 2004. In this position, she is responsible for developing and implementing U.S. trade policy relating to countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. She is the lead negotiator for the Trans-Pacific Partnership initiative and led the U.S. Free Trade Agreement negotiations with Malaysia and Thailand. Prior to this, Ms. Weisel served as Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Bilateral Asian Affairs, where she was the deputy lead negotiator on the U.S.-Australia FTA and worked on the Singapore FTA as well as other Southeast Asian and Korean issues. She previously served as Director for Japan Affairs. Before joining USTR, Ms. Weisel worked at the State Department from 1984-1994. During this time, she served in a variety of positions, including as international economist on Japan, the Persian Gulf, and North Africa. Ms. Weisel received Masters Degrees from Harvard University and her Bachelor's Degree from Connecticut College.

Mark Sinclair

Mark Sinclair graduated as Master of Arts from the University of Auckland in 1977 before joining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In his early years in the department he was a Japan specialist: he spent two years from 1978 studying at the Foreign Service Institute in Yokohama, followed by assignments in the New Zealand embassy in Tokyo and the Asia Division in Wellington.

After serving as Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs he was posted to Honiara as Deputy High Commissioner. From 1986 to 1989 he was seconded to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet as foreign policy adviser in the Prime Minister's Advisory Group, focusing mainly on regional affairs, defence and security. He continued to specialise in security and political affairs during a posting to Canberra and in the Australia Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

From 1995 to 2000 he worked on organisational development and human resources policy, first in the Personnel Division and then as Director of the Chief Executive's Office. Since 2001 he has focused on trade and economic affairs, first as Deputy Permanent Representative in the New Zealand Mission to the WTO in Geneva, then as Director of the Trade Negotiations Division and senior New Zealand official for the WTO Doha process. Since late 2008 he has been New Zealand's lead negotiator for the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiation.

Kevin Brady

Kevin Brady considers it an honor to be representing the 8th District of Texas in the U.S House of Representatives.

A pro-family, pro-small business conservative, Kevin's strong belief in free enterprise guides him as the Senior House Republican on the Joint Economic Committee.

A Deputy Whip for the GOP Leadership team, Kevin serves on the House Ways & Means Committee, considered by many to be the most powerful committee in Congress, with jurisdiction over 2/3 of the federal budget including taxes, Social Security, Medicare, international trade and welfare. As the Ranking Member on the Subcommittee on Trade and a member of the Social Security Subcommittee, Kevin fights for free market solutions to our country's economic challenges and preservation of the programs that help our seniors.

As the White House's point man in the successful passage of the Central American Free Trade Agreement, Kevin is excited about the thousands of new jobs that free trade has created here in Texas.

Prior to his election in Congress, Kevin worked as a chamber of commerce executive for 18 years and served six years in the Texas House of Representatives where he was a leader on victims' rights issues and named one of the Ten Best Legislators for Families & Children. In 1994 he was named one of Five Outstanding Young Texans.

In order to stay close to the people he represents, Kevin, An original Hometown Hero of The Woodlands is a million mile flyer with Continental Airlines. He chooses to commute to work in Washington each week so he, and his wife, Cathy Patronella Brady, can raise their two sons, Will (11) and Sean (7) in The Woodlands where they attend Saints Simons and Jude Catholic Church. A Paul Harris Fellow in Rotary, Kevin is also a Distinguished Alumni of the University of South Dakota.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Congressman Brady's major legislative accomplishments include:

- Restoring the federal sales tax deduction which saves Texas taxpayers \$1 billion a year.
- Passing the Teacher Liability Protection Act that protects teachers against frivolous lawsuits when they maintain order and discipline in the classroom.
- In the wake of 9-11, establishing a national network of university homeland security research centers to prevent and respond to future terrorist attacks, including the center at Texas A & M.
- Helping create the Texas Institute of Genomic Research, a cutting-edge research center that will accelerate new medical discoveries and create 5,000 new Texas jobs.
- Spearheading House efforts on Hurricane recovery in the wake of Rita and Ike.

In Congress, Kevin is recognized as the author of the bi-partisan Federal Sunset Act to abolish obsolete federal agencies and eliminate waste and duplication by placing an expiration date on

every federal program.

A strong supporter of medical research who created the Texas Birth Defects Registry as a state legislator, Kevin has a special interest in finding cures for rare diseases, especially Primary Pulmonary Hypertension – for now an incurable disease that strikes young women of child-bearing age in growing numbers.

In Congress he has been named *Hero-of-the-Taxpayers*, *Small Business Champion* and *Super-Friend of the Seniors*. He has received the *Golden Bulldog Award* by Watchdogs of the Treasury, special recognition by Citizens Against Government Waste, and is a perennial winner of the *Guardian of Small Business*, *Taxpayer Hero* and *Spirit of Enterprise* awards.

Recently he was named *Deep East Texas Legislator-of-the-Year* and *Outstanding Texas Political Leader-of-the-Year*.

Yoshihiro Watanabe

Mr. Yoshihiro Watanabe is Advisor of the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ, Ltd. as well as Managing Director of the Institute for International Monetary Affairs in Japan.

He also concurrently serves as Chair for the Finance and Economics Working Group of the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC) as a member of Japan appointed by the Prime Minister of Japan in 2007. Among his other external activities, Mr. Watanabe also serves as Chairman for the Standing Committee of Japan-India Business Co-operation Committee at The Japan Chamber of Commerce & Industry.

Mr. Watanabe started his career at The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd. in 1970. After actively engaging in international banking in Tokyo, Hong Kong, London and Taipei, in 2005 he took up the post of Chief Executive Officer for Asia and Oceania and the Chief Executive of Global Corporate Banking Business Unit as Senior Managing Director.

Subsequently, Mr. Watanabe was assigned to be Chief Risk Management Officer for the Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group as Senior Managing Director of the Board until 2008.

He was a visiting lecturer at Kyoto University, Author of a book 'Islamic Bank and Finance' in Japanese by PHP.

Born in July 1947, Mr. Watanabe received his degree from the University of Tokyo, Faculty of Law.

Jeffrey J. Schott

Jeffrey J. Schott joined the Peterson Institute for International Economics in 1983 and is a senior fellow working on international trade policy and economic sanctions. During his tenure at the Institute, Schott was also a visiting lecturer at Princeton University (1994) and an adjunct professor at Georgetown University (1986–88). He was a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1982–83) and an official of the US Treasury Department (1974–82) in international trade and energy policy. During the Tokyo Round of multilateral trade negotiations, he was a member of the US delegation that negotiated the GATT Subsidies Code. Since January 2003, he has been a member of the Trade and Environment Policy Advisory Committee of the US government. He is also a member of the Advisory Committee on International Economic Policy of the US Department of State.

Schott is the author, coauthor, or editor of several books on trade, including Figuring Out the Doha

Round (2010), Reengaging Egypt: Options for US-Egypt Economic Relations (2010), Economic Sanctions Reconsidered, 3rd edition (2007), Trade Relations Between Colombia and the United States (2006), NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges (2005), Free Trade Agreements: US Strategies and Priorities (2004), Prospects for Free Trade in the Americas (2001), Free Trade between Korea and the United States? (2001), NAFTA and the Environment: Seven Years Later (2000), The WTO After Seattle (2000), Restarting Fast Track (1998), The World Trading System: Challenges Ahead (December 1996), The Uruguay Round: An Assessment (1994), Western Hemisphere Economic Integration (1994), NAFTA: An Assessment (1993), North American Free Trade: Issues and Recommendations (1992), Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy (second edition, 1990), Completing the Uruguay Round (1990), Free Trade Areas and U.S. Trade Policy (1989), and The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement: The Global Impact (1988), as well as numerous articles on US trade policy and the GATT.

Schott holds a BA degree magna cum laude from Washington University, St. Louis (1971), and an MA degree with distinction in international relations from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University (1973).

Peter A. Petri

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Masaru Inoue

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He was assigned to serve as the Director General and the Managing Director of several JETRO's overseas offices including JETRO Sydney from 2000 to 2002, JETRO Hong Kong from 1994 to 1998, JETRO Lima from 1988 to 1991 and JETRO Bogota from 1970 to 1974. He was also appointed as the Director of Japan Pavilion in the Universal Exposition in Seville, Spain in 1992. Mr. Masaru Inoue graduated from Waseda University in 1964(Bachelor of Arts in Law

6. 議事要旨

以下の要約は、米国 PIIE 側で作成した英文サマリーを和訳したものである。

(日本語)

「TPP(環太平洋戦略的経済連携協定)とアジア太平洋地域の将来」

報告者: PIIE リサーチ・アナリスト ジュリア・ミューア (Juria Muir)

歓迎および開会の辞

C.フレッド・バーグステン: ピーターソン国際経済研究所所長

このフォーラムは、国際経済交流財団(JEF)とピーターソン国際経済研究所(PIIE)が長年、主に環太平洋関係に焦点を当てて共催してきた一連の会議の最新のものである。JEF の畠山襄会長を歓迎したい。畠山会長は日本の自由貿易協定のパイオニアとして最もよく知られており、TPP の今後について話し合う本日のフォーラムへの参加を心より歓迎する。

畠山襄:国際経済交流財団会長

地域統合の将来に向けた提案は5件ある。

- 1. 日中韓 FTA
- 2. ASEAN プラス 1 および ASEAN プラス 3: ASEAN 10 カ国とオーストラリア、ニュージーランド、中国、韓国、日本、インドとの間の 10+1 協定、および ASEAN と北東アジア 3 カ国との間の 10+3 連携協定を含む、アジア主体のアプローチ
- 3. ASEAN プラス 6 (CEPEA、東アジア包括的経済連携協定): EAFTA (東アジア自由貿易地域) 構想にオーストラリア、インド、ニュージーランドを加えるもの
- 4. APEC (アジア太平洋経済協力) 加盟国間の FTAAP (アジア太平洋自由貿易圏)
- 5. 現在9カ国が参加している。TPP: ただし、参加国は近々増えるとみられている。 これらの協定はほぼすべての貿易をカバーするはずである。交渉に入るための前提条件はない ものとすべきである。

TPPへの参加は、以下の2つの理由から日本の利益となる。

- 1. これは、日本と米国がアジア太平洋の地域統合という背景の中で協定に参加する、稀有な機会である。この機会を逃せば、地域 FTA の今後の展開において米国の関与が得られない事態を招くだろう。
- 2. 現状では、TPP 参加国は極めて少数である。日本を加えることは、財とサービスの大量の貿易ということよりも、はるかに大きな意味合いを持つ戦略的な動きである。

C.フレッド・バーグステン:ピーターソン国際経済研究所所長

TPPの議論は、不安定な世界のマクロ経済という背景の中で行われている。経済成長と貿易について不透明感があるため、世界的不均衡を抑制するための望ましい国際的システムを見つける必要がある。 貿易政策が果たすべき役割は重要である。私たちは再び保護主義に陥ることのないよう、より自由化 された貿易を積極的に推進しなければならない。TPP はその根幹部分となる。TPP の推進を是とする主な根拠は、以下のようなものである。

- 1. TPP の交渉は、今後何十年かのアジアとアジア太平洋地域の地域経済構造を議論する際の分水嶺となる。90年代はアジア太平洋が重視されたのに対し、過去10年はアジアのみの成長と統合に注目が集まった。今後10年の戦略的焦点は、アジアが単一のアジア圏形成に向けて独自の道を歩むのか、あるいはアジア太平洋地域の統合に向けた並行的な動きが生じてくるのかである。この二つの動きは、互いに相手に取って代わるものではない。相互に補完しあう関係であり、進展と制度構築が並行することを条件とする。
- 2. 次の焦点は、どのように進めるかである。TPPは、アジア太平洋地域の分断に拍車をかけるのではなく、アジア単独の取り組みと TPP 協定とをつなぐ架け橋にならなければならない。そのためには、TPP参加国はクリティカル・マスに達する必要がある。日本、韓国、カナダはその中心的役割を担うとみられる。
- 3. 現在の私たちの目標は、統合の見通しを話し合い、2011年のAPECホノルル首脳会議までに実現すべき明確な目標を設定することである。

セッション I:経済的、戦略的背景

カート・キャンベル:米国務次官補(東アジア・太平洋担当)

「環太平洋」よりも包括的な新しい用語を作る必要がある。現在の政治・経済状況を勘案した新用語である。例えば、インドは地域においてはるかに大きな役割を担うようになっており、環太平洋地域の対話に加わるべきである。私たちは TPP に関して日本と協議を重ねてきたことから、日本の TPP 参加への関心を心から歓迎している。すでにこれは、タイミングと戦略の問題である。

アジアからは、東アジアと太平洋地域で重要な動きが生じているにもかかわらず、米国は相変わらず中東や南アジアなど他の地域を注視している、という懸念の声が聞こえてくる。強調したい重要な点は、米国はアジア太平洋地域の貿易関係に実際に関与しているということである。アジアの側に立ち、私たちは日本の各閣僚との協議を含む外交に注力している。また私たちは、韓国、中国、マレーシア、オーストラリア、ニュージーランドのほか、カンボジア、パプア・ニューギニア、米国領サモアとのハイレベル会合にも関わっている。米国はこの地域でより力量を発揮していく必要性を認識している。これは競争、イノベーション、卓越性に対する米国の意欲に着目した、長期的な超党派の目標である。2011年は地域への経済的な関与において最も重要な時期になるだろう。

TPP は、さらなる参加国の取り込みに関して大きな関心と議論を呼んでいる。次のステップはその検討課題に集中し、制度を統一させることである。21 世紀型協定のための基準を設定することが不可欠である。APEC は、さまざまなアジア太平洋地域の取り組みの「オペレーティング・システム」として機能することができる。11 月の会議は前進のための最高の機会であり、首脳らはそのための明確な目標を設定した。

小島明:日本経済研究センター研究顧問

東アジアは、地域統合のプロセスでは後発であった。最近まで、FTA も地域制度も僅かしかなかった。

1997 年のアジア通貨危機は、中国を含むアジア経済に大きな警鐘を鳴らした。危機の規模や深刻さ、「アジアだけ危機」の性格は、欧米が全く支援の手をさしのべなかったこともあり、アジアに地域の連携強化の必要性を認識させた。東アジア(ASEAN を含む)は、海外直接投資、金融市場、国際貿易を通じて経済的な統合が更に進んでいる。

APEC は、その将来の方向性を考える必要がある。FTAAPへの可能な道筋、将来の成長、「ボゴール目標」の達成である。現状では、APEC 加盟国間で統合と貿易は平等に共有されていない。これらの問題は、今年の APEC 研究センターコンソーシアム会議(APEC Study Centers Consortium Conference)で話し合われた。提案は以下のような内容だった。

- ・ FTAAP は法的拘束力を有し、世界貿易機関 (WTO) と矛盾せず、かつ環太平洋地域の参加国を 含む高水準な協定でなければならない。
- ・ 成長の検討課題は、革新的、持続可能、包括的で、バランスがとれているべきである。
- ・ ボゴール目標の達成は開発を強化し、APEC 全加盟国の前進を支える包括的な戦略を含んでいなければならない。

TPP を支える地政学的要因には、独断専行を強める中国の役割と、この地域で米国の影響力が強まることへのアジア諸国の期待が含まれる。TPP の拡大ペース、その強力なイメージと参加国の顔ぶれも要因となる。まずアジアの統合か、あるいは TPP が先かというアプローチの違いについては、それぞれ利点、欠点もあり、韓国と日本とでは依然異なっている。しかし、TPP は統合の、そして FTAAP への道筋の重要な一部である。

ダニエル・プライス:シドリーオースティン法律事務所シニア・パートナー

TPPと米国、日本、APECについては3つの重要なポイントがある。TPPへの関与は米国にとって、以下の理由から極めて重要である。

- 1. 米国は貿易と統合に熱心に取り組んでいないというイメージを払拭すること。TPPと米韓自由貿易協定(米韓 FTA)はこの意味で極めて重要である。
- 2. この地域では市場統合を超えた米国のリーダーシップが求められているという見方を強めること。
- 3. 米国は、米国・アジア関係の基軸である貿易と投資の自由化に積極的に関与していることを示すこと。

日本にとっては、以下の理由から極めて重要である。

- ・ 今でなければ、いつなのか? TPP は、日本が米国との包括的な貿易協定に乗り出すための政治 的な機会となる。
- ・ 米国は日本に、日本が国内市場を開放し譲歩する用意があるという確実な保証を求めるべきであ る。米国は形式的な参加条件を設けるべきではない。

APEC 加盟国にとっては、以下の理由から極めて重要である。

- ・ TPPは、APECを重要な交渉の場として再生させ、新しい方向性を与える機会となる。
- ・ TPP は、APEC が言葉以上に本気で FTAAP に関与するとの見通しを抱かせる。

パネル・ディスカッション

APEC のロードマップ、将来の実績およびアジア諸国との関係拡大についての質問は、オープンな議論のためにもっと時間をかけたいというアジア諸国の希望、および課題に関与するための能力に集中した。G20 は、アジアの制度的能力という点でこれに主要な役割を果たすとみられる。アジアへの米国の関与については、カート・キャンベル氏が米国は正しい方向に向かっていると強調した。

日本の交渉参加についての議論は、すでに行われている相当量の協議が中心だった。目下の課題はタイミングと方法論である。初めて、民主党は農業改革について開かれた議論を始めている。農業の競争力を高める自由化と政策改革の社会的メリットについて、関係各方面との、徐々にだが継続的な協議が行われている。日本政府に改革の用意があるようにみえるため、米国は、日本が改革に向けて動いていることを米国が理解し奨励しているとのメッセージを日本側に送ることが重要である。

セッションII:TPP(環太平洋戦略的経済連携協定)の構想:内容と参加国

豊田正和:日本エネルギー経済研究所

TPP は、APEC を FTAAP とする為の近道。TPP には、世界が直面する課題の解決に貢献する力を持つ可能性があるが、そのためには、日本の参加は不可欠であり、結果として、APEC の活性化に役立つ。

TPP の役割と今後の課題:

- ・世界は、今、三つの課題に直面。第一に、世界的な経済危機からの脱却、第二に、ドーハ・ラウンドの行き詰まり、第三に、気候変動枠組み交渉の停滞。
- ・TPPには、これらの三つのグローバルな課題の解決に貢献する可能性があるが、そのためには、適切な参加国と適切な交渉範囲が重要。
- ・交渉の範囲については、関税撤廃のほか、サービス、政府調達、投資、競争、更には、労働・環境、 中小企業等24の作業部会があると聞いており、21世紀のGolden Rule つくりといってよいもの。 これができるなら、ドーハ交渉の良い刺激になるし、気候変動枠組み交渉にも好影響を与えうる。
- ・一方、参加国については、今のままでは不十分。小国が大半だからだ。日本や、カナダなど、交渉に関心のある大きな国を入れるべきだ。そうすれば、経済効果も大きく、先の世界が直面する3つの課題に応えうるものとなる。
- ・さらに、TPPが、APECを活性化し、FTAAPの実現につなげることになり、結果として、APECが、世界の三大課題の解決に貢献するものとなる。

日本が前に進むための課題:

・日本は、現在真剣に交渉参加について検討中。日本がすべての課題を机上に乗せる用意があると判断した場合には、関係国は、日本の参加を歓迎してくれるものと期待。米国の一部には、BSE や郵政改革などの日米二国間問題の解決を参加の前提にするべきとの意見があるようだが、米政権としては、そのような筋違いの考えをとらないことを期待。

バーバラ・ワイゼル:米通商代表部東南アジア・太平洋担当代表補

TPP は、米国でも世界でも難しい環境下で作業が行われている。米国は議会と連携し、これまでのところ米国の参加を支持しているステークホルダーへの働きかけを始めている。私たちは、TPP のメリットについて徐々にコンセンサスが得られるとの自信を持っている。

米国および TPP 参加国には3つの主な経済的目標がある:

- ・ アジア太平洋地域全体で貿易を拡大する
- ・ 21 世紀型貿易協定を交渉する
- ・ FTAAP への道筋をつける

貿易の拡大について:

- ・ 私たちは、当事者間のあらゆる貿易および貿易関連の商業のためのまとまったルールを備えた地域協定を策定しようとしている。現在、交渉中の9カ国は、この目標に全力で取り組んでいる有志連合である。目標は、世界的な金融危機を受けて緊急性が高まっている。
- ・ 各国の反発は認識しながらも、物品の市場アクセスにボトムアップ・アプローチを使用すること は合意されている。

21世紀型協定について:

- ・ 高水準の協定として、私たちは最小公倍数ではなく、最大公約数を交渉したいと考えている。つまり、ビジネスが直面する新しい課題に取り組むということである。私たちは、現在取り組んでいる一連の横断的課題を特定したが、これらは過去の FTA には含まれていなかった。こうした課題には、特に以下のようなものが含まれる。
- 1. 規制の統一: 非関税障壁を撤廃するためのアプローチを開発する。非関税障壁は、海外市場に参入しようとしている企業にとって従来の関税より大きな問題となっている
- 2. 具体的なセクター別アプローチ:目標は、TPPを活用して不必要な規制上の障壁を撤廃し、より 容易で、単純で、低コストの事業展開ができるようにすること。
- 3. 競争力と接続性の問題:コスト低減、サプライチェーンの拡充、国内の法律環境の改善に向けた協調的な取り組みを含む。
- 4. 中小企業の促進:中小企業が産業界の過半を占める米国にとっては優先課題である。問題は、どのように貿易を促進し、障壁を排除し、透明性への取り組みを推進する方法を見つけるかである。
- 5. 開発問題:私たちは、地理や発展の度合いがさまざまな国々を取り込み、高水準な協定に完全参加させようと努めている。焦点はキャパシティ・ビルディング(能力強化)と技術支援である。
- 6. これらの課題に関する膨大な作業は、過去 20 年にわたって APEC が行ってきた。これは私たちの取り組みにとって非常に重要であり、私たちは今後も APEC との緊密な連携を続けていく。

FTAAP への道筋について:

・ 目標は、TPPを拡大のプラットフォームとして活用し、アジア太平洋地域の国々を取り込んで当初グループを拡大していくことである。マレーシアの取り込み成功で、TPPが交渉プロセスの中で他の国を増やしていけることが立証された。関心を持つ他の国は、参加の前に協定の基準を満たす態勢を整える必要がある。

• TPP は、拡大のプラットフォームとしての役割を果たす、生きた協定になるとみられる。それには、新しい課題と参加国を反映しながら協定の内容を拡充していくための規定が含まれるだろう。

今後の課題は9カ国間の協定交渉を成功させ、拡大グループとの交渉をどのように進めるかを詰めることである。各国は基準を満たすよう万全の態勢をとる必要があり、協定締結にまで持ち込めない場合には参加すべきでない。2011年は5回のTPP交渉が予定されている。

マーク・シンクレア:ニュージーランド外務貿易省 TPP 主席交渉担当者

ニュージーランドを含む 4 カ国が締結した TPP (パシフィック・フォー、P4) は長期プロジェクトであり、APEC から出発した地域の取り組みだった。P4 は、市場の活性化、商業の競争力強化、他の APEC 加盟国への参加の呼びかけを明確に謳っていた。また、環境、テレコム、労働力といった新しい課題も組み込んでいた。P4 はアジア太平洋地域のモデルであり、潜在的に新たな参加国を獲得するものとされていた。それが TPP の創設を通じて実現された。次のステップは現在の参加国を踏まえ、地域統合のプラットフォームとしてどのように機能させるかを決めることである。

自由化と地域統合は TPP の検討課題の中心である。これらの目標を達成するため、参加国は今後の 道筋をよく検討する必要がある。

- ・ TPP 加盟国:より大きなグループが望ましいのか? TPP には FTAAP 創設という最終目標があるため、拡大を前提にしている。しかし、そうした多数の参加国間での進展は(ドーハのように) 容易でないため、当初は少数の国々で出発し、来年までに交渉をとりまとめるというのが妥当である。
- ・ 現在の交渉参加国はすべてハイレベルな協定を交渉しているため、ゼロからの出発ではない。今 後の道筋は制御可能なグループで出発し、そこから拡大していく。現行グループからの拡大は比 較的速いペースで進むはずである。
- 協定の設計:
 - ➤ TPP は、複数市場で事業展開している企業、特に中小企業の障害となっている規制関連の諸 経費や役所的な手続きの削減をめざすことになる。
 - ▶ P4の枠組みは、米国のFTAのモデルに大きく依存していた(例えば、サービスのネガティブ・リストを利用する)。TPPも、さまざまな協定のベスト・プラクティス(最善慣行例)を活用しながらこのモデルに従うことになる。

パネル・ディスカッション:

現在の9カ国の中では異色の存在であるベトナムについて、また、同国がどのように協定に適合するかについて議論があった。ベトナムは、ニュージーランド、オーストラリア、ASEAN 諸国と高水準の FTA を実現している。これらの協定は市場アクセス、関税撤廃、近代的な原産地規制へのコミットメントを含んでおり、それが、ベトナムは交渉に参加できるはずとの信頼感につながっている。すでに存在する FTA の地位について、パネルは、既存の協定は新しい TPP と並存することになると回答した。これは各国政府に柔軟性を与えるとみられる。利害が相反する分野があれば、課題ごとの対応がなされよう。

拡大に関する問題については、経済的な影響力を強めている追加参加国間の緊張関係、高い水準の協定を堅持するという観点から議論がなされた。交渉担当者は、新たな参加国が協定の核心部分で定められた水準を満たすことに同意すると期待している。彼らは、新規参加国が加盟しやすいように水準を下げることを望んでいない。これは参加条件があるという意味ではないが、参加国は国内市場を完全開放する覚悟を持たなければならない。各国が迅速に動く構えであれば、現行グループは可能な限り早い段階でこれらの国を迎え入れるだろう。しかし、迅速に動けなくとも、交渉担当者はこれらの国と協力して参加の準備を進めるだろう。生きた協定という構想が提案されたのはこの理由からである。すなわち、新規参加国が新たな変革を求めれば、それに応じて対応していくということである。

交渉担当者がどの時点で新規参加国の統合を打ち切り、実施に動くのかという疑問が提起された。これに対してバーバラ・ワイゼル氏とマーク・シンクレア氏は、現行9カ国がより詳細に文面の草案を取りまとめ、具体的なコミットメントの交渉に入ることによって、他の国を呼び込む窓口はかなり狭くなると指摘した。新規参加国を打ち切る時期について単純な答えはないため、当面は、興味のある国があらゆる項目を議論の対象にする覚悟である限り、常に交渉の道は開かれている。

セッションⅢ:米議会はTPP をどう見ているか

ケビン・ブレイディ議員(共和党、テキサス州)

米国はアジア太平洋地域で出遅れている。この地域で中国の影響力が増すなか、米国はより積極的な 役割を担わなければならない。懸案の米韓 FTA と進行中の TPP 交渉を踏まえ、今がこの地域により 深く関与する最大のチャンスである。TPP はアジアとの絆を深め、この地域において中国に対抗する 有効な勢力として米国の存在感を際立たせる手段となる。

TPP は今後も徐々に加盟国を増やし、FTAAPへの足がかりになるとみられる。TPP は高水準な協定でなければならない。その目標は、APEC 加盟国間の経済と貿易を結びつけるため、物をより安く、より速く、より容易に動かすこととすべきである。日本やカナダなど、他の国があらゆる課題を交渉の場で議論する構えである限り、これらの国を歓迎すべきである。

TPP には超党派で強力に取り組んでいる。世界的な景気後退は、貿易の重要性を改めて認識させることになった。国民は包括的な貿易課題が存在しないことに苛立っている。私たちは TPP を妥結する必要があるばかりか、米韓 FTA、コロンビア、パナマとの FTA も成立させる必要がある。

パネル・ディスカッション

ブレイディ議員は、来るべき APEC 首脳会議と TPP をどのように結びつけるかを論じた。特に強調したのは、米議会がアジア太平洋地域に具体的な方法で関与することに真剣であることを理解してもらう必要性であった。米国は将来の関係について協議することを望んでおり、米国は貿易への関与に真剣ではないといった誤解を払拭したいと考えている。APEC 首脳会議は、諸外国の首脳と直接話し合い、関係を構築し、米韓 FTA や TPP、FTAAP などの取り組みに対する米議会の支持を訴える優れた機会である。

ブレイディ議員は、米国が FTA(米韓 FTA やコロンビア、パナマとの FTA など)を成立させられないのではとの懸念や、それが将来の協定の交渉にどういう意味を持つのかについて質問を受けた。これに対し、議員は、懸念は正当であり、ここ数年、問題が生じていることを認めた。しかし、G20 首脳会議によって米韓 FTA が妥結した場合、同議員は 2011 年上期に米韓 FTA、およびコロンビア、パナマとの FTA にも動きが出てくるとみている。また同議員は、共和党優位の議会では、大統領が FTA を本気で進めるつもりであれば、貿易での連携先は得られようとも指摘した。

共和党は貿易政策に必要な財源を充当するつもりがあるか否か、という質問に対してブレイディ議員は、共和党指導部は貿易が米国経済にとって極めて重要であるとの強い認識を持っているはずだと述べた。米国製品を買うだけでは不十分であり、米国製品を売る必要があり、それには貿易を支えるための必要なインフラ整備を行うことが求められる。

「大統領貿易促進権限」(TPA)の更新についての議論もあった。ブレイディ議員は、貿易協定の実施には「ファスト・トラック」の手続きを導入することが不可欠だが、この問題はここ数年、議会であまり議論されていないと述べた。同議員は、TPAの更新は来年の検討課題になるとみている。

ブレイディ議員は、米議会が TPP の成立には現在の交渉参加国のほうが容易か、あるいは参加国が増えたほうが容易と考えているのかと質問された。同議員はこれに対し、TPP の成立の可否は、協定の性格と追加参加国がどれほど重要かで決まると述べた。

ドーハ・ラウンドの進展については、ブレイディ議員は、作業における共和党と民主党間の関係はより緊密になっているとみている。しかし、現在の合意は不十分であるため、この合意が意味するものをより具体的に詰めることが重要である。

セッションIV: TPP(環太平洋戦略的経済連携協定)と FTAAP(アジア太平洋自由貿易圏) の将来

渡辺喜宏:

株式会社三菱東京 UFJ 銀行顧問 /APEC ビジネス諮問委員会(ABAC)金融経済作業部会部会長 日本の経済界は TPP の戦略的重要性をよく認識している。2010 年 APEC の主要課題は、全員のため の持続可能な成長に向けた作業をすることである。これはつまり、(1) ボゴール目標の評価、(2) FTAAP に向けた地域統合の推進、(3) バランスのとれた成長戦略、である。

ABACは、APECには、ボゴール目標の達成と同時に、APECの範囲拡大と事業環境の変化に基づいて経済統合を進めるための新たなビジョンが必要と考えている。TPP、ASEANプラス 1、ASEANプラス 3、ASEANプラス 6 はすべて、FTAAPへと続く道筋になりうる。

貿易の自由化と促進に対する FTAAP の効果について実施された調査によると、日本にとっては功罪相半ばする結果となった。しかし、全般的な GDP への効果はプラスであり、私たちは APEC は地域統合に向けて動くべきだと考えている。経済界は、より広範な地域協定とサービスの統合を望んでいる。

日本はTPP と ASEAN プラスへと進む際のハードルがある。日本のTPP 参加は、食糧安全保障と安全性を始めとする農業分野の交渉によるだろう。私たちは、日本の農業は改革することができ、競争力を持つようになると考えている。

ジェフリー・J.ショット: ピーターソン国際経済研究所シニアフェロー

TPP 参加国は、規模も開発の度合いも、市民の自由に対する姿勢もさまざまである。ベトナムは異例の突出した存在である。このグループと交渉するための開発規定を取りまとめるのは困難だろう。

規制の統一は、各国がサービスと新規分野で高水準を達成するための管理能力を有しているのかが焦点になる。これは国際的な貿易と投資フローの問題を作り出す。

貿易面では、原加盟国の財とサービスの数字は小さい。しかし、参加国が増えれば、合計額は急激に増加する。サービスに注目すると、米国は別として、原加盟国の貿易額が極めて小さいことがわかるだろう。このため、特に日本と韓国が参加した場合、成長の機会がある。物品の交易でも同じパターンが見られる。

次の焦点は、TPP をどのように構想するかである。規制自由化の大胆な交渉は実現可能ではないが、 漸進的な集積アプローチが有効である。現行協定のネットワークが広がっているため、すでに多様な 前例と自由化への重要なコミットメントが豊富に存在する。

アジアの域内スキームをより広範な地域スキームへ、どのように融合することができるか? そして、ASEAN プラス 1 スキームに含まれる APEC 非加盟国についてはどうか? これらは困難な開発上、政治上の問題を提起している。さらに、より広範な環太平洋地域について話す場合、中南米諸国はどのような収まり方をするのか?

21 世紀型 FTA の処方箋はこれまでのパネルで詳細な説明がなされた。これは、「FTA プラス」条項を含む既存の協定ネットワークの上に構築される。交渉担当者は実際に行いながら学んでいる。最近の米国の FTA を見ると、私たちが何十年前から協定を改善してきたことがわかる。包括的な協定は無理だろうが、交渉担当者は最大限例外措置を減らす努力をすべきである。また、TPP は原産地規制を統一し、貿易と投資に影響する政策の透明性を高めなければならない。

日本は TPP 交渉に参加する余裕があるだろうか? 参加しない余裕があるだろうか? 日本はすで に、TPP の原加盟国との、またアジア域内での広範な貿易ネットワークを有している。TPP は以下 のための経路を提供できる:

- ・ 日中間、日本・EU 間の貿易協定の前進
- ・ 農業セクターの調整の管理
- ・ 棚上げされている日韓貿易交渉の再開

日本が参加するためには、貿易と投資に影響する透明性方針を改善しなければならないが、それには 慎重な扱いを要する農産物とサービスへの取り組みが必要となる。参加には時間的制約がある。米韓 FTAと韓国・オーストラリア交渉が成立すれば、日本は主要市場へのアクセスを失うことになる。

FTAAPへの中国の参加も非常に重要である。中国はすでにTPP参加国と強い結びつきを持っているため、参加に関心を示すはすである。中国は参加8カ国のうちの4カ国と協定を結んでおり、他の3カ国とは交渉中か実現可能性調査が行われている。このため、TPPの交渉担当者は、中国が中期的にこの融合体にどのように収まるのか、およびFTAAPに向けてどのように動いていくのかを検討すべきである。中国を統合するひとつの方法は、オブザーバーとして出発してもらうか、香港をオブザーバーとして招請するかである。

最後のポイントは、TPPが大きく進化するにつれ、アジア諸国は自国の現行FTAに盛り込んだ内容以上、その先まで進める必要が出てくるとみられる点である。米国などの先進国も、何かを俎上に載せる覚悟が必要になろう。しかし、米国が提供できるものはそれほどない。一部のサービス規制と農業の貿易障壁は開放できるかもしれない。これらの障壁撤廃に対して政治上の支持を得るためには、TPP交渉は、他のTPP参加国とともに米国が貿易から大きなメリットを得られるほどの、十分に規模の大きいものとなる必要がある。

ピーター・A.ペトリ:ブランダイス大学カール・J.シャピロ国際金融学教授 / イースト・ウェストセンター シニアフェロー

FTAAP の推進は、強力な支援者である ABAC に寄与するところが大きい。米国が 2011 年の APEC 首脳会議の議長国となることで、米国人が統合をより大きな背景の中で理解することを期待している。 長期的にみて、統合とはアジア太平洋地域をひとつの地域として一体化させることである。統合は繁栄、イノベーション、安定化に大きく寄与するものであり、前進するに当たってはそれを肝に銘じておかねばならない。

私たちの調査では(ジョンズ・ホプキンス大学およびイースト・ウェストセンターのマイケル・プラマー氏、中国投資有限責任公司(CIC)のファン・チャイ氏と合同で実施)、協定のダイナミックな道筋を探り、異なる時点で参加した国々への影響を推定した。各国が参加する場合としない場合とでは、インセンティブがどのように進化するか? (何もしないという) 基本シナリオには2つの代替シナリオがある。(1) ASEAN ベースで FTAAP へと動く、(2) TPP ルート。

このモデルは、関税撤廃、サービスの自由化、貿易の促進および投資を含む広範な経済効果を組み込んでいる。TPPの性格をより明確に把握できた時点で、より正確なモデル化が可能になろう。当面の暫定結果は以下のようなものとなった。

- ・ TPP ルート (ASEAN ルートに加え) は、アジア諸国のみならず、南北米州の経済に大きな利益をもたらす。
- ダイナミクスの問題: TPP8 カ国から TPP13 カ国に動くと、メリットはほぼ5倍になる。TPP13 カ国から FTAAP に拡大すると、メリットは倍増する。各国がこの道筋に沿って動くスピードも 大きな違いを生み出す。

- TPP ルートでは、米国のメリットは GDP の 1.5%に達する。ベトナム、マレーシア、タイなど、小規模な開放経済のメリットが最も大きい。日本も相当量のメリットを得る。
- ・ 米国がこのアジア・ルートに参加しない場合、交易条件が改善しても一定の差別措置によって相 殺されるため、米国は大きな効果を得られない。
- 米国の輸出と生産のメリットは、製造業よりもサービスと農業に集中する。
- ・ 100%の完全自由化の下では、一部の農産物の貿易が劇的に増加する可能性がある。このため、政治的な実現可能性の面から、ある程度の例外措置が必要かもしれない。
- ・ 調査結果は、中国が参加すれば、中国がこの道筋から最も大きな利益を受ける可能性があることを示している。

協定は地域を統一するための手段と見なすべきであり、私たちは、未来の参加国が利用しやすい道筋を作るため、積極的に生きた協定を推進しなければならない。私たちはこのビジョンを念頭に、最終的にすべての参加国を歓迎すべきである。

パネル・ディスカッション

質問が出されたのは、ペトリ教授が使用したモデルと、サービスへの障壁を撤廃したモデルを構築することの難しさ、また、計算可能一般均衡(CGE)モデルの特性と前提条件についてだった。ペトリ教授は、同僚らとともにサービスの歪みの度合いを得るために異なる尺度の収集に努めたこと、また、プロジェクト終了までにさまざまな範囲の推定値を得る予定であることを説明した。CGE モデルの重要な特性は、完全雇用に近いという前提条件の下で、その経済が競争上の優位性を持つ製品を生産した場合、経済運営の効率性をどれほど高めることができるか、を問うことである。協定の具体的な内容がより明らかになれば、結果をより正確にモデルに組み込むことができよう。

中国の現在のFTA および中国のTPPへの参加についての議論もあった。ジェフリー・ショット氏は、中国・ASEAN間など、中国の貿易協定はより政治的であり、浅い統合に基づいていると説明した。しかしこれは、はるかに進化し、有効な前例をもつ中国・ニュージーランドFTA などの最新の協定には当てはまらない。協定は、巨大なアウトサイダーからより諸外国と関わる国へと動いている移行プロセスでは有効かもしれない。

競争的自由化と FTAAP への複数の道筋についての質問も提起された。各国は、どの卵をどのかごに入れるかをどうやって決めるのか? 答えは、アジアにはすでに競争的自由化が存在するというものだった。統合への異なるアプローチについては、よりコンセンサスを重んじた、より浅い統合に基づいた従来型のアジアのアプローチがある。米国のアプローチ(世界中で支持を集めつつあるとみられる)はより法律を尊重するアプローチであり、投資を促進し生産性を向上させるため、政策の予測可能性を高める厳格な義務を伴う。生きた協定を持つということは、TPP の拡大と APEC 非参加国との交渉の重要な要素である。

来年中の中国の TPP への参加については、パネルは、参加は早計な決断であり、中国は現時点で自由貿易に移行できないとみられるため、交渉が決裂する可能性が高いとみている。しかし、中国の参加は、最終的な統合の取り組みを成功させるうえで不可欠だろう。中国が今後何年かのうちに協議に加われるよう、下準備をしておく必要がある。

自由貿易に懐疑的な米議会でどのようにTPPを成立させるかについての質問は、議会がTPPを承認する可能性の高い2つの興味深い主張に集中した。

- 1. 最終的な構造が、米国の貿易に対する重大な差別措置を想定したアジアのみの協定である場合、 米国は参加せざるを得ない。
- 2. 結局は外交政策と国の安全保障が米国の貿易政策の結果を決める。アジアからの報告によると、 米国が経済協定を推進しない場合、米国は遅れをとり、中国がこの地域を支配することになる。

さらに、21世紀型協定は、各国が自国の基準を先進国の水準まで引き上げることを求めているが、その点については、米国は自国の慣行をそれほど変更する必要がない。米国の課題は、米国にはまだ制限が残っており、今後はそれを変更せざるを得ないということである。変更するには、政治的支持を得るだけの十分なメリットがあり、保護産業からの批判を相殺できることが前提となる。

最後に、TPP と FTAAP における経済協力の役割と経済開発格差の是正が議論された。主な論点は2点。

- 1. 全員にとっての持続可能な成長というテーマは維持されるべきである。
- 2. TPP はすでに、これらの課題に寄与しうるキャパシティ・ビルディングと技術支援をその中に組み込んでいる。取り組みの活用はすでに APEC と ASEAN で順調に進んでいる。

セッションV. まとめと提言

C.フレッド・バーグステン:ピーターソン国際経済研究所所長

アジア太平洋地域の統合を進めるうえで不可欠と見なしている4つのポイントを挙げた。

- 1. TPP 交渉には明確かつ確実な期限を設けなければならない。ドーハ・ラウンドは、当局者が交渉 妥結の確実な期限を設けず、貿易交渉を漂流するに任せることのコストをよく示している。来る べき横浜での APEC 首脳会議では、TPP 交渉参加国の首脳は自国の閣僚に対し、2011 年 11 月 の APEC ホノルル首脳会議までに TPP 協定を妥結するよう指示すべきである。
- 2. 大きければ大きいほどよい。TPPが成功するには、交渉担当者が大規模な貿易改革のパッケージを作り上げられるよう十分な材料が揃っていなくてはならない。つまり、TPP参加国の最初のグループが大規模な財とサービスの貿易を確実にカバーできるよう、原加盟国をできる限り早い段階で拡大させることが重要である。
- 3. 前提条件があってはいけない。最初からすべてを議論の対象にすべきである。このことは、TPP の市場アクセスの日程を現行の FTA から採用するとしている現在の米国の立場とは相容れない。 TPP 参加国間の貿易協定における例外措置、例えば米国・オーストラリア協定の砂糖の例外措置 などを維持するか否かは、交渉の過程で判断していくべきである。例外措置にあまりに厳格な立 場をとると、全体的な取り決めへの参加意欲を失わせる可能性がある。各国は、最も多くの加盟 国と最も価値ある取り決めを行うことを念頭に、本質的な違いを乗り越えるよう努めるべきである。
- 4. 私たちは、TPP と FTAAP のつながりを維持することが非常に重要という点で一致した。現在の参加国は、TPP を FTAAP への足がかりとみている。これは交渉と終盤の駆け引きに役立つだろ

う。各国が、中核グループは包括的な APEC の協定を推し進める構えだとみるのであれば、早期参加への意欲を掻き立てることになる。

畠山襄:国際経済交流財団会長

地域統合の深化に必要なステップについて、4つの重要ポイントを挙げて自らの考えを説明した。

- 1. あらゆる項目を議論の対象とする必要がある。つまり、少なくとも交渉の開始段階では、例外を設けないことを受け入れなければならない。逆にいえば、交渉の終盤ではある程度の例外措置もありうるということである。
- 2. 前提条件の排除も必要である。慎重な扱いを要するセクターはすべて、交渉の対象とすべきである。改革の度合いは交渉の過程で判断されるべきである。
- 3. TPP は高水準の協定でなければならない。しかし、重要な政治的懸念に取り組むため、柔軟性は 必要である。日本には「水清ければ魚棲まず」ということわざがある。
- 4. 2006年のハノイ宣言で、FTAAP は長期的な構想として初めて言及された。しかし、今ではそれほど長期のものではない。今から 10 年後はそれほど先のことではなく、私たちは目標の達成に向けて協力していかなければならない。

(English Summary)

Japan Economic Foundation - PIIE Conference

A Trans Pacific Partnership and the Future of the Asia Pacific Region

October 25, 2010

Rapporteur: Julia Muir; Research Analyst PIIE

Welcome and Introduction

C. Fred Bergsten: Director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics

This is the latest in a series of conferences co-sponsored by JEF and PIIE that have been taking place over the years, focusing predominantly on trans-pacific relations. We welcome Noboru Hatakeyama, the Chairman and CEO of JEF. He is best known as a pioneer of Japanese free trade agreements and we are pleased to welcome him today to discuss the future of a Trans-Pacific Partnership.

Noboru Hatakeyama: Chairman and CEO of the Japan Economic Foundation

There are five proposals for going forward with regional integration:

- 1. Japan-China-Korea FTA.
- 2. ASEAN + 1 and ASEAN + 3; an Asia-centric approach that includes 10 + 1 pacts between ASEAN and Australia, New Zealand, China, Korea, Japan and India, and a 10 + 3 partnership between ASEAN and the 3 Northeast Asian countries.
- 3. ASEAN + 6 (CEPEA); which would include EAFTA + Australia, India and New Zealand.
- 4. FTAAP among the APEC members.
- 5. The TPP, which currently includes nine members; however membership will most likely evolve in the near future.

These arrangements should cover substantially all trade. There should be no preconditions to entering the negotiations.

Joining the TPP agreement is in the interest of Japan for two reasons:

- 1. This is a rare opportunity for Japan and the US to enter an agreement in the context of Asia-Pacific regional integration. Missing out on this opportunity would result in the further development of regional FTAs, in which the US is not involved.
- 2. As it stands, the current TPP members are too small. Including Japan is a strategic move that adds much more to the table than just a large volume of trade in goods and services.

C. Fred Bergsten: Director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics

Discussion of the TPP is taking place in a volatile global macroeconomic context; there is uncertainty regarding economic growth and trade, and a necessity to find a better international system to bring global imbalances under control. Trade policy has an important role to play; we must actively pursue more liberalized trade to avoid sliding back towards protectionism. The TPP is a key part of this. The central argument in favor of pursuing the TPP is the following:

1. TPP negotiations represent a watershed in the discussion of the regional economic architecture of Asia and Asia-Pacific in the decades ahead. The 1990s focused on Asia-

Pacific, whereas the last decade focused on Asia-only growth and integration. In this decade the strategic question is whether Asia will proceed on its own to form a single Asian bloc, or will there be a parallel movement towards Asia-Pacific integration? The two movements are not alternatives to each other; they are complementary and are contingent on parallel progress and institution building.

- 2. The next question is how to proceed. Rather than spurring the disintegration of Asia-Pacific, the TPP must build a bridge between the Asia-only initiatives and the TPP agreement. To do so the TPP membership must reach a critical mass; Japan, Korea and Canada will play a pivotal role in this.
- 3. Our goal today is to discuss the prospects for integration and set clear goals to be achieved by the 2011 APEC summit in Honolulu.

Session I: The Economic and Strategic Context

Kurt Campbell: Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

There needs to be a new term that is more inclusive then 'Trans-Pacific'; one that takes into account the current political-economic situation. India for example is playing a much larger role in the region and should be part of the Trans-Pacific dialogue. We have had substantial discussions with Japan regarding TPP and we are very pleased by Japan's interest in joining the partnership. Now it is a matter of timing and strategy.

Some of the concerns we are hearing from Asia is that the US continues to focus its attention on other areas like the Middle East and South Asia, while important developments are taking place in East Asia and the Pacific. An important point to underscore is that the US *is* engaged in trade relations in Asia-Pacific. On the Asian side we are focused on diplomacy, including discussion with Japanese ministers. We are also engaged in high level meetings with Korea, China, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand as well as Cambodia, Papua New Guinea and American Samoa. Still, the US recognizes the need to step up its game in the region. This is a long-term bipartisan goal, focusing on the US's drive to compete, innovate and excel. 2011 will be the most consequential period in economic engagement in the region.

The TPP has triggered significant interest and discussions regarding the incorporation of more countries. The next step is to focus the agenda and harmonize institutions; setting standards for a 21st century pact is crucial. APEC can act as the "operating system" for various Asia-Pacific initiatives. The November meeting is the best time to move forward and leaders have set clear goals to do so.

Akira Kojima: Senior Research Fellow, Japan Center for Economic Research

East Asia is a late comer to the process of regional integration; until recently there were few FTAs or regional institutions. The 1997 financial crisis was a wakeup call to Asian economies, including China. The size, depth and 'Asia-only' nature of the crisis, signaled to Asia the need to strengthen regional ties. East Asia (including ASEAN) has become more economically integrated through foreign direct investment, financial markets and international trade.

APEC needs to think about its future direction; potential pathways to the FTAAP, future growth and achieving the Bogor goals. As it stands, integration and trade are not shared equally among

APEC members. These issues were discussed at this year's APEC Study Centers Consortium Conference. Proposals included the following:

- The FTAAP must be a legally binding, high standard agreement that is consistent with the WTO, and includes trans-pacific membership.
- The growth agenda should be innovative, sustainable, inclusive and balanced.
- Achievement of the Bogor goals should strengthen development and include inclusive strategies to sustain progress for all APEC countries.

Geo-political factors that support the TPP include the increasingly assertive role that China is playing and the desire of Asian countries to see more US engagement in the region. The speed of enlargement of the TPP, its strong image and membership are also contributing factors. There are still differences among Koreans and Japanese regarding whether the approach should be Asian integration first or the TPP; each has positive and negative aspects. Nevertheless, the TPP is an important part of integration, and a pathway towards FTAAP.

Daniel Price: Senior partner, Sidley Austin LLP

There are three points of significance regarding the TPP and the US, Japan and APEC. Engagement in the TPP is crucial for the US to:

- 1. Dispel the notion that the US is not committed to trade and integration. The TPP and KORUS are critical in this regard.
- 2. Reinforce the idea that beyond market integration, US leadership is needed in the region.
- 3. Demonstrate that the US is actively engaged in trade and investment liberalization, an essential component of US-Asian relations.

For Japan:

- If not now, when? The TPP represents a political opportunity to bring Japan into a comprehensive trade pact with the US.
- The US should seek assurance from Japan that they are willing to open their markets and make concessions. The US should *not* establish artificial entrance fees.

For APEC:

- The TPP presents an opportunity to galvanize and reorient APEC into a meaningful negotiating forum.
- It holds the prospect for APEC to get involved in FTAAP in more than a rhetorical way.

Panel Discussion

Questions regarding the APEC roadmap and future achievements as well as expanding relations with Asian countries focused on the desire of Asian countries to have more time for open discussion and the ability to engage in issues. The G20 will play a major role in this in terms of the institutional capacity of Asia. Regarding US engagement in Asia, Kurt Campbell stressed that the US is moving in the right direction.

Discussion of Japanese membership focused on the substantial talks that have already taken place. The current issue is the timing and the way forward. For the first time, the DPJ is having open discussions on agricultural reform. There have been gradual but continuous talks with parties concerned about competitive liberalization of the agricultural industry and the social

benefits of policy reform. The Japanese government seems ready to reform and thus it is important for the US to send a message to Japan that they understand and encourage Japan to move towards reform.

Session II: Shaping the Trans Pacific Partnership: Substance and Membership

Masakazu Toyoda: Chairman and CEO of the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan Joining the TPP is under serious consideration in Japan; most recently Prime Minister Kan referenced a feasibility study being conducted domestically. There are global challenges as well as domestic challenges for Japan gaining membership. APEC can play a role in stimulating negotiations.

The role of TPP and the challenges going forward:

- Connecting the role of APEC with the TPP: if the TPP can incorporate major APEC economies, then it can be a vehicle for FTAAP and help Asia continue as a center for growth.
- For the TPP to address global challenges it must have the right membership, substance and scope.
- The current nine members are not enough, however membership will probably expand in the near future as countries like Japan and Canada have signaled their interest in joining. The TPP is a center of growth and a shortcut to the FTAAP. If countries are willing to put everything on the table and negotiate, they should be part of the TPP and then FTAAP.
- A 21st century agreement includes environmental obligations, which should be linked to technology transfers to developing countries. The TPP could help stimulate slow moving climate change negotiations.
- What can TPP do for Doha? Negotiations are stagnant and the scope is small. The TPP
 can stimulate the Doha round, particularly on issues such as environmental goods and
 services.

The challenges for Japan moving forward:

- The impact that Japanese participation would have on food security issues needs to be discussed.
- There is some concern regarding bilateral issues. For example, beef could be an obstacle to Japan's full participation in negotiations. We hope this can be avoided if Japan is willing to put everything on the table.
- The DPJ is considering income compensation to promote structural reform and enhance competitiveness of its agricultural industries. This would reduce the need to exempt farm products and facilitate Japan's participation in TPP.
- Japanese participation would not only benefit Japan, but also US-Japan relations and APEC.

Barbara Weisel: Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Southeast Asia and the Pacific The TPP is operating in a difficult environment; both in the US and internationally. The US has partnered with Congress and begun its outreach to stakeholders, which have so far supported US participation. Overtime we are confident that we will gain consensus on the benefits of TPP.

There are three main economic goals for the US and TPP members:

- Expand trade across the Asia-Pacific region.
- Negotiate a 21st century trade agreement.
- Develop a pathway for FTAAP.

On expansion:

- We are building a regional agreement with one set of rules for all trade and trade related commerce among parties. The nine countries currently negotiating are a coalition of the willing, committed to this goal; a goal that is more urgent in the wake of the global financial crisis.
- There is agreement to use a bottom up approach for market access for goods, while recognizing the sensitivities of each country.

A 21st century agreement:

- As a high standard agreement we want to negotiate the highest common denominator not the lowest. This means addressing a new set of issues faced by businesses. We have come up with a set of horizontal issues that we are working on, which have not been included in past FTAs. They include among others:
 - 1. Regulatory coherence: Develop an approach to eliminate non-tariff barriers, which pose greater challenges to companies trying to enter foreign markets than traditional tariffs.
 - 2. Specific sectoral approaches: The goal is to use the TPP to eliminate unnecessary regulatory barriers and thus make doing business easier, simpler and less costly.
 - 3. Issues of competitiveness and connectivity: Involves lowering costs, enhancing supply chains, and coordinated efforts to improve the domestic legal environment.
 - 4. Promoting small and medium sized enterprises: This is a priority for the US since SMEs comprise the majority of US businesses. The question is how to promote trade, dismantle barriers and look at ways to promote efforts at transparency.
 - 5. Development issues: We are seeking to include countries that are geographically and developmentally diverse, and have them fully participate in a high standard agreement. The focus is on capacity building and technical assistance.
 - 6. Significant work on these issues has been done in APEC over past two decades; it is valuable to our efforts and we will continue our close partnership with APEC.

A Pathway to FTAAP:

- The goal is to expand the initial group to incorporate countries across the Asia-Pacific, using the TPP as a platform for enlargement. Malaysia has been successfully incorporated, which has established that the TPP is capable of adding another country in the process of negotiations. Other interested countries must be prepared to meet the standards of the agreement before joining.
- The TPP will be a living agreement; acting as a platform for enlargement. It will include provisions to expand the substance of the agreement, to reflect new issues and participants.

The challenge ahead is to successfully negotiate an agreement among the nine countries, and figure out how to deal with an expanding group. Countries must be fully prepared to meet the standards and should not join if they cannot carry the agreement to its conclusion. Five TPP negotiating rounds are planned for 2011.

Mark Sinclair: Lead Negotiator, Trans-Pacific Partnership, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, New Zealand

The Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (the P4) was a long range project; a regional initiative that grew out of APEC. It was explicitly about making markets work, enhancing the competitiveness of commerce and encouraging other APEC economies to join. The P4 incorporated new issues like the environment, telecommunications and labor. The P4 was supposed to be a model for the Asia-Pacific region and potentially attract new members. This was accomplished through the creation of the TPP. With the current membership, the next step is to decide how to make it work as a platform for regional integration.

Liberalization and regional integration are central to the TPP agenda. In order to achieve these goals members must look at the path forward:

- TPP membership: is a larger group better? The TPP is premised on expansion, with the ultimate goal of creating an FTAAP. However, it is difficult to make progress across such a large membership (like Doha) and so it makes sense to start with a small group of countries and have a deal in place by next year.
- The current members have all negotiated high quality agreements, so we are not starting from zero. The way forward is to start with a manageable group and expand from there. Expansion of the current group should happen relatively promptly.
- Design of the agreement:
 - o The TPP will aim to cut regulatory overhead and red tape that create barriers to operating in multiple markets, especially for small and medium size companies.
 - The P4 template drew heavily on models of US FTAs (for example using a negative list for services). The TPP will also follow this model, drawing on the best practices from various agreements.

Panel Discussion:

There was discussion of Viet Nam as an outlier in the current group of nine, and how they fit into the agreement. Viet Nam has achieved high quality FTAs with New Zealand, Australia and ASEAN. These agreements include commitments on market access, tariff elimination and modern rules of origin, which gives confidence that Viet Nam should be able to participate in negotiations.

Regarding the status of FTAs already in place, the panel responded that existing agreements will coexist with the new TPP agreement. This will allow flexibility for governments. If there are areas of conflict they will be addressed on an issue by issue basis.

Issues concerning expansion were discussed in terms of the tension that exists between adding members that increase economic heft and maintaining the high standards of the agreement. Negotiators expect new participants to agree to meet the standards set out in the core agreement; they do not want to lower standards to facilitate accession of new members. This does not mean

there is an entrance fee, but members must be willing to fully open their markets. If countries are prepared to move quickly, the current group will bring them in as soon as possible. However, if they cannot move quickly negotiators will work with them in preparation for their participation. It is for this reason that the living agreement idea was put forward; to accommodate new changes that might be sought by new members.

The question was raised of when negotiators will cut off the integration of new members and go for implementation. In response Barbara Weisel and Mark Sinclair noted that, as the current group of nine gets deeper into drafting text and negotiating specific commitments, the window for bringing other countries in becomes much tighter. There is no straightforward answer regarding when to cut off new members so for now, negotiations will be kept open to any interested countries as long as they are willing to put everything on the table.

Session III: How Congress Views the TPP

Congressman Kevin Brady (Republican-Texas)

The US is falling behind in the Asia-Pacific region. With China's increasing influence in the region, the US must play a more active role. With the pending KORUS agreement and TPP negotiations underway, now is the best time to engage more in the region. The TPP will deepen ties with Asia and establish US presence in the region as an effective counterweight to China.

The TPP will continue to grow its membership over time and act as a stepping stone towards a FTAAP. The TPP should be a high standard agreement; its goals should be to make things cheaper, faster and easier for economic and trade ties among APEC countries. We should welcome other countries such as Japan and Canada if they are willing to put all issues on the negotiating table.

There is strong bipartisan commitment on the TPP. The global recession underscored the importance of trade; people are frustrated with the lack of a comprehensive trade agenda. Not only do we need to conclude the TPP agreement, we also need to pass the KORUS, Colombia and Panama FTAs.

Panel Discussion

Congressman Brady discussed how to link the upcoming APEC summit to the TPP, stressing the need to ensure that the region understands that Congress is serious about engaging in a concrete way in the Asia Pacific. The US wants to discuss the relationship going forward and address misconceptions such as the US is not serious about engaging in trade. The APEC summit is an opportune time to engage in face-to-face discussions with other representatives, to build up relationships and demonstrate Congress's support for initiatives like KORUS, TPP and FTAAP.

Congressman Brady was asked about concerns about the US's inability to pass FTAs (like KORUS, Colombia and Panama) and what that means for negotiating future deals. In response Congressman Brady said that this concern is fair and that there have been problems in recent years. However if the KORUS FTA is resolved by the G20 summit, he can see movement on the KORUS as well as the Colombia and Panama FTAs in the first half of 2011. He also noted that, under a Republican Congress, the President would have a partner in trade if he is serious about moving forward on FTAs.

In response to the question of whether Republicans will be willing to devote the necessary financial resources for trade policy, Congressman Brady said he believes that republican leaders feel strongly that trade is critical to the US economy. It is not enough to buy American, you have to sell American and this will require building the necessary infrastructure to support trade.

There was discussion of renewing trade promotion authority (TPA). Congressman Brady noted that it is critical to have fast track procedures for implementing trade agreements, but the subject had not been discussed much in Congress in recent years. He believes renewing TPA will be on the agenda next year.

Congressman Brady was asked whether Congress would find it easier to pass TPP with its current members or with a larger membership. He responded that the ability to pass the TPP agreement will depend on the nature of the agreement and how meaningful additional members are.

Regarding progress on the Doha round, Congressman Brady believes there is a closer working relationship between the republicans and democrats. However, the current agreement does not go far enough so it is important to flesh out more of what this agreement means.

Session IV: The Trans Pacific Partnership and Prospects for an FTAAP

Yoshihiro Watanabe: Advisor, Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Ltd.; APEC Business Advisory Council Member of Japan

Japan's businesses are well aware of the strategic importance of the TPP. The key issue for APEC 2010 is working towards sustainable growth for all. This means (1) an assessment of the Bogor goals; (2) advancing regional integration towards FTAAP; and (3) a balanced growth strategy.

ABAC believes that APEC needs a new vision to enhance economic integration, based on the achievement of the Bogor goals but also on the expanding scope of APEC and the changing business environment. The TPP, ASEAN + 1, ASEAN + 3 and ASEAN + 6 are all potential pathways to FTAAP.

A study conducted on FTAAP's effects on liberalization and facilitation of trade showed mixed results for Japan. However, overall GDP effects are positive and we believe that APEC should move forward on regional integration. Businesses prefer wider regional agreements and integration on services.

There are hurdles for Japan in the TPP and ASEAN + pathways. Japan's membership in the TPP will depend on negotiations on agriculture, starting with food security and safety. We believe that Japanese agriculture can be reformed and become competitive.

Jeffrey J. Schott: Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics

The TPP participants diverge in size, level of development and attitudes towards civil liberties; Viet Nam sticks out as an outlier. It will be difficult to come up with development provisions to deal with this group.

Regulatory coherence raises the question of whether countries will have the administrative capability to reach high standards in services and new areas. This creates problems of international trade and investment flows.

On the trade side, the goods and services numbers of the core countries are small; however when you add the extended membership the totals are quite a significant increment. Focusing on services you see that trade of the core - apart from the US - is quite small. There is opportunity for growth, particularly with the inclusion of Japan and Korea. The same patterns can be seen with merchandise trade.

The next question is how to craft the TPP? A big bang negotiation is not feasible, but an incremental agglomeration approach is workable. The extensive network of existing agreements already provides ample precedents and substantial commitments to liberalization.

How can we merge intra-Asian schemes with broader regional ones? And what about non-APEC members that are included in the ASEAN + 1 schemes? These raise difficult development and political questions. Furthermore, if we are talking about the broader trans-Pacific, how will Latin American countries fit in?

The recipe for a 21st century FTA was spelled out well in previous panels: you build on the existing network of agreements, including "FTA plus" provisions. Negotiators learn by doing. If you look at recent US FTAs, we have improved on agreements from past decades. No agreement will be comprehensive, but negotiators should try to limit the number of exceptions to the greatest extent possible. The TPP should also harmonize rules of origin and improve transparency of policies affecting trade and investment.

Can Japan afford to join the TPP talks? Can they afford not to participate? Japan already has an extensive network of trade with the TPP core members and within Asia. The TPP can provide a channel for:

- Advancing Japan-China and Japan-EU trade pacts.
- Managing the adjustment in the agriculture sector.
- Resumption of the suspended Japan-Korea trade talks.

In order to join, Japan must improve transparency policies affecting trade and investment, which will require commitments on sensitive farm products and services. Membership is time sensitive; Japan will lose key market access if the KORUS and Korea-Australia deal are passed. China's participation in FTAAP is also crucial. China should be interested in joining because it already has strong ties with TPP members; agreements in place with four of the eight members, and negotiations and feasibility studies underway with an additional three members. TPP negotiators should therefore think about how China fits into the mix in the medium term as well as moving towards FTAAP. One way to integrate China would be to have them start out as an observer, or have Hong Kong come on as an observer.

A final point to make is that over time we will see the TPP evolve significantly, which will require Asian countries to go beyond what they have included in their current FTAs. Industrialized countries like the US will also have to put something on the table. But for the US

there is not much to offer; there are some services regulations and farm trade barriers that could be opened. To gain political support for removing those barriers, the TPP deal will have to be big enough to involve sizeable US trade gains with the other TPP participants.

Peter A. Petri: Carl J. Shapiro Professor of International Finance, Brandeis University and Senior Fellow, East-West Center

The push towards FTAAP can be attributed a great deal to ABAC, who are strong supporters. Having the APEC 2011 summit in the US will hopefully clarify for Americans the larger context of integration. In the long run integration is about knitting Asia-Pacific together into one region. Integration has huge benefits for prosperity, innovation and stability, which must be kept in mind while moving forward.

In our study (conducted with Michael Plummer of Johns Hopkins University and the East-West Center, and Fan Zhai of the China Investment Corporation) we explore the dynamic path of agreements and estimate the implications for economies joining at different points in time. How do incentives evolve as countries do or do not join? The baseline scenario (of doing nothing) has two alternatives: (1) the ASEAN base moving towards FTAAP; (2) the TPP track.

The model incorporates broad economic effects including tariff elimination, services liberalization, trade facilitation and investment. Once we have a clearer idea of the nature of the TPP agreement, we can model it more accurately. In our preliminary results we found that:

- The TPP track (in addition to the ASEAN track) generates substantial benefits for North and South American economies, as well as Asian countries.
- Dynamics matter: moving from TPP 8 to 13 roughly quintuples gains. Moving from TPP 13 to FTAAP doubles gains. The speed at which countries move along the path also makes a substantial difference.
- On the TPP track, the US benefits reach 1.5 percent of GDP. Small open economies such as Viet Nam, Malaysia and Thailand gain the most. Japan also benefits a great deal.
- If the US does not participate in the Asian track, it does not appear to have a major effect on the US since some discrimination would be balanced off against improved terms of trade.
- US export and output gains are concentrated in services and agriculture rather than manufacturing.
- Trade in some agricultural products could rise dramatically under 100 percent liberalization; hence political feasibility might require some exceptions.
- Results show that if China joins they may become the largest beneficiary from this path.

The agreement has to be seen as a tool to unite the region and therefore we have to be vigorous about a living agreement to create an accessible path for future participants. We should keep this vision in mind and eventually all members should be welcome.

Panel Discussion:

Questions were raised about the model used by Professor Petri and the difficulty of modeling the removal of barriers to services, as well as the characteristics and assumptions of a computable general equilibrium (CGE) model. Professor Petri explained that he and his colleagues have tried to collect different measures to get a scale of distortions in services and

that by the end of the project they will have range of estimates. The important characteristics of a CGE model are that it assumes close to full employment and then asks how much more efficiently the economy can operate if it produced those goods in which it has a competitive advantage. As the specifics of the agreement become clearer, the outcome can be modeled more accurately.

There was also discussion about China's current FTAs and its participation in the TPP. Jeff Schott explained that China's trade agreements, such as China-ASEAN, are more political and based on shallow integration. However this is not the case in more recent agreement such as the China-New Zealand FTA, which goes much further and has useful precedents. The agreement could help in the transition process of moving from a big outsider to a more involved country.

The question of competitive liberalization and the multiple pathways to FTAAP was raised. How will countries decide which eggs to put in which basket? The response was that competitive liberalization already exists in Asia. In terms of different approaches to integration there is the traditional Asia approach which is more consensus oriented and built on more shallow integration. The US approach (which seems to be gaining favor around the world) is a more legalistic approach with hard obligations that promote policy predictability to encourage investment and enhance productivity. Having a living agreement is an important part of enlarging the TPP and dealing with non-APEC participants.

With regard to China joining the TPP within the next year, the panel believes it would be a premature decision and would likely kill the deal since it would not be possible to move toward free trade at this point in time. However Chinese participation will be critical to success of the eventual integration effort; preparations should be undertaken to pave the way for China to join the talks in the coming years.

The question of how to pass TPP in a Congress that is suspicious about free trade focused on two compelling arguments that give the TPP a good chance of winning Congressional approval.

- 1. If the architectural outcome is for Asia only agreements with the prospect of significant discrimination against US trade, the US will have to participate.
- 2. Foreign policy and national security ultimately determine the outcome of US trade policy. Reports from Asia are that the US will be left behind and China will dominate the region if the US does not move ahead with economic agreements.

Furthermore a 21st century agreement requires countries to bring their standards up to the level of industrial countries, which means less change is required in US practices. The challenge for US is that it still has restrictions and will be pressured to change them. These changes will require enough benefits to generate political support that would offset criticism from protective industries.

Finally the role of economic cooperation and narrowing the gap of economic development in the TPP and FTAAP was discussed. Two main points were put forward:

- 1. The theme of sustainable growth for all should be maintained.
- 2. The TPP already has capacity building and technical assistance built into it that might contribute to these issues; drawing on initiatives already in train in APEC and ASEAN.

Session V: Conclusions and Recommendations

C. Fred Bergsten: Director, Peterson Institute for International Economics

C. Fred Bergsten outlined four points, viewed as essential for moving forward on Asia-Pacific integration.

- 1. There must be a clear and credible deadline for the TPP negotiations. The Doha Round demonstrates the costs of allowing trade talks to drift when officials do not set a credible deadline for concluding negotiations. At the upcoming APEC summit in Yokohama, leaders from the TPP participating countries should tell their ministers to conclude the TPP agreement by the APEC meetings in Honolulu in November 2011.
- 2. Bigger is better. For TPP to succeed there has to be enough on the table to allow negotiators to craft a substantial package of trade reforms. This means expanding the core group as soon as possible to ensure that the first tranche of TPP countries covers a large volume of trade in goods and services.
- 3. There should be no preconditions; everything should be on the table ab initio. This runs counter to the current US position that the TPP adopt market access schedules from existing FTAs. Whether exceptions in trade pacts among TPP participants—like the exemption of sugar from the US-Australia pact--are maintained or not should be decided in the course of negotiations. Too rigid a stance on exceptions could discourage participation in the overall deal. Countries should try to resolve substantive differences in a way that promotes the most valuable deal with the broadest membership.
- 4. We have reached a consensus that it is crucial to maintain the link between the TPP and the FTAAP. Current participants see the TPP as a stepping stone to FTAAP; this is helpful for negotiations and the end game. If countries believe the core group intends to push towards a comprehensive APEC agreement, it increases the incentive to join earlier on.

Noboru Hatakeyama: Chairman and CEO of the Japan Economic Foundation

Noboru Hatakeyama summarized his thoughts on the necessary steps to deepen regional integration, focusing on four key points.

- 1. It is necessary to put everything on the table. This means we have to accept that there are no exceptions, at least at the start of the talks. This implies that at the end of negotiations, there may be some exceptions.
- 2. Ruling out preconditions is another necessity. All sensitive sectors should be subject to the negotiations; the extent of reforms should be determined in the course of the negotiations.
- 3. The TPP must be a high standard agreement. However, there needs to be flexibility to address major political concerns. As the Japanese saying goes "if the water in the pond is too clean, then the fish cannot live."
- 4. In the Hanoi declaration in 2006, FTAAP was mentioned for the first time as a long term perspective. However it is not so long term anymore; ten years from now is not a long time and we must work together towards achieving this goal.

7. 発表資料

PowerPoint by Presenters:

Session II: Shaping the Trans Pacific Partnership: Substance and Membership

- ①Masakazu Toyoda, Chairman and CEO of the Institute of Energy Economies, Japan
- ②Mark Sinclair, Lead Negotiator, Trans-Pacific Partnership, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), New Zealand

Session IV: The Trans Pacific Partnership and Prospects for an FTAAP

- ③Yoshihiro Watanabe, Advisor, Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ, Ltd;
 APEC Business Advisory Council Member of Japan
- **4 Jeffrey J. Schott**, Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics Discussants:
- ⑤ Peter A. Petri, Carl J. Shapiro Professor of InternationalFinance,

 Brandeis University and Senior Fellow, East-West Center

上記発表資料は、弊財団ホームページに掲載しています。

URL: http://www.jef.or.jp/en_act/act_japan_us.asp

① Masakazu Toyoda, Chairman and CEO of the Institute of Energy Economies, Japan

Shaping the TPP and possible Japanese Contribution

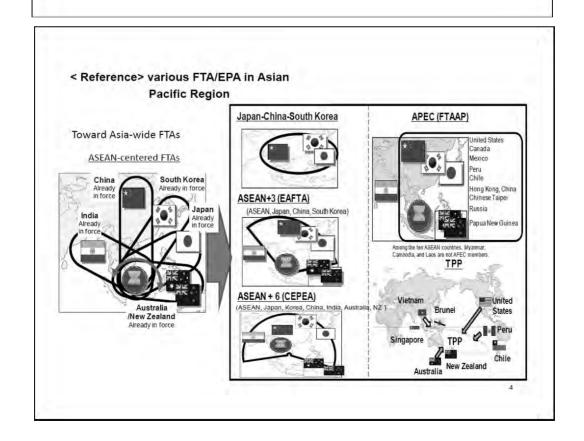
Oct 25, 2010 Masakazu Toyoda, CEO & Chairman IEEJ

Outline

- 1. Can APEC address global challenges?
- 2. What Role will TPP play in galvanizing APEC?
- 3. What is the right membership and substance?
- 4. Possible Japanese contribution in shaping TPP?
- 5. Some challenges in Japan

1.Can APEC address global challenges?

- 1) Global economic crisis
- 2) Stagnant negotiation of Doha round
- 3) Climate Change



2.What role will TPP play?

- 1) Global economic crisis
 - : TPP would help Asia continue to be a growth center, and could be a short cut to FTAAP
- 2) Doha Round
 - : TPP could provide an appropriate set of rules for 21 centuries and stimulate Doha round
- 3) Climate Change
 - : TPP could facilitate technology transfer and accelerate post-Kyoto negotiation

5

3. What is right substance and membership?

- 1) Right substance
 - : 24 working groups

(access of goods[AG,Manu.] and services, gov. procurement, IPR, TBT, investment, competition, labor, environment, SME, dispute settlement etc.)

- 2) Right membership
 - : large economies such as Japan are desirable to participate

4. Possible Japanese contribution in shaping TPP?

Japan could contribute in the following areas:

- Demonstrate how Democratic capitalism works, together with US in particular
- Form an appropriate set of rules for 21 century
- Promote technology development and transfer to cope with climate change

5. Some challenges for Japan

- Impact on industries food selfsufficiency
- * Solutions of some bilateral issues

2 Mark Sinclair,

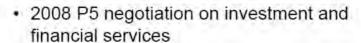
Lead Negotiator, Trans-Pacific Partnership, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), New Zealand



When
Why
What
How
Who

When?

- Origins: 1990s debate around where to take APEC
- Bogor Goals
- Early 'strategic' FTAs: New Zealand-Singapore, New Zealand-Singapore-Chile-Brunei (P4)



- September 2008 initial announcement on launch of comprehensive TPP negotiation
- Subsequent expansion to include Australia, Peru, Viet Nam
- Obama Administration decision November 2009

"We also believe that continued integration of the economies of this region will benefit workers, consumers, and businesses in all our nations ...

The United States will also be engaging with the Trans-Pacific Partnership countries with the goal of shaping a regional agreement that will have broad-based membership and the high standards worthy of a 21st century trade agreement".

- President Obama, Suntory Hall, November 14 2009

Why?

- · Strategic partnership
- · Regional, APEC focus
- Help make markets work
- Build competitiveness
- Foster innovation
- Integration
- Expansion

What?

FTA

All the core FTA chapters

- goods, services, investment, rules

Plus wider agenda

- environment, labour, telecoms, financial services, business mobility



How?

- · Liberalisation vs integration
- · 21st century agreement
- · Focus on horizontal issues
- Competitiveness
- · SMEs
- · Supply chains
- · Regulatory coherence
- Development



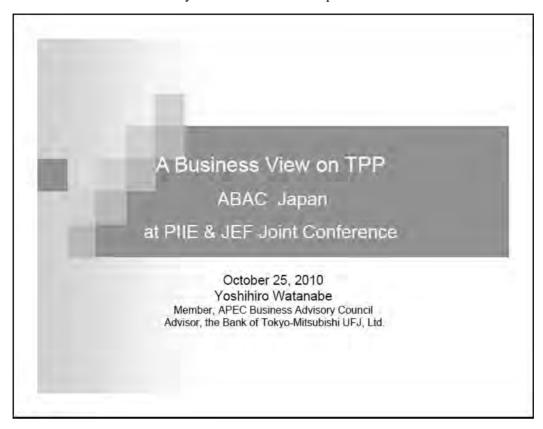
Who?

- Original P4: Brunei, Chile, New Zealand, Singapore
- Plus Australia, Malaysia, Peru, United States, Viet Nam
- Experience within this group in negotiating high quality FTAs - among countries at different levels of development

Way ahead

- Ultimate goal remains an FTAAP
- Start with group of manageable size
- Aim for credible deal in smaller group before expanding
- Inclusive approach need an agreement that will be attractive to other APEC countries
- Maintain momentum

3 Yoshihiro Watanabe, Advisor, Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ, Ltd; APEC Business Advisory Council Member of Japan



1 Key Issues for ABAC 2010

"Working towards Sustainable Growth for All"

1. Bogor Goals Assessment

2. Advancing Regional Economic Integration Toward FTAAP

3. Growth Strategy
Balanced Growth
Growth In Harmony with Environment



2 Beyond the Bogor Goals

"ABAC calls on Leaders to adopt a new vision for APEC to enhance regional economic integration, and to establish clear pathways to attain FTAAP"

(Press Statement)

- Recommendations from ABAC :
- ①A new vision for APEC is needed, building on the Bogor Goals to reflect the modern Asia-Pacific regional supply chains and value chains.
- ②TPP, ASEAN+1, ASEAN+3, and ASEAN+6 Potential pathways to deliver an FTAAP
- ③'Regional Integration Templates' to monitor each economy's progress towards wide and deep economic integration.

2



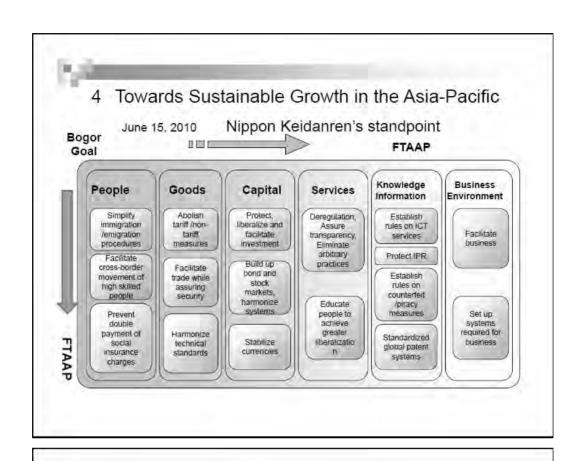
3 Impact Study of FTAAP

FTAAP's effects on liberalization and facilitation of trade

Impact of FTAA	P on Real GDP	Growth (*)		
	Liberalization	Facilitation	Sum	(Primary sector of
industry)	2-4-10-10-10	7.1.0.110.10		A CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY O
Entire APEC	1.9%	0.4%	2.3%	NA
Japan	0.9%	0.2%	1.1%	-4.8%
USA	0.3%	0.2%	0.5%	3.6%
Vietnam	37.3 %	2.8%	40.1%	3.3%
Thailand	25.1%	1.9%	27.0%	8.4%

GDP will be pushed up by 2.3 % for the entire APEC region. Magnitude differs depending on each economy.

(*) Reference : ESRI Discussion Paper Series No.244
"The Macro and Sectoral Significance of an FTAAP" Aug. 2010.



5 Pathways to FTAAP

APEC's Role As an Incubator
Voluntary and non-binding approach to FTAAP
Regional Building Blocks

■AFTA: ASEAN Free Trade Area

■EAFTA: East Asia Free Trade Area (ASEAN + 3)

■CEPEA: Comprehensive Economic Partnership in

East Asia (ASEAN + 6)

TPP: Trans-Pacific Partnership

Keidanren recommends: ASEAN +3 & 6, TPP
For Japan to conclude negotiations no later than 2015

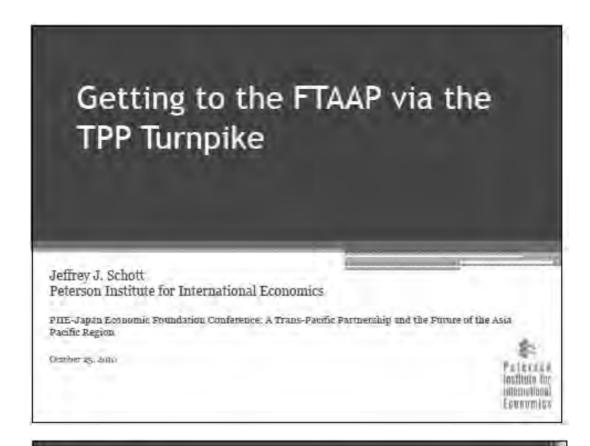
6 Hurdles along the Pathways (personal views)

Prerequisites for:

■ TPP

Negotiations on agriculture starting with food safety and security issues

Asean+3 / 6 Preceded by Japan-China-Korea FTA WTO+? Golden rule



Overview

- The Bogor Declaration envisioned a long term goal of free open trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region.
- Multiple pathways to a Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific (FTAAP):
 - ASEAN-centric: 10+1/10+3
 - Japanese hybrid: 10+6(add Australia, New Zealand, India to 10+3).
- Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP): agglomeration of intra-Asian and Asia-Pacific integration arrangements.
 - · Initial core of 8 participants: March 2010.
 - Likely new entrants: Malaysia (joined talks in October 2010), Japan, Korea, Canada and Mexico.
 - FTAAP likely to evolve by melding intra-Asian initiatives into expanding TPP.

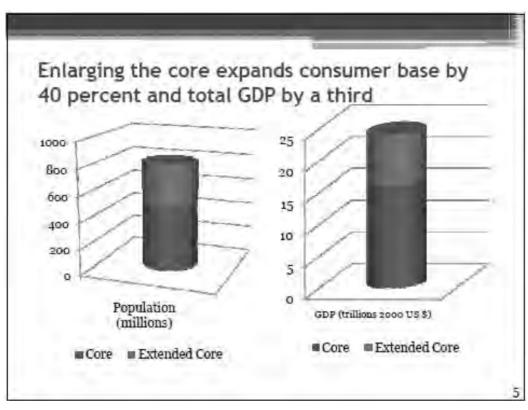
TPP summary data: development indicators

	Fopulation (millions)	Per capita GDP (US \$) 2008	HDI Index 2008	zoo8 Economic Preedom in the World
Australia	21.0	48,499	0.970	1,0
Brunei	0.4	30,391*	0.920	5.5
Chile	16.8	10,167	0.878	1,0
New Zealand	4.3	27,045	0.950	1.0
Pera	26.7	4:477	o.Bo6	2.5
Singapore	4.7	39,950	0.944	4.5
United States	304.7	47,210	0.956	1,0
Vietnam	86.2	1,051	0.725	5.0
Canada	33.3	45,003	0.966	1,0
Japan	127.7	38,268	0,900	1.5
Korea	48.6	19,162	0.937	1.5
Malaysia	27/3	8.187	0,829	4.0
Mexico	100.7	10,249	0.854	2.5
Source: World Bank, UNDP, Fraser Institu	Ite	200		

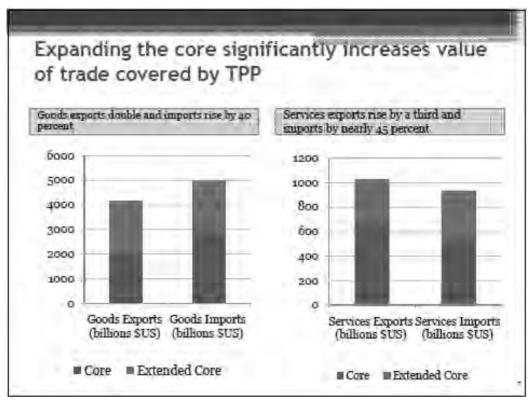
* 21506 data

TPP participants

- TPP encompasses countries of varying size, level of development, and attitudes towards political rights / civil liberties.
- Mostly high income + several upper middle income countries (Chile, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico); Vietnam is the outlier in all categories except population.
- Varied "economic freedom" scores: key challenge regarding obligations on transparency, public participation, dispute settlement, labor and environment,



	Trade/GDP	Goods Exports (billions SUS)	Imports (billions		Services Imports (billions \$US)
Australia	38	187	290	45	94
Brunei	81				
Chile	77	66	62	11	11
New Zealand	50		34		
Peru	48	32	39	4	-5
Singapore	362	338	320	97	06
United States	25	1287	2159	518	365
Vietnam	158	63	Bı	7	8
Subtotal: TPP - Core		2015	2899	692	534
Canada	58				
Japan	71	10	- 2	E-SAV	163
Korea	92	422	435	76	ns
Malavsia	161	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH		100	- CX
Mexico	57		1033		
Subtotal: TPP -	3/	494	340		-53
Extended		2151	2092	337	399
Total : TPP - 13		2166	4991	1029	9.33





Crafting a TPP

- Substantial progress is already being made through extensive network of existing pacts... but how to "meld" them together?
- 'Big bang' negotiations unlikely to work given diversity in size, development, priorities of Asia-Pacific countries.
- Agglomeration strategy a la EU?
 - How to meld TPP with ongoing intra-Asian pacts?
 - · How to add new members?

9

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The path to the FTAAP

All of APEC or APEC – X?

- Merging intra-Asian integration schemes with Asia-Pacific will require decisions regarding the broader TPP membership.
- What role is there for non-APEC members or future APEC members in the FTAAP?
 - * ASEAN 10 (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar).
 - · India.
 - Latin American members: Brazil, Costa Rica, Colombia.

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A: in effect, B. signed, C: negotiations completed; D: under negotiation; E! in preparation; * ASEAN; ASEAN+; agreements

What's the recipe for a 21st century FTA?

- Start with existing network of FTAs: already large stock of liberalization commitments.
- Include FTA-plus provisions in areas such as food safety/security, environment, labor, climate change.
- Commit to best practices / most trade promoting provisions from pool of existing pacts.
 - Limit exceptions.
 - Harmonize rules of origin.
 - Improve transparency of policies affecting trade and investment.

		Environmental Commitments in Bilateral FTAs Among TPP Participants						
	éustralia	Brunei	Chile	New Yealand	Peru	Singapore	United States	Yethan
Ausmalia	X	6	c	c		c	À	c
Brune)	c	X		1.6		0.0	11 11	4
chile	ė.	É	\times		E	0.0	4	+ 1
New Italians	0		8	X			14 4	E
Pénú	-	-	x		X		11611	
Singapure	· c	. 1	В	8	·c	X	1611	c
United States	*		4		135	i de	X	
Viet Non	l Jen	(6)	LT			- 20		X

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Australia	X	E	D	16		D)		E
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Viet Nam	30	- 2 -	-	Test		E.	1	X

Environmental and Labor Commitments

- Recent US FTAs include environment and labor provisions in the core text; most others do not.
- Chile, New Zealand and Singapore include side agreements in their FTAs.
- The US model can provide a template for environmental and labor provisions in the TPP:
 - Environment:
 - Market access for environmental technologies, goods and services,
 - List of Multilateral Environmental Agreements to be included.
 - Labor:
 - Enforcement of domestic labor laws.
 - Recognition of international labor standards.
 - Technical assistance.

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Can Japan join? Can Japan afford not to?

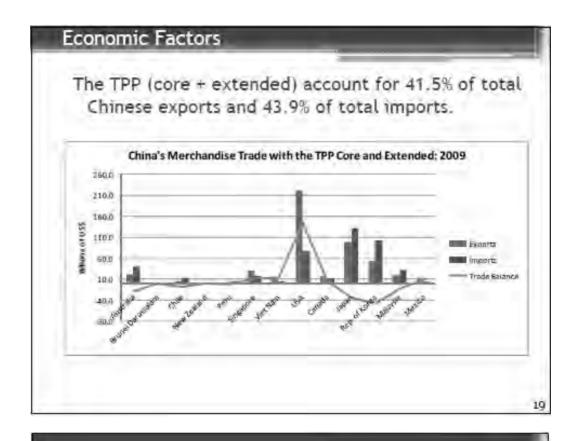
- Japan already has an extensive trade network among the extended TPP:
 - FTAs in place, under negotiation, or in preparation with 12/13 countries (all except the US).
 - But TPP will require commitments on sensitive farm products and services.
- TPP membership can provide a channel for:
 - Advancing Japan-China and Japan-EU trade pacts over the next 5 years.
 - Resumption of suspended Japan-Korea negotiations.
 - Managing adjustment in agricultural sectors.
- Japanese membership is time-sensitive:
 - Will lose key market access if Korea joins (most likely once KORUS is ratified) and if the Korea-Australia FTA is successfully concluded.

Whither China?

- Ultimately, FTAAP needs to include China to be credible link for Asia-Pacific integration.
- Why China should be interested in Asia-Pacific initiative:
 - Strong economic relationship with TPP core and expanded membership.
 - China is already an active member of Asia-Pacific pacts: Bilateral pacts already in force with 4 of 8 current TPP participants plus broader deal with ASEAN. Negotiations in progress with Australia.
 - Better channel to resolve bilateral disputes with United States.
 - Complements collaboration with United States on North Korea.
 - · Complements the Cross-Straights deal with Taiwan.
- TPP participation unlikely prior to 2015 Include as observer? Invite Hong Kong as observer?

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China's bilateral trade agreements Under Negotiation Implemented Feasibility Study China-ASEAN * China-Australia * China-India China-Chile * China-GCC China-Japan-Korea China-Costa Rica China-Iceland China-Korea * China-Switzerland CEPA-Hong Kong China-Norway CEPA-Macao China-SACU China-New Zealand * China-Pakistan China-Peru* China-Singapore * * = TPP 13 participants. Source: China Ministry of Commerce



Conclusions

- TPP will likely evolve significantly over the next year in terms of membership.
- Substantive coverage will include extensive new provisions in areas not included in many intra-Asian pacts.
- But inclusion of 21st century issues will put pressure on countries to revisit exceptions in previous bilateral pacts.
- In short, countries will have to liberalize their barriers if they want others to do so.

⑤ *Peter* A. *Petri*, Carl J. Shapiro Professor of InternationalFinance, Brandeis University and Senior Fellow, East-West Center

TPP assessment study: work in progress

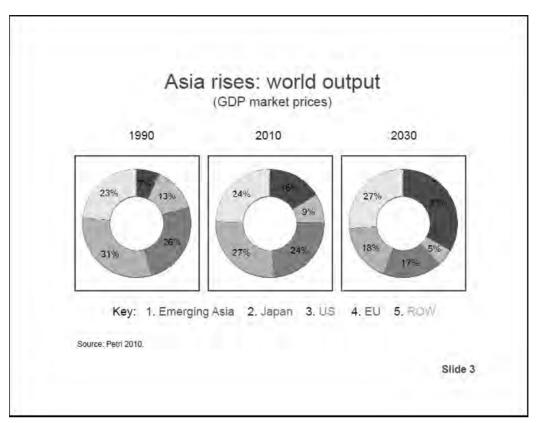
Peter A. Petri, Michael Plummer and Fan Zhai

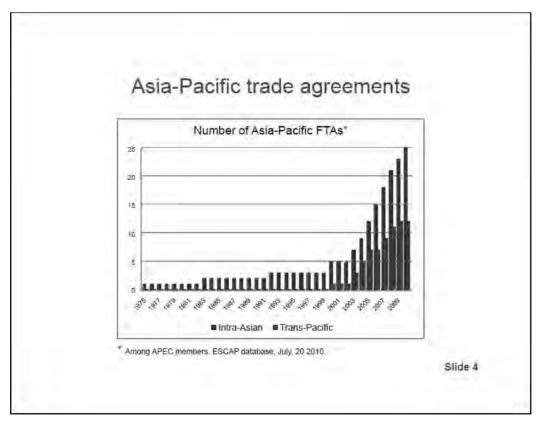
October 20, 2010

Slide 1

I. Context of the study*

- · Shift of economic gravity to Asia
- Proliferation of regional and bilateral agreements with limited participation by the United States
- · Compelling logic of TPP
 - Addresses changing global economic environment
 - Provides new model for U.S. economic partnerships
 - Potentially covers majority of US trade
- * These slides report on work in progress. The study is scheduled to be completed in spring 2011.





Asia-Pacific FTAs

Asian track

- ASEAN (1992)
- ASEAN China (2004), Korea (2006), Japan (2008), Australia-New Zealand (2009)
- 20 bilaterals among Asian APEC economies (Annex A)
- Official China-Japan-Korea study underway
- EAFTA (ASEAN+3) and CEPEA (ASEAN+6) analysis underway in parallel working groups

Trans-Pacific track

- + Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (2005)
- 11 bilaterals among APEC economies on different sides of Pacific (Annex B)
- Trans-Pacific Partnership expansion negotiations underway
- FTAAP proposed in APEC; work underway on pathways

Slide 5

Why TPP?

- Contribution to global trade architecture
 - DDA negotiations remain stalled
 - Asia-only initiatives could "draw lines" down the Pacific
 - New approaches are needed for deeper integration
- · U.S. politics
 - Absence of "fast track" authority
 - Good agreements might attract bipartisan support
 - Scalable, forward-looking approach offers best prospects
- · Macro context
 - Global economic gravity is shifting toward Asia
 - Still need engines for sustained recovery
 - U.S. National Export Initiative

What kind of TPP?

Innovative

- Forward looking: technology, information. investment, services, facilitation
- Dynamic: stimulates expansion into FTAAP

Attractive to U.S.

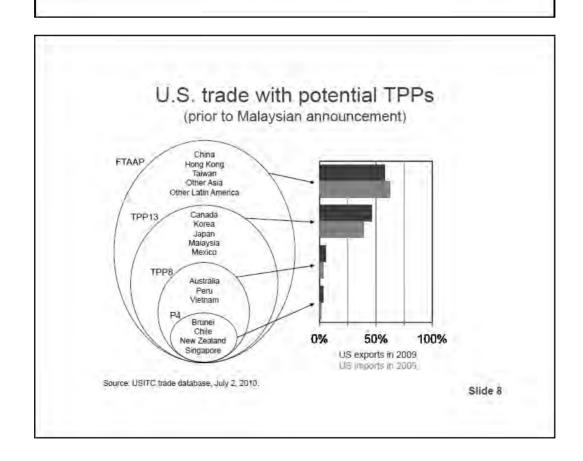
- Supports investment, services, technology
- Addresses jobs and environment
 Transparent, private sector driven

Attractive to partners

- Supports development
- Pragmatic and flexible

Tensions

- Is the point a "gold standard" or "21st Century"?
- How much room for phased liberalization?
- What does "comprehensive" mean?



II. Design of the study

- · Explores dynamic path of agreements
- Estimates implications for economies joining at different points on the dynamic path
- Incorporates broad economic effects, including tariff elimination, service liberalization, trade facilitation, and investment

Slide 9

Game-theoretic approach

- Baseline scenario: Asian economies continue to implement an "Asian track" of trade agreements.
- Alternative scenario: the U.S. and other economies implement a dynamic "trans-Pacific track" of agreements. including the TPP.
- The TPP expands from 8** members in 2011 to 13 members in 2015 and to 21 members (the FTAAP) in 2020.
- Each potential member faces an "accession incentive" defined as the welfare difference between joining the TPP and not joining it (while other economies do*).
- Estimated accession incentives are examined to see whether they are consistent with assumptions made about the time path of country accessions.
- Sectoral effects are analyzed to assess specific incentives, adjustment impacts, and vulnerable industries.
- * The usual approach is to measure benefits relative to a "no-agreement" baseline
- ** Prior to Malaysia's joining the negotiations

Model structure, data

Structure

Multi-country, multi-sector general equilibrium model of the

world economy.

 Monopolistic competition with heterogeneous firms. The model generates significant productivity gains in addition to

welfare triangles.

 The evolution of economies over time is simulated with annual solutions, allowing for the analysis of changes in

investment paths.

Data

GTAP 2004 database updated with IMF and other growth

projections and additional protection data

Tariffs

GTAP tariff data

NTBs

Tariff equivalents from World Bank estimates

Services

Tariff equivalents from PIIE estimates

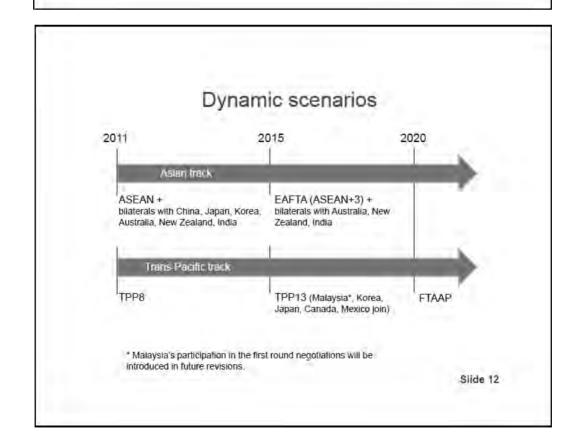
Investment

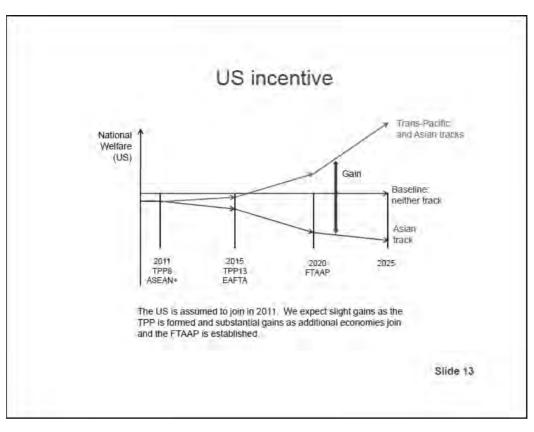
To be introduced exogenously as additions to capital stock and improvements in productivity. Investment effects will be based

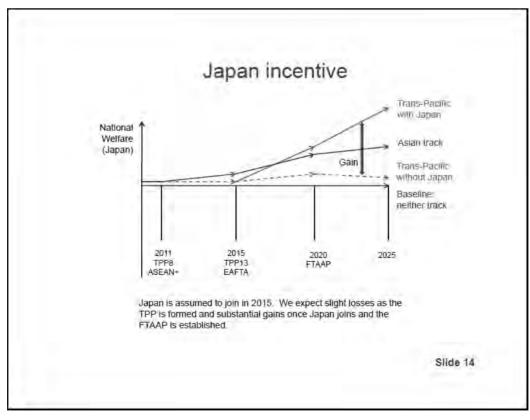
on gravity model studies.

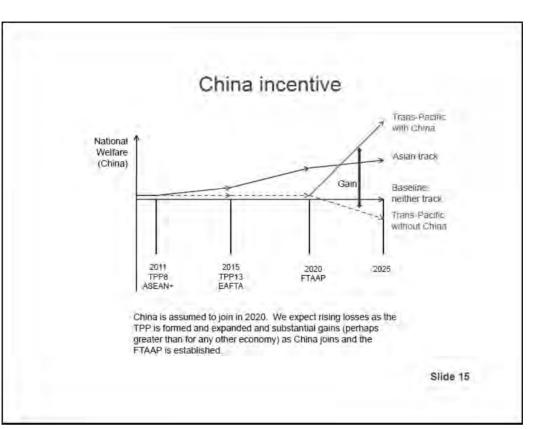
References, Fan Zhai, "Preferential Trade Agreements in Asia: Alternative Scenarios of 'Hub and Spoke'' Asian Development Bank, 2008; Fan Zhai, "Aminigton meets Melitz: introducing firm heterogeneity in a global model of trade," Journal of Economic Integration, 2008; Zakariah Rashid, Fan Zhai, Peter A. Petri, Michael G. Plummer and Chia Slow Yue, Peglonal Market for Goods, Services and Skilled Labor," in Michael G. Plummer and Chia Slow Yue, eds. Realizing the ASEAN Economic Community, ISEAS 2008.

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III. Preliminary results

- The trans-Pacific track generates substantial benefits for North and South American
 economies and solid incremental gains for Asian economies over the Asian track
- 2. On the trans-Pacific track, U.S. benefits reach 11/2 % of GDP
- 3. Small, open economies (e.g. Vietnam) gain most in percentage terms
- Dynamics matter: moving from TPP8 to TPP13 roughly quintuples the gains, and moving from TPP13 to FTAAP further doubles the gains
- U.S. export and output gains are concentrated in services and agriculture rather than manufacturing
- Even Asian liberalization alone will generate benefits for the U.S., albeit on a small scale, due to terms of trade gains that result from Asian productivity improvements
- Trade in some agricultural products could rise dramatically under 100% liberalization, hence political feasibility might require some exceptions
- Increases in IP protection and foreign direct investment (not yet modeled) could yield significant additional benefits

Annexes

- A. Intra-Asian agreements
- B. Trans-Pacific agreements
- C1 Region classification (full)
- C2 Region classification (exploratory)
- D. Sector classification (exploratory)
- E. FTA implementation (preliminary assumptions)

Slide 17

A. Intra-Asian* agreements

Name	Economies	Signed	Model**
APTA (Bangkok)	Philippines, Korea, Thailand	1975	
ANZCERTA	Australia, New Zealand	1983	2010
ASEAN	ASEAN	1992	14 2010 & 14 2015
	New Zealand, Singapore	2000	2010
	Japan, Singapore	2002	2010
	China, Hong Kong	2003	2010
	Australia, Singapore	2003	2010
4	Australia, Thailand	2004	2010
ACFTA	ASEAN, China	2004	2010
	Japan, Malaysia	2005	2010
	Korea, Singapore	2005	2010
	New Zealand, Thailand	2005	2010
	Japan, Philippines	2006	2015
AKFTA	ASEAN, Korea	2006	2015
PTA-D-8	Indonesia, Malaysia	2006	2015
JBEPA	Japan, Brunei	2007	2015
JTEPA	Japan, Thailand	2007	2015
RUEPA	Japan, Indonesia	2007	2015
	China, Singapore	2008	2015
	New Zealand, China	2008	2015
AJCEPA	ASEAN, Japan	2008	2015
	Malaysia, New Zealand	2009	2015
AANZFTA	ASEAN, Australia, New Zealand	2009	2015
	New Zealand, Hong Kong	2010	2015
EFCA	China, Taiwan	2010	2015

Among APEC members. Source: ESCAP database, July 20, 2010.

** Full implementation date; if >2010 then phased in over previous 5 years

B. Trans-Pacific* agreements

Name	Economies	Signed	Model**
ETA	United States, Vietnam	2000	-
	Korea, Chile	2003	2010
	United States, Singapore	2003	2010
AUSFTA	Australia, United States	2004	2010
	Japan, Mexico	2004	2010
	China, Chile	2005	2010
TRANS-PACIFIC SEP	Brunei, Singapore, New Zealand, Chile	2005	2010
	Japan, Chile	2007	2015
KORU5	Korea, United States	2007	2015
	Australia, Chile	2008	2015
2	Singapore, Peru	2008	2015
	China, Peru	2009	2015

Among APEC members. Source: ESCAP database, July 20, 2010.
 Full implementation date; if this date is after 2010, then the agreement is assumed to be phased in over the previous 5 years.

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C1. Region classification (full)

		P4	TPP8	TPP13	FTAAP	ASEAN+	EAFTA
1	Australia		14.0		19.	0	0
2	Brunei	4	•		16		
3	Canada						
4	Chile				•		
5	China					0	
6	Chinese Taipei						
7	Hong Kong, China				- 19	0	
8	India					0	0
9	Indonesia						
10	Japan					0	
11	Korea				16	0	•
12	Malaysia						
13	Mexico						
14	New Zealand		0.1			0	a
15	Peru			1.0			
16	Philippines				1.		
17	Singapore						
18	Thailand						
19	United States						
20	Vietnam						
21	Other ASEAN*						•
22	Russia						
23	European Union						
94	Rest of the World						

- Cambodia, Lac, Myanmar.
 Member of FTA group.
 Bilateral agreement with FTA group.

C2. Region classification (exploratory)

		P4	TPP8	TPP13	FTAAP	ASEAN+	EAFTA
1	Australia					0	0
2	Brunei						
3	Canada					- •	
-4	Chile			•			
5	China*					0	
ū	Chimese Taipei						
7	Japan					0	
8	Korea					0	
9	Malaysia						
10	Mexico						
11	New Zealand	14				0	0
12	Peru						
13	Singapore	4					114
14	United States						
15	Vietnam			•		•	-
16	Other ASEAN**					•	
17	Russia				•		
18	Rest of the World						

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D. Sector classification (exploratory)

	Sector	Model code	Codes included
1	Paddy rice	pdcr	pdcr
2	Wheat	Wht	wht
3	Other agriculture	othag	gro, ocr, lystk
4	Natural resources	natres	onr, mining
5	Textiles and apparel	texapp	text, appri
6	Chemicals	chm	chm
7	Metals	Met	met
8	Electrical machinery	Elec	elec
9	Machinery	mach	machine, vehicles
10	Other manufacturing	othmfg	athmfg, food, wed
11	Utilities	Utilt	utilt
12	Construction	ens	ENS
13	Trade, transport, comm.	ttc	trade, trsp, cmn
14	Private services	service	fin, isu, pry
15	Government services	governet	governt

PRC, Hong Kong.

** Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao: Myanmar; Philippines, Thailand, Member of FTA group.

5 Bilateral agreement with FTA group.

E. FTA implementation

(preliminary assumptions)

- · FTAs are phased in linearly over 5 years after signing
- · Final bilateral protection in an FTA is reduced by:
 - 90% of initial tariffs and 2/3 of initial NTBs and service barriers in "comprehensive" FTAs (ANZCERTA, all trans-Pacific track FTAs, ASEAN)
 - 80% of initial tariffs and 1/3 of initial NTBs and service barriers in other FTAs
- Trade covered by multiple FTAs is subject to lowest of potential bilateral protection levels

8. 有識者との面会

畠山襄国際経済交流財団会長は、ワシントン DC でのシンポジウム開催の後にニューヨーク に於いて、ジャグティシュ・バグワティ コロンビア大学教授と面会し意見交換を行った。

1. 開催日時: 2010年1月26日(火) 18:30PM~20:30PM

2. 場 所: ニューヨーク市内

4. 同席者: ジャグティシュ・バグワティ コロンビア大学 教授

米外交問題評議会 シニアフェロー

佐藤 樹一郎 JETRO ニューヨークセンター 所長

畠山 襄 (財)国際経済交流財団 会長

井上 勝 (財) 国際経済交流材財団 業務部長

5. 内 容: バグワテイ教授との意見交換

国際経済交流財団畠山会長、井上業務部長はワシントン DC における日米カンファレンス終了後にニューヨークに赴き、バグワティコロンビア大学教授(米国外交問題評議会シニアフェロー)と TPP を中心とするアジア太平洋地域における自由貿易圏創設について意見交換を行った。

畠山会長はアジア太平洋地域における二国間 FTA のほか EAFTA, CEPEA, TPP など地域 経済統合の最近の動きやドーハ・ラウンドの停滞など日米カンファレンスにおける議論を紹介しながら APEC をベースとする FTAAP に向けた今後の見通しを述べた。これに対してバグワテイ教授はドーハ・ラウンド交渉が決裂したいきさつや各国の対応ぶり・今後の見通しなどについて意見を述べるとともに、この地域における中国の台頭などに言及しながら、そのカウンターバランスとしてのインドの役割を強調するとともに日印関係の一層の強化がますます重要になってくると述べた。

また中国、インドなど新興勢力が台頭するなかで新たなグローバル・ガバナンスのあり方が模索されていることに関連して G8, G20 など既存の枠組みに対して各国の GDP や人口など客観的な基準に基づく新たな G10 創設案を畠山会長が提起し、バグワテイ教授はこの提案に強い関心を示した。

9. 成果

今回のフォーラムの成果としては以下の点が挙げられる。

- 1) 本年 11 月にはG20 (ソウル)、APEC 首脳会議(横浜)が開催。APEC 首脳会議が日本で開催されることを視野に入れ、米国側共催団体(Peterson Institute for International Economics)との間で半年ほど前より協議を行い、TPP(環太平洋経済連携協定)をテーマとするカンファレンスを米国ワシントンDCに於いて10月末に共催することで合意。結果的に、カンファレンスはテーマが非常にタイムリーで、時節を得た開催であった点があげられる。
- 2) シンポジウムには、約150名の聴衆が来場。政府関係者、大使館、国際機関をはじめ、シンクタンク、大学、民間企業、並びに各国メディアが約40名(日本、米国、中国、韓国等)出席した中で開催された。各セッションにおける質疑応答では、聴衆から多数の質疑、コメントがあり、またメディアからの質疑も多数出され、中でも中国系メディアからは複数回の質疑があった。総じて、同テーマへの関心の高さが伺われた。
- 3) 会議の大きな成果としては、日米双方において TPP について一定の合意が見られたことがあげられる。米国側の提言は下記の四点。①TPP の交渉には期限を設定すべき。②参加国は多い方がよい。③TPP 交渉に際しては前提条件(例外品目等)をはじめから設けるべきではない。④TPP は FTAAP(アジア太平洋自由貿易圏)へのビルティング・ブロックという位置づけとすべき。交渉に際しては一連の継続性が大事である、という点が指摘された。これに対し、日本側からはこれらの提案に基本的に合意を示した上で、ただし、各国事情を考慮する必要はあるとして、各国にはある程度センシティブな品目があるため、その点は考慮されるべきであろうという提案があった。日本の諺で「水清ければ魚棲まず」をあげて、TPPへの参加のハードルがあまりに高いことで逆に自由貿易の妨げになってはいけないと述べた。本年11月の日本での APEC 首脳会議(横浜)における議長国としての日本の役割と成果、翌年の米国(ハワイ)での開催への米国の役割とその成果に対して期待が示された。
- 4) このような国際会議の開催にあたっては、今後もいかにタイムリーなテーマを設定し、適切な時期に、適切な形式(公開、非公開)で開催するかが重要。また、この種の対話フォーラムを今後も継続的に開催し、日米双方の関心を高め、共通の議題について議論がつくされる場を有効に提供していくことが必要。そのための適切な会議共催者、会議出席者の選定が重要となる。今回のカンファレンスの開催ではこれらの点において期待する成果を出すことができた。特に、米国側パネリストとして、カート・キャンベル国務次官補の出席があったことは聴衆の注目度も高くよい結果となった。

会議成果の広報活動については、財団ホームページにおいてなるべく詳細な内容を掲載し、 その成果を広く普及させるよう努めている。

また、日本側出席者に対し実施したアンケート回答より、米国有識者の TPP に対する考え 方がよりクリアになり日本のとるべき対応が示されて大変参考になった。ここまでタイムリーなテーマを扱ったことは素晴らしいと思うといったコメントをいただいた。ただし、各セッションの時間をもう少し長くして、パネリスト間の議論がもう少しあった方がよかったように思う。開催のタイミングが APEC 会合の直前過ぎた感もややあったので、もう少し早い時期に開催し会議成果を踏まえて関係者と一般の人にメッセージを発信するというのはどうか、といったコメントもあった。こういった出席者から寄せられた貴重な意見については、今後のフォーラム運営の際に十分に役立てていきたい。

10. 事務局

<日本側>

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