

The Topography of the New Landscape of International Trade Negotiations

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How Trade Negotiations Have Changed

- 1945-1994
 - Under GATT, 8 Rounds of Multilateral Trade Negotiations
 - Reduced tariffs to about 1/10 what they were before
 - On MFN (Most Favored Nation) basis
 - Among all GATT Signatories
 - 15 countries in 1945
 - 128 countries in 1994

How Trade Negotiations Have Changed

- 1945-1994
 - Culminated in the 1995 creation of the World Trade Organization, which included
 - GATT
 - GATS
 - TRIPs

How Trade Negotiations Have Changed

- 1995-2015
 - Under WTO, only one Round of multilateral negotiations covering broad trade policy: The Doha Round
 - Began 2001
 - Ended without success at Nairobi Ministerial December 2015

How Trade Negotiations Have Changed

- 1995-2015
 - Only multilateral success has been the 2014 “Bali Package” dealing primarily with Trade Facilitation

How Trade Negotiations Have Changed

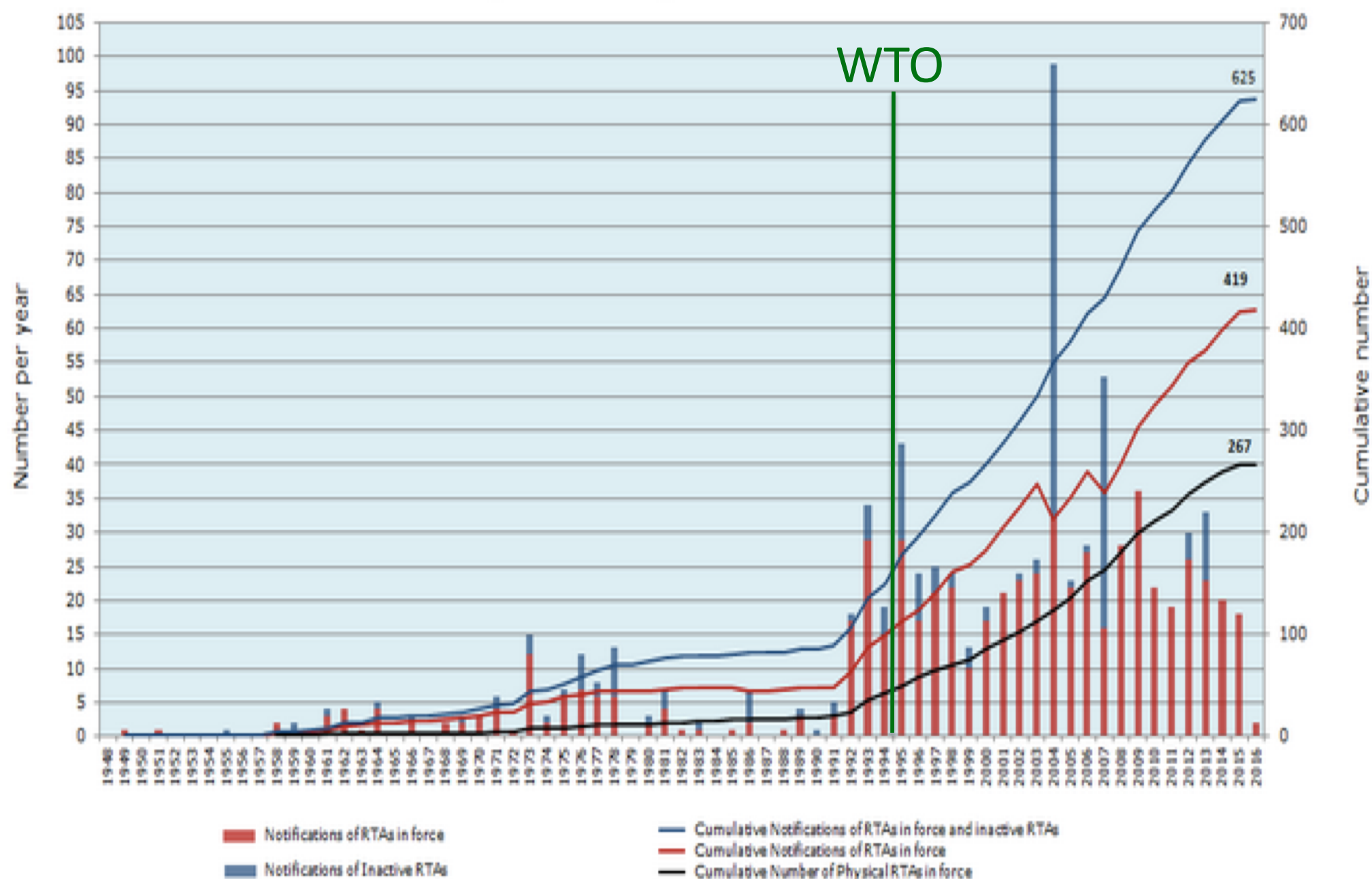
- 1995-2015
 - Other negotiations under WTO have been “plurilateral”
 - Involve a subset of WTO members in agreements that others may or may not choose to join

How Trade Negotiations Have Changed

- 1995-2015
 - Instead, Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) have proliferated
 - Mostly zero tariffs within only a group of 2 or more countries



Evolution of Regional Trade Agreements in the world, 1948-2016



Note: Notifications of RTAs: goods, services & accessions to an RTA are counted separately. Physical RTAs: goods, services & accessions to an RTA are counted together.

Source: WTO Secretariat.

US FTAs	
1985 Israel	2004 CAFTA-DR
1989 Canada	2005 Bahrain
1992 NAFTA	2006 Oman
2000 Jordan	2006 Colombia*
2003 Singapore	2006 Peru
2003 Chile	2007 Panama*
2004 Australia	2007 Korea*
2004 Morocco	

Years are dates FTAs on goods were signed.

*Entry into force 2012.

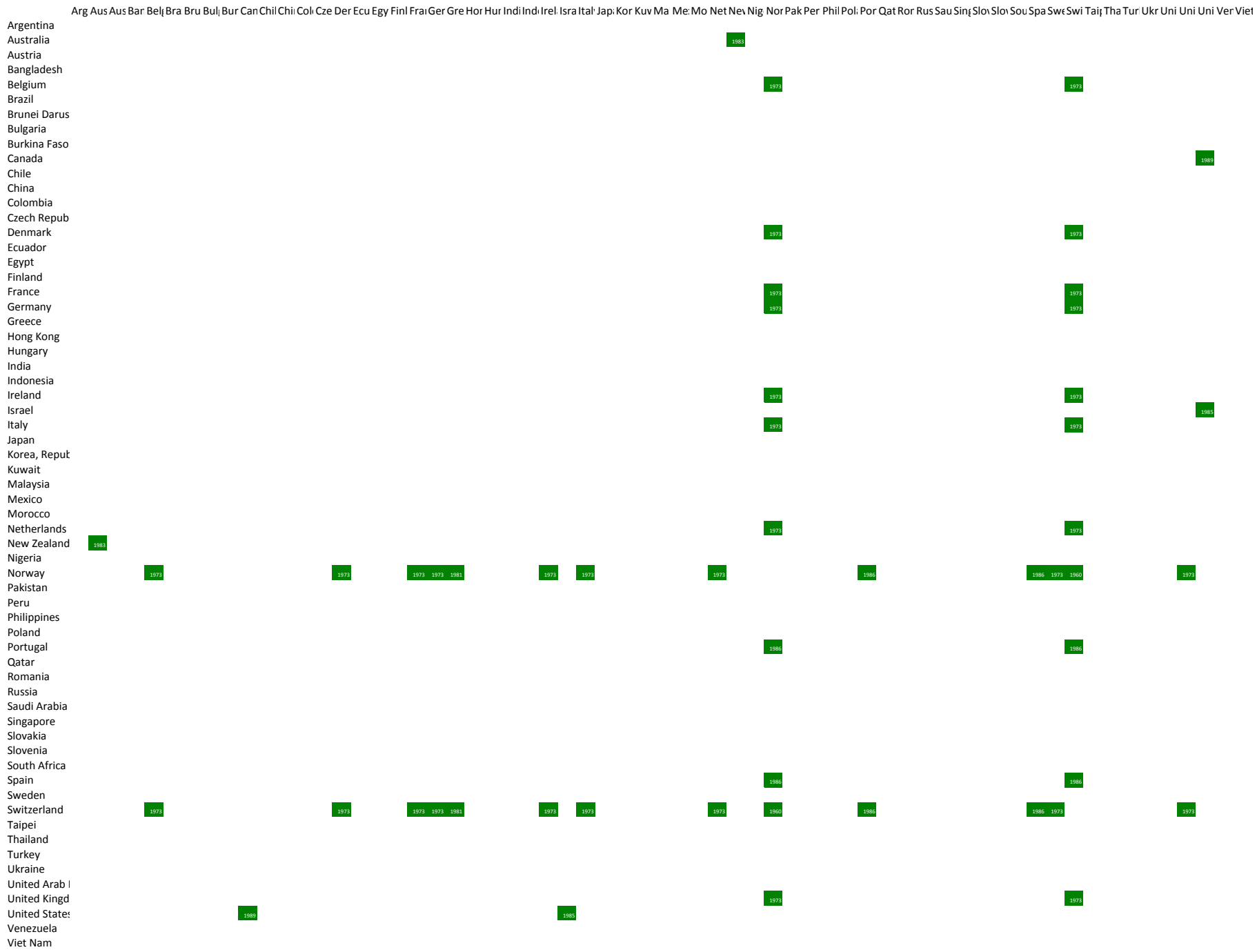
US FTAs: In Process

TPP with 11 countries

TTIP with EU

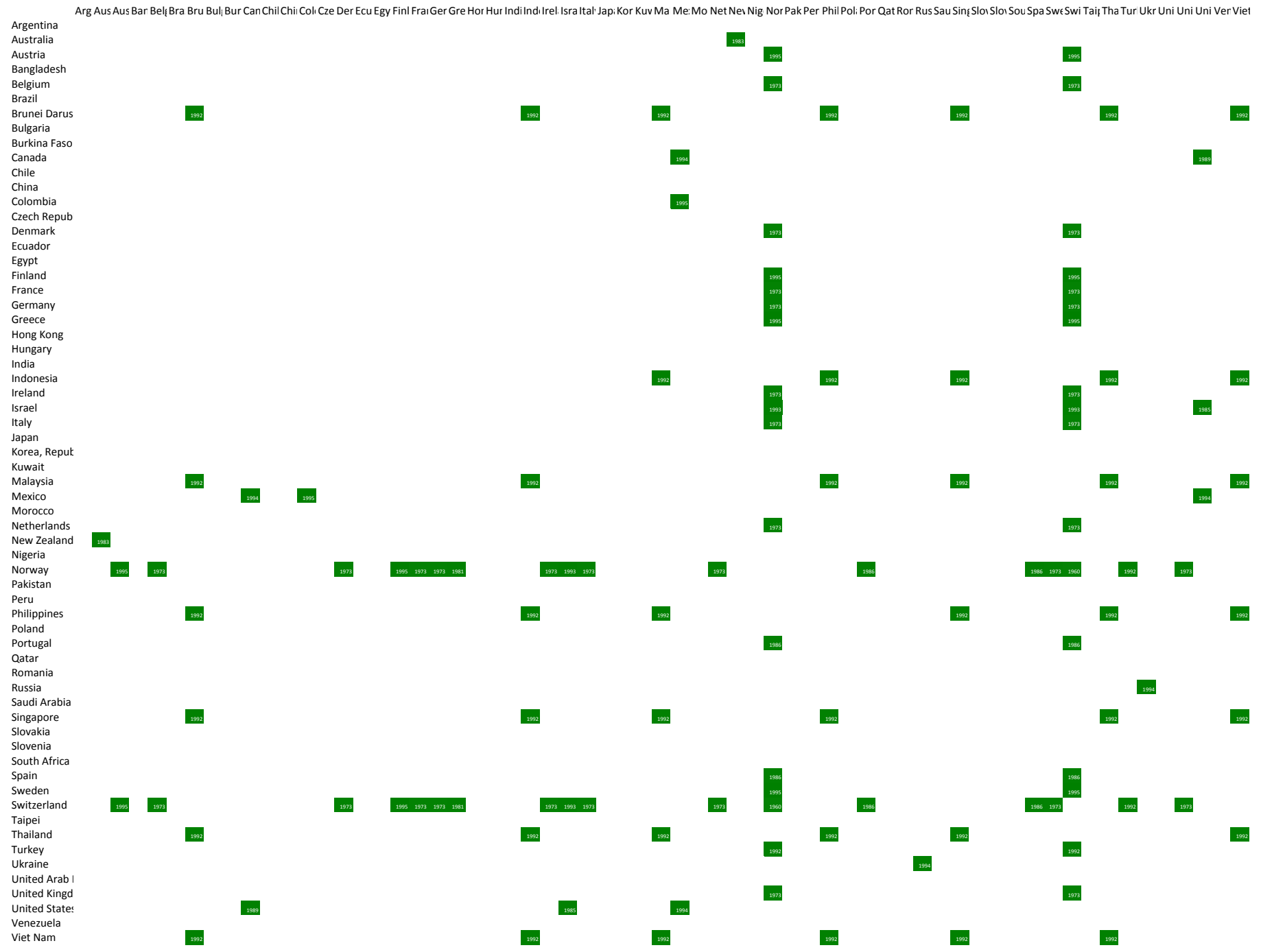
Countries connected by FTAs only, as of 1990

1%



Countries connected by FTAs only, as of 1995

3%



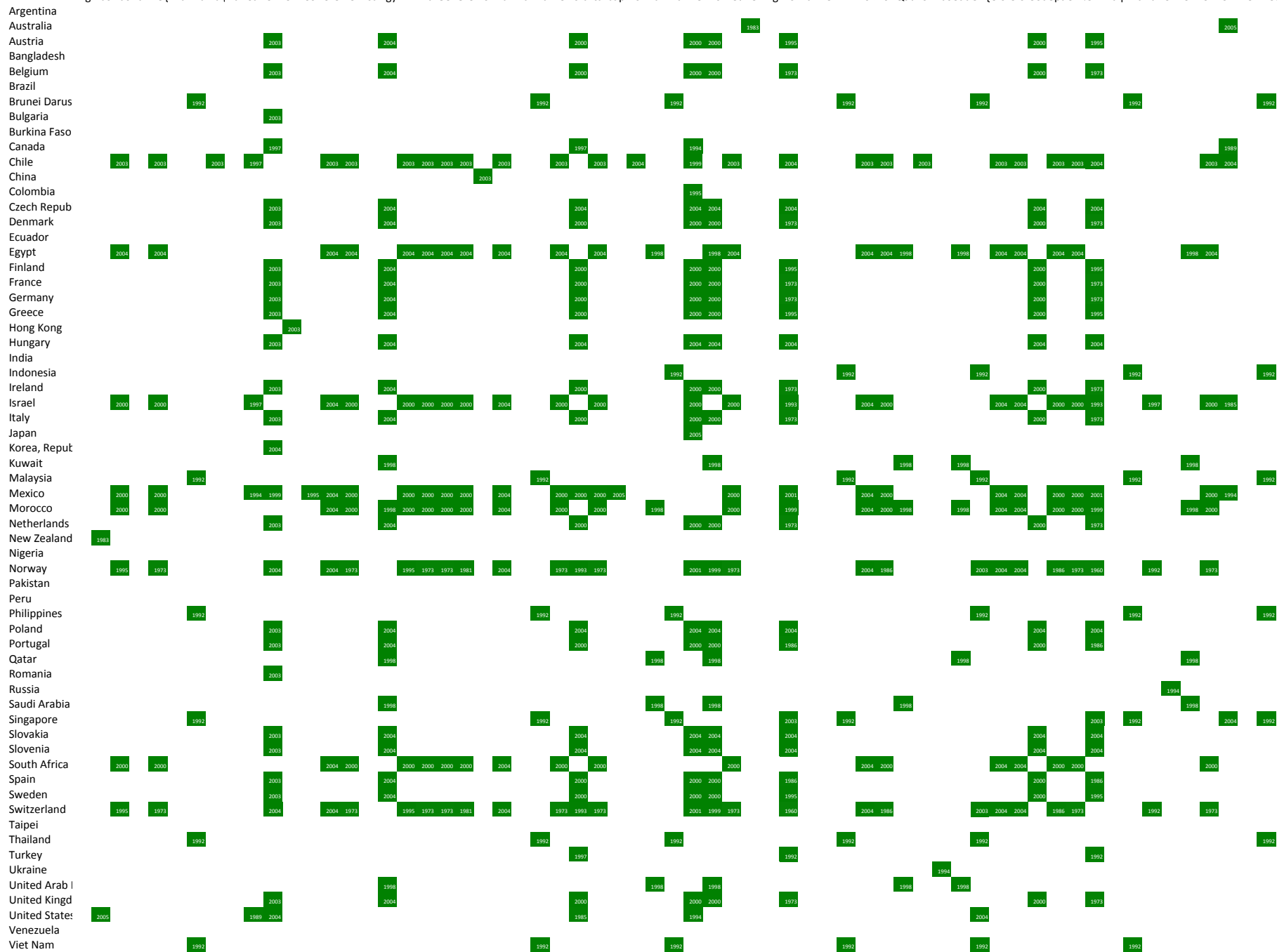
7%

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Argentina					
Australia					
Austria					
Bangladesh					
Belgium					
Brazil					
Brunei Darus					
Bulgaria					
Burkina Faso					
Canada					
Chile					
China					
Colombia					
Czech Repub					
Denmark					
Ecuador					
Egypt					
Finland					
France					
Germany					
Greece					
Hong Kong					
Hungary					
India					
Indonesia					
Ireland					
Israel					
Italy					
Japan					
Korea, Reput					
Kuwait					
Malaysia					
Mexico					
Morocco					
Netherlands					
New Zealand					
Nigeria					
Norway					
Pakistan					
Peru					
Philippines					
Poland					
Portugal					
Qatar					
Romania					
Russia					
Saudi Arabia					
Singapore					
Slovakia					
Slovenia					
South Africa					
Spain					
Sweden					
Switzerland					
Taipei					
Thailand					
Turkey					
Ukraine					
United Arab I					
United Kingd					
United States					
Venezuela					
Viet Nam					

Countries connected by FTAs only, as of 2005

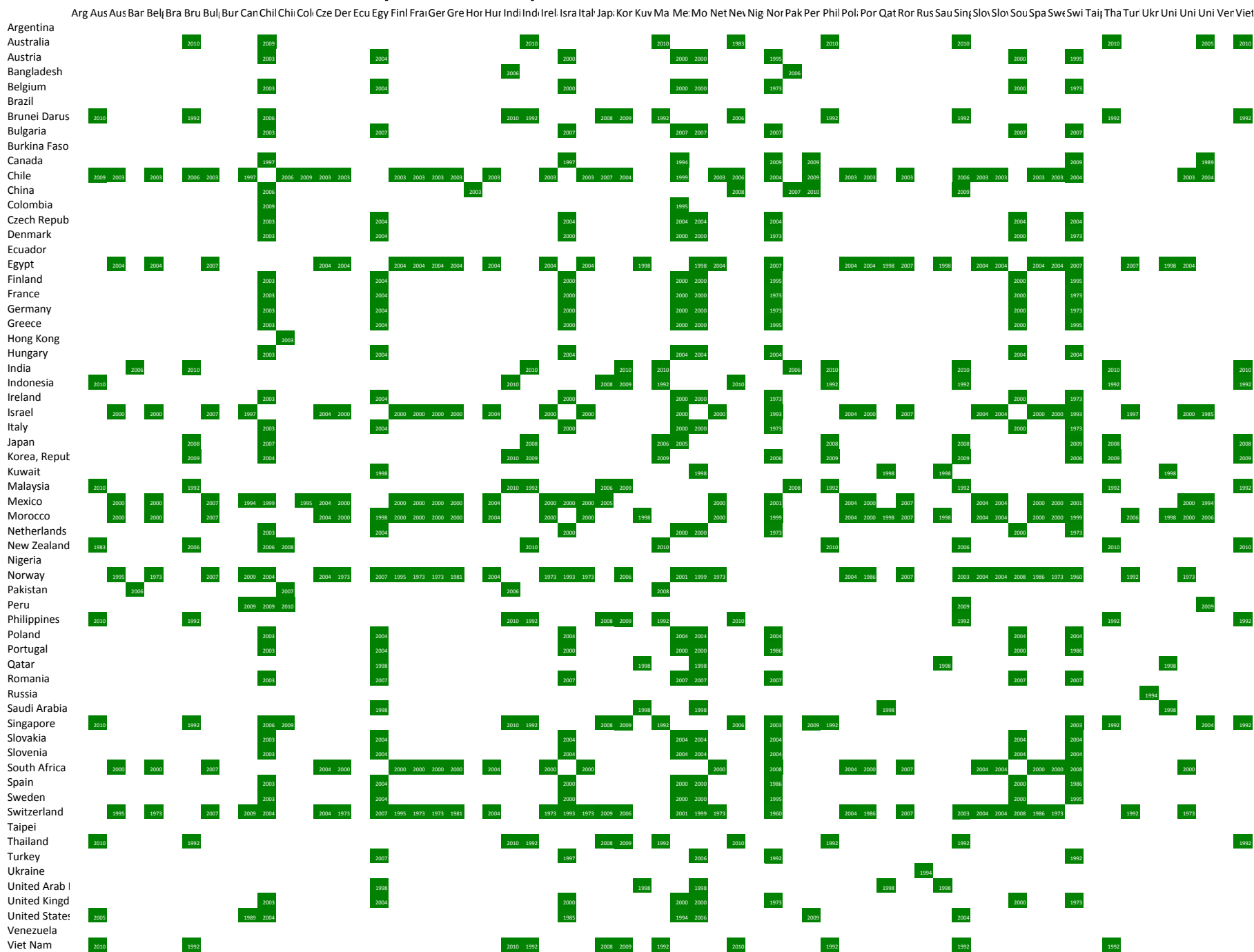
11%

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Countries connected by FTAs only, as of 2010

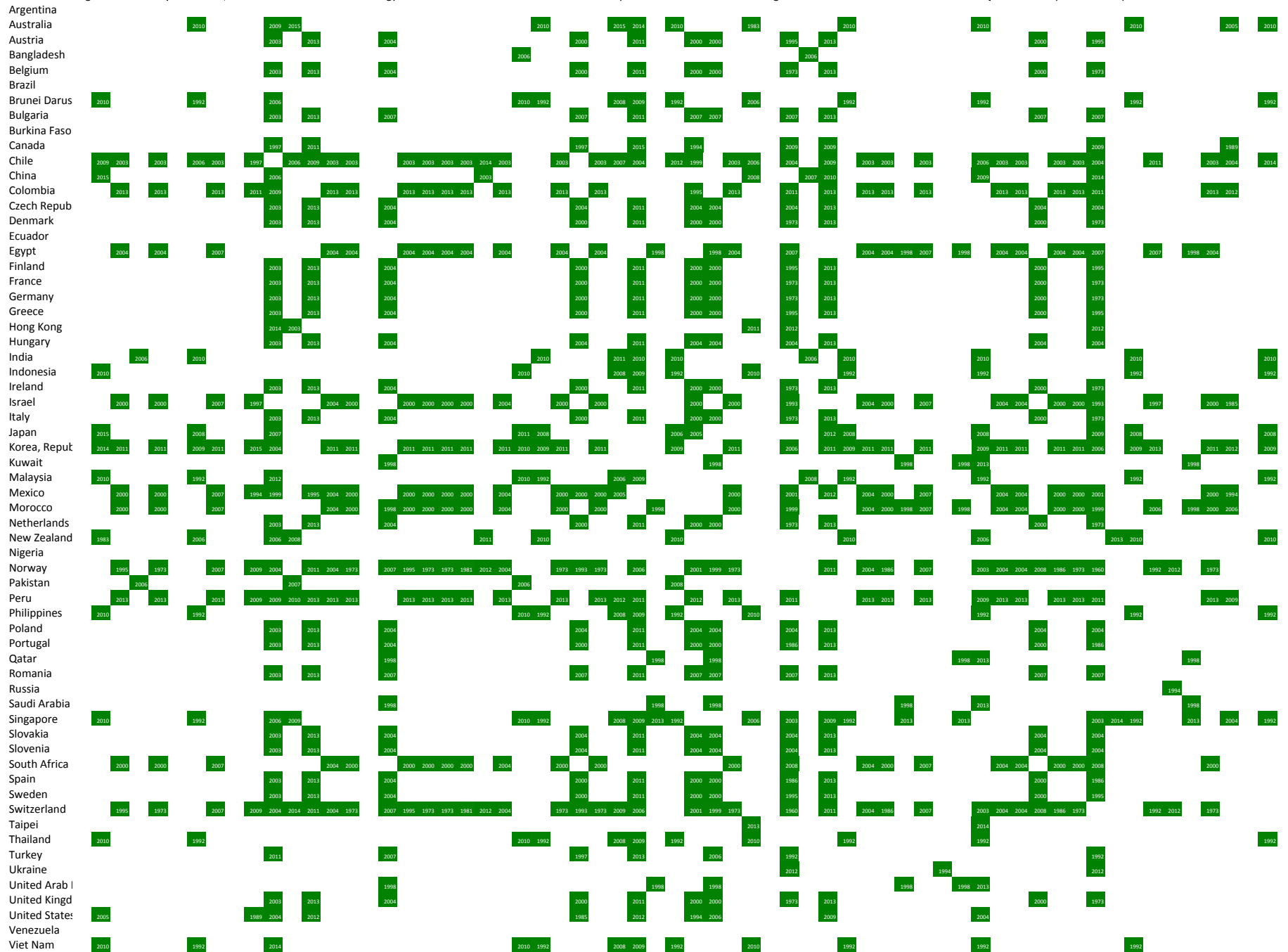
15%



Countries connected by FTAs only, as of 2015

20%

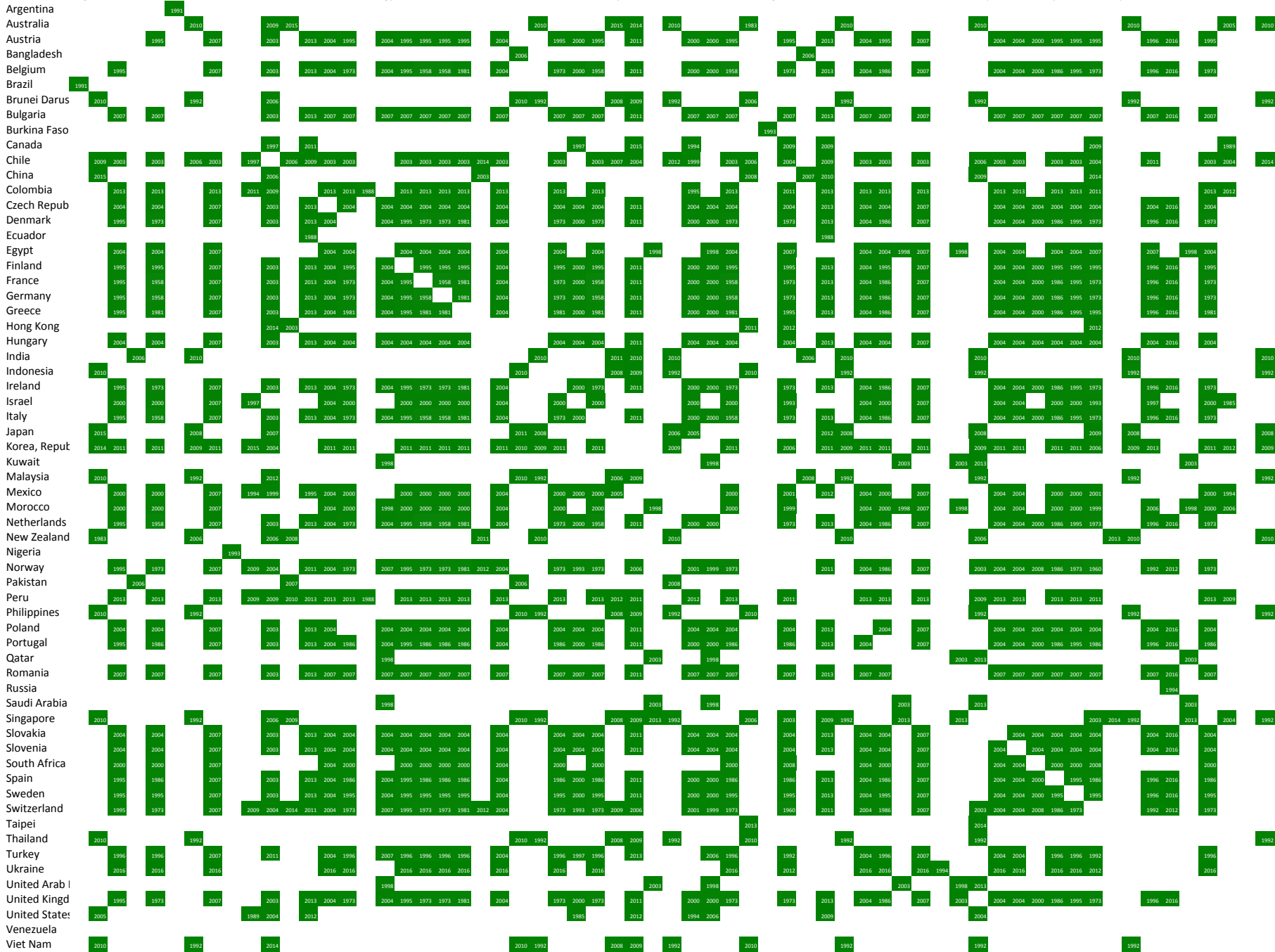
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Countries connected by FTAs or CUs

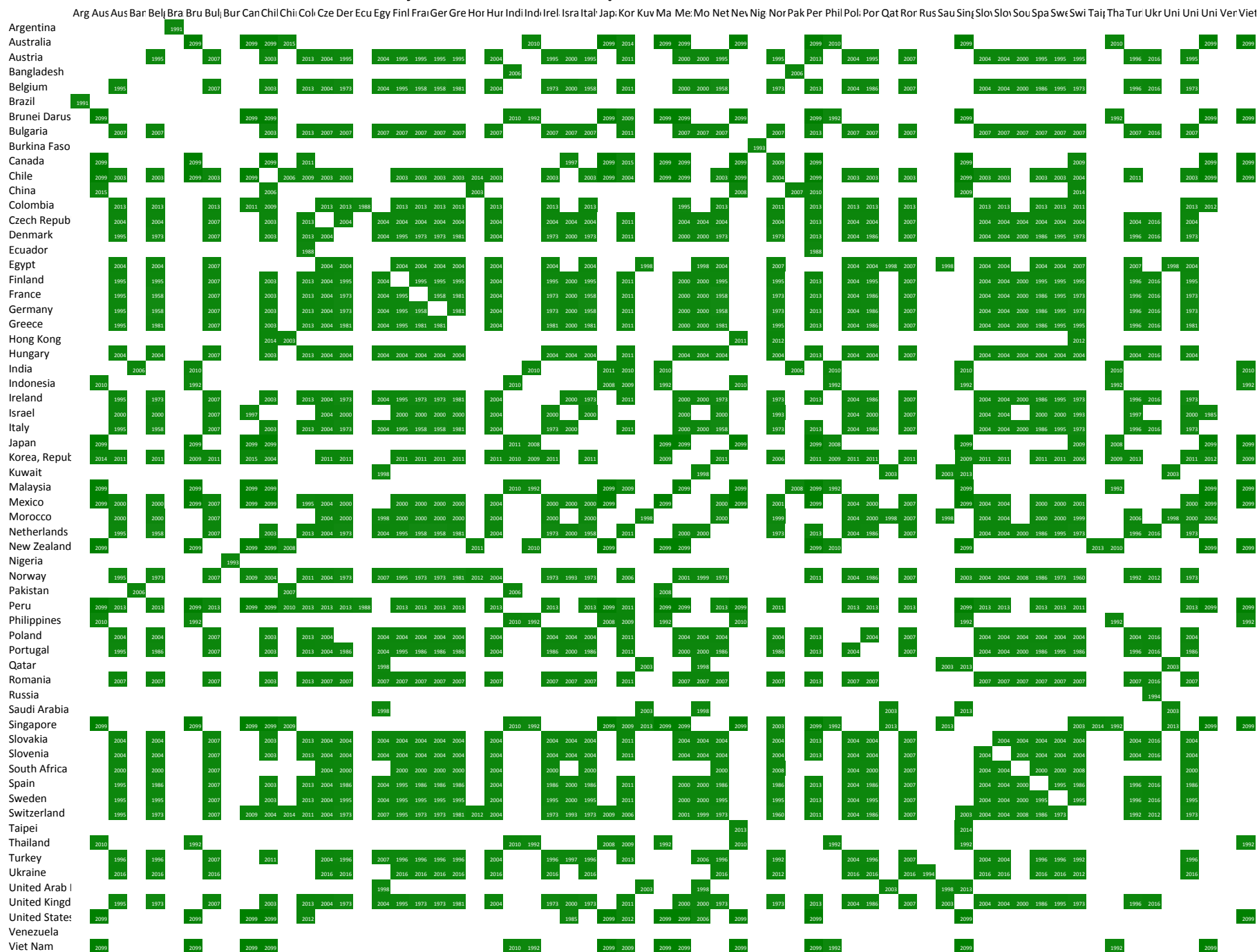
33%

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Countries connected by FTAs or CUs plus TPP

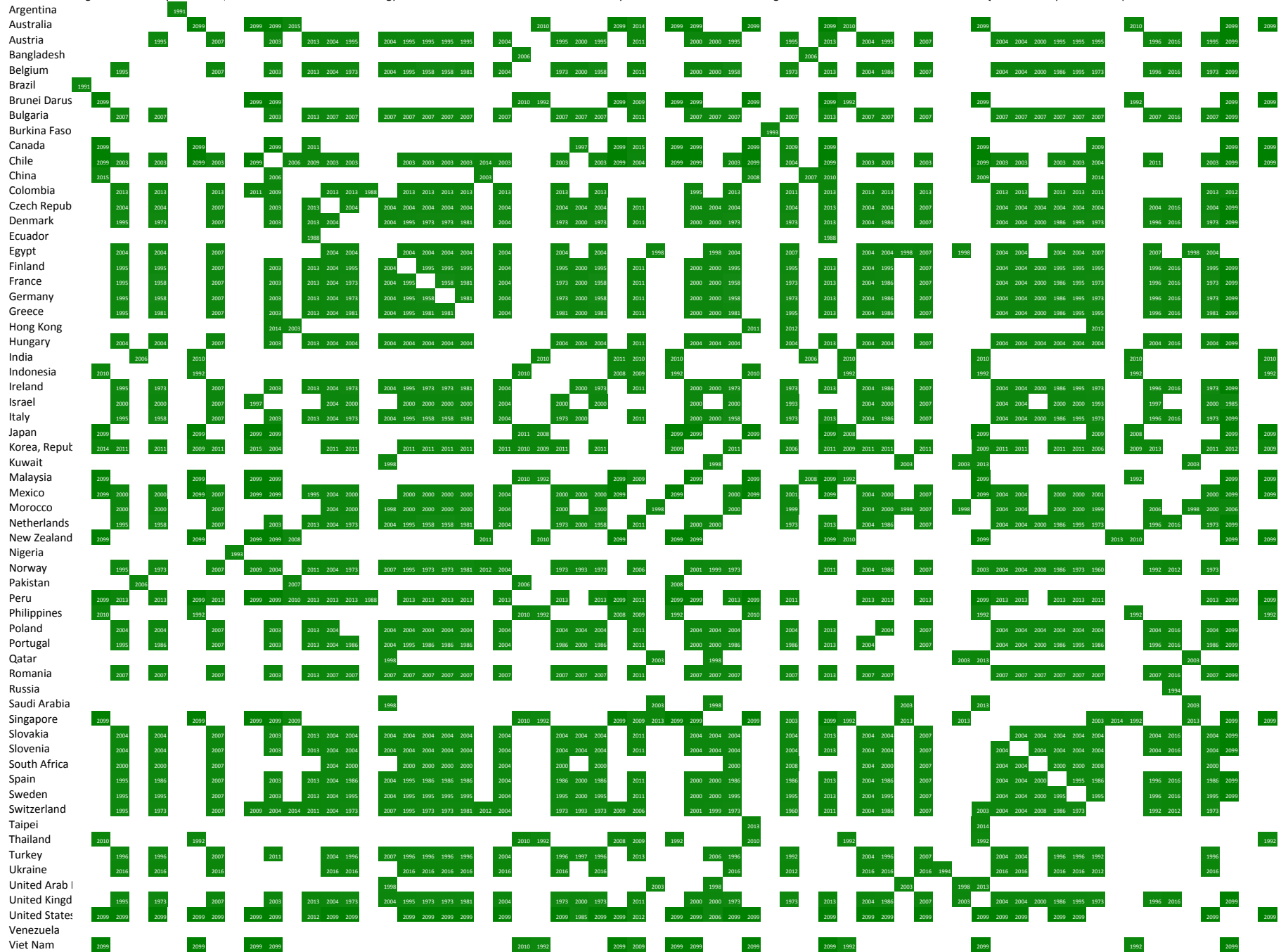
35%



Countries connected by FTAs or CUs plus TPP or TTIP

36%

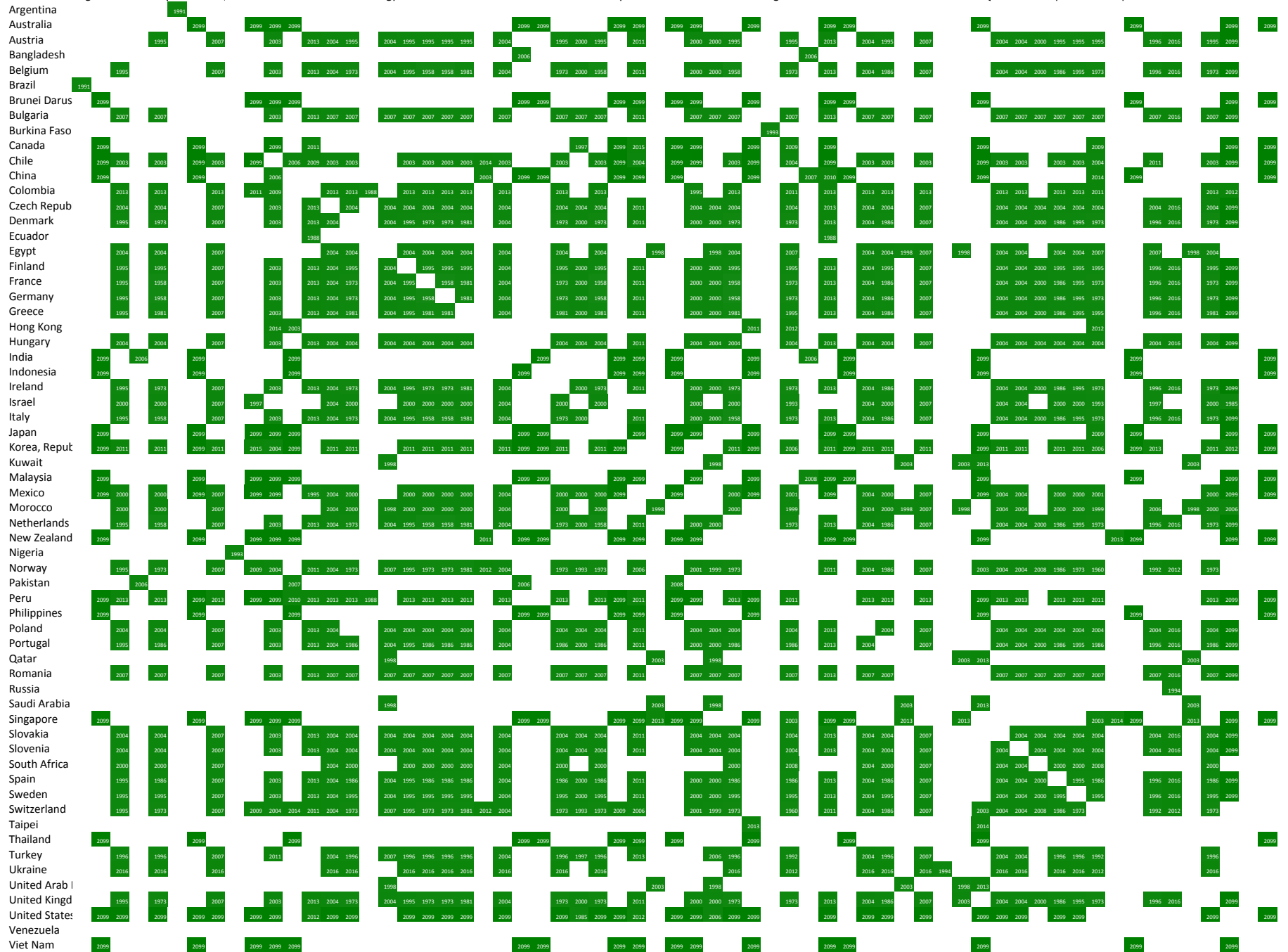
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Countries connected by FTAs or CUs plus TPP, TTIP, or RCEP

36%

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“Mega-FTAs”

- Mega-FTAs of the Past
 - European Union (grew from 6 to 28 countries)
 - Customs Union
 - MERCOSUR (Grew from 4 to 6 South American countries)
 - ASEAN FTA (10 countries)
 - 4 in Africa
 - EAC (5 countries)
 - ECOWAS (15 countries)
 - COMESA (19 countries)
 - SADC (15 countries)

Today: New “Mega-FTAs”

- TPP: Trans-Pacific Partnership
 - Negotiations
 - Launched 2008
 - Completed Oct 5, 2015
 - Includes 12 countries (US, Japan, ...)
 - Yet to be ratified
 - Intended to be open to additional countries
 - Indonesia
 - S. Korea
 - Philippines

Today: New “Mega-FTAs”

- RCEP: Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
 - Negotiations launched 2012
 - 10-member ASEAN, plus 6 countries with which ASEAN has FTAs:
 - Australia
 - China
 - India
 - Japan
 - S. Korea
 - New Zealand

Today: New “Mega-FTAs”

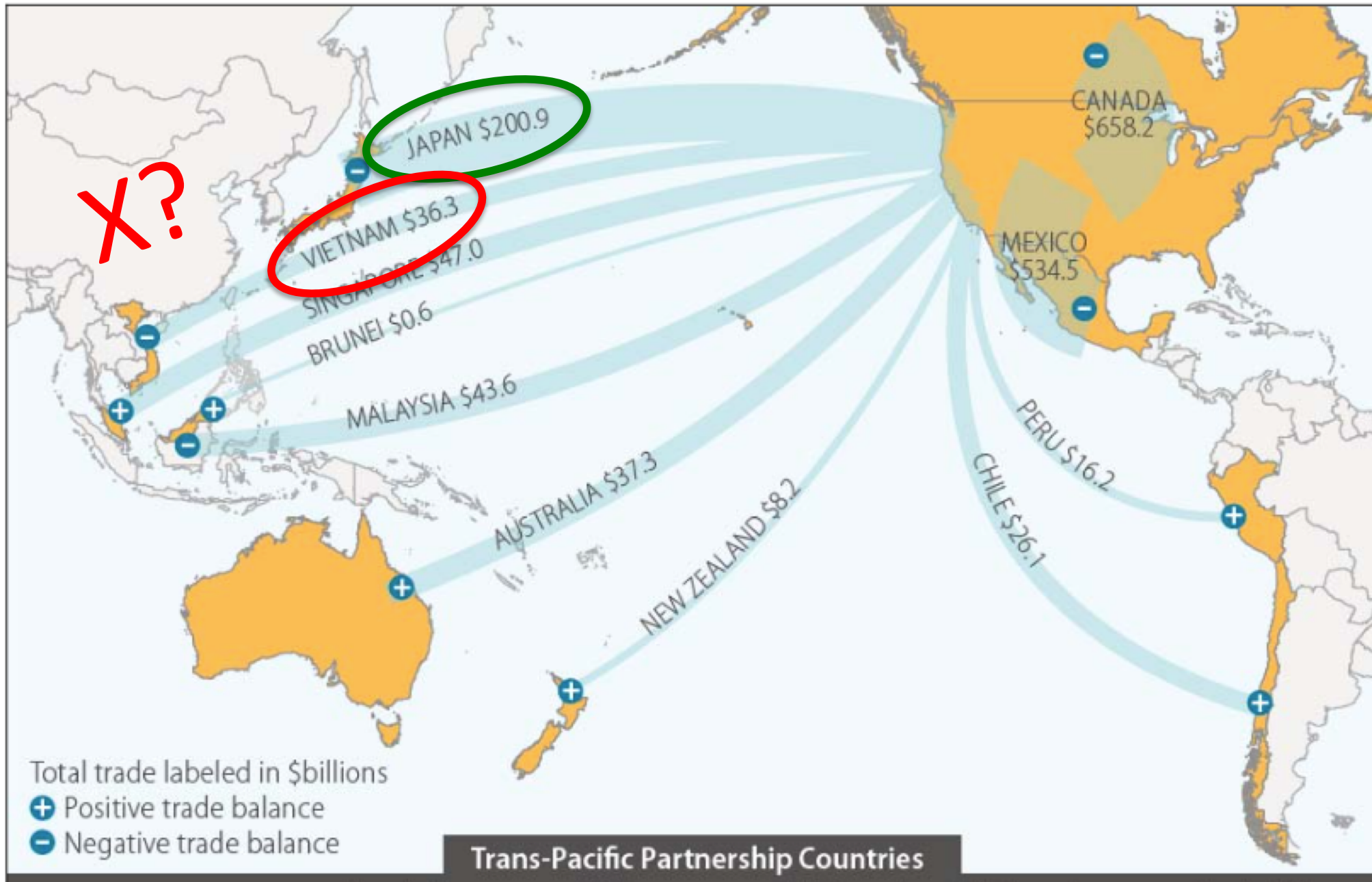
- TTIP: Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
 - Negotiations launched 2013
 - Includes
 - US
 - 28-member EU

Today: New “Mega-FTAs”

- Tripartite Free Trade Area
 - Launched June 10, 2015
 - Will combine 3 of the 4 mega-FTAs in Africa:
 - EAC (5 countries)
 - COMESA (19 countries)
 - SADC (15 countries)
 - Total 27 countries (due to overlap)

More on TPP

Figure 1. Trans-Pacific Partnership Countries



What Is the TPP?

- Main Features of TPP (only a few of 30 chapters):
 - Trade in goods: Reduce/remove tariffs & NTBs
 - Trade in services: Reduce/remove barriers
 - Digital trade: Facilitate data flows and E-commerce
 - Investment: Investor/State Dispute Resolution
 - Intellectual Property: Expanded patents, etc.
 - Labor: Enforcement of standards
 - Environment: Enforcement of standards
 - State-Owned Firms: Competitive neutrality

Oddities of the TPP

- Tariffs
 - Cars and trucks: US tariffs removed
 - Cars: 2.5%, removal phased in over 25 years.
 - Trucks: 25%, removal phased in over 30 Years.
 - Schedules and rates differ by exporting country



EIF: Entry In Force
(duty-free from start)

B5: Eliminated in 5 annual
stages, duty-free in year 5

B10: Eliminated in 10 annual
stages, duty-free in year 10

US21: No higher than Peru FTA

US13: Base rate until
2022; duty-free in 2022

Bovine Meat
Cuts (i.e., Beef)

Base Rate	Australia	Brunei			Japan
4%	EIF	EIF	EIF	EIF	EIF
10%	EIF	EIF	EIF	EIF	B5
4.4 cents/kg	EIF	EIF	EIF	EIF	B5
4%	EIF	EIF			B10
10%	EIF	EIF	EIF	EIF	B10
4.4 cents/kg	EIF	EIF	EIF	EIF	B10
26.40%	US13	EIF	EIF	EIF	TRQ: CSQ- US21

Oddities of the TPP

- ISDS: Investor/State Dispute Resolution
 - Controversial
 - Does not apply to tobacco industry

Oddities of the TPP

- Biologic Drugs
 - (advanced medicines made from living organisms)
 - The issue: Time period of permitted data exclusivity
 - US wanted 12 years of protection, as contained in the Obama Care.
 - Australia and others wanted much shorter protection, 5 or 6 years.
 - Compromise: US keeps 12-years; others will not. 5 years protection will be an increase for some countries.

Oddities of the TPP

- Japanese Agriculture:
 - Japan will lower its tariff on beef from over 38.5% to 9% over 16 years
 - Pork tariff will fall from 4.3% to 2.2%, but will also lower minimum import price from ¥482/kg to ¥125, and later to ¥50.
 - Rice (no cut in tariff): New duty-free quota of 50,000 tons, rising to 75,000 tons in year 13

Oddities of the TPP

- Exchange Rates
 - US wanted TPP to address currency undervaluation (which makes exports cheaper)
 - Resolution: Side Agreement on Exchange Rates:
 - Commitment to avoid manipulation
 - Transparency and Reporting
 - Group to meet at least annually to discuss macroeconomic and exchange rate issues
 - No enforcement mechanism

Pros and Cons of all FTAs

- Preferential tariff cuts
 - Pro: trade creation
 - Similar to the classic “gains from trade”
 - Cons:
 - Trade diversion
 - Rules of origin (ROOs)
 - Exemption of sensitive sectors
 - Sensitive = Most likely to be trade-creating if included

Pros and Cons of all FTAs

- Other aspects of actual FTAs
 - Pros:
 - Extension to trade in services
 - Harmonization of regulations
 - Cons (?):
 - Extension of IP protection
 - Trade enforcement of labor standards
 - Trade enforcement of environmental standards
 - Investor-State Dispute Settlement

Additional Pros and Cons of Mega-FTAs

- Preferential tariff cuts
 - Pros:
 - Larger potential for trade creation
 - If ROOs are cumulative, less distorting
 - Potential for adding members
 - Replace multiple rules with a single set
 - Cons:
 - Though there are fewer outsiders, each is harmed more by trade diversion
 - In fact (in TPP) there is more complexity

Additional Pros and Cons of Mega-FTAs

- Other aspects of actual Mega-FTAs
 - Pros:
 - May contribute to broader and more uniform standards
 - Cons:
 - Their use as weapons of geopolitics

Implications of Mega-FTAs for the WTO

- Might have created pressure to complete Doha Round.
 - Possible, just as NAFTA motivated Uruguay Round
 - Didn't happen; Round is dead.

Implications of Mega-FTAs for the WTO

- By lowering trade barriers regionally, Mega-FTAs will
 - Hasten the decline of some uncompetitive industries,
 - Thus gradually reduce political forces for protection
 - This may reduce the need to use WTO-sanctioned administrative protection (anti-dumping, etc.)

Implications of Mega-FTAs for the WTO

- Trade disputes will have alternative fora in which to be settled: Choice between WTO panels and FTA panels
 - This may lessen the role of the WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism
 - But it will remain relevant

Implications of Mega-FTAs for the WTO

- WTO will continue to be important for plurilateral negotiations on issues that transcend the Mega-FTAs
- Some issues that lend themselves neither to plurilateral agreements nor to Mega-FTAs will remain unresolved
 - Most important: Subsidies

Implications of Mega-FTAs for the World Trading System

- Ideally, they will move the world in the direction of global free trade
- But because of their size, each may fall short of that ideal even internally
 - Rules of origin undermine their benefits
 - Exemption of “sensitive sectors” will systematically reduce beneficial trade creation