Challenges for the International Trade System Tokyo, Japan, May 28, 2018

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Useful to think of

- Short-term challenges
- Medium-term challenges
- Long-term challenges

- A. Short-run Challenges
 - The uncertainty caused by on-again off-again US-DPRK summit, US-China trade war, and US-world trade war
 - Abuse of "national security" exception to trade policies
 - Resurrection of illegal "voluntary" export quotas and non-market import expansion
 - Blocking of WTO appellate body judges



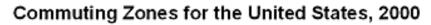


- Trump's View: In a US-China trade war, US will easily win because China's exports to the US are bigger than the reverse trade
- Problems with the Trump's View:
 - Trade balance in value added terms
 - Total sales by US companies to the Chinese are a lot closer to total sales by Chinese firms to the Americans
 - If US chooses to act outside the WTO, it will make it more likely for a future dominant power to do the same
- Trade war will be mutually destructive

- B. Medium term Challenge: Three Sources of Trade Tensions Not Yet Well Understood
- (1) Rising US Trade Deficit from the Tax Cut
 - US Trade deficit = US investment US savings
 - The tax cut will generate \$1 trillion extra fiscal deficit over next 10 years
 - Unlikely offset by a major cut investment or a major rise in private sector savings
 - Large trade deficit
 - -> Blame Japan, China, Korea, Germany, and other countries

- B. Medium term Challenge: Three Sources of Trade Tensions Not Yet Well Understood
- (2) Likely Rise of US interest rate
 - Exchange rate shocks around the world
 - Problematic for countries with foreign currency debt
 - Sudden reversal of global capital flows
 - Problematic for countries dependent on non-FDI types of capital flows
 - Economic difficulties -> demand for restricting imports -> rise of protectionism

- Medium term Challenge: Three Sources of Trade Tensions Not Yet Well Understood
- (3) Mis-placed Blame on Trading with China for Job Losses in the United States
 - Very common to think that trade with China has generated a net job loss in the United States
 - Autor, Dorn, and Hanson (2013)
 - Pierce and Schott (2016)





Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.

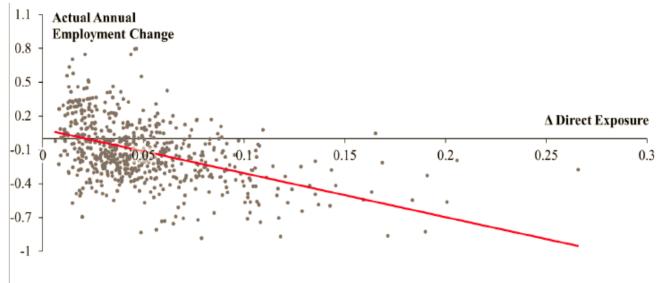
Key result of Autor, Dorn, and Hanson:

Those CZs that have had the most exposure to imports from China also have experienced the biggest relative decline in local employment

> Figure 3: Employment Change against the Direct Competition Exposure to China Imports across CZs

(% of the working age cohort, 722 Commuting Zones)

2000-2014



What is missing in the ADH framework is a supply chain perspective

Downstream Effect

A significant part of the growth in US imports from China is imported intermediate inputs, which help downstream US firms to improve efficiency and potentially expand their employment.

▶ 2000:

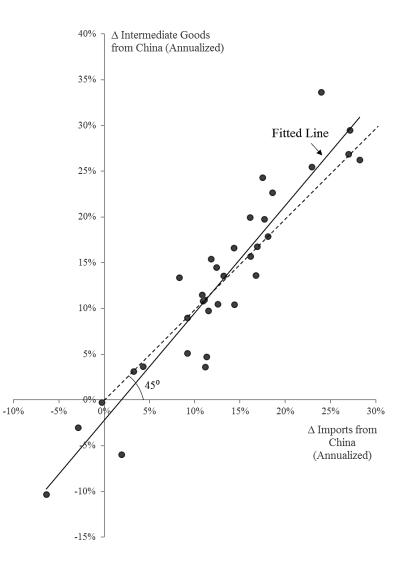
US imports of intermediate goods from China was US \$14.8 billion, accounting for 28.6% of that year's total imports from China.

≻ 2007:

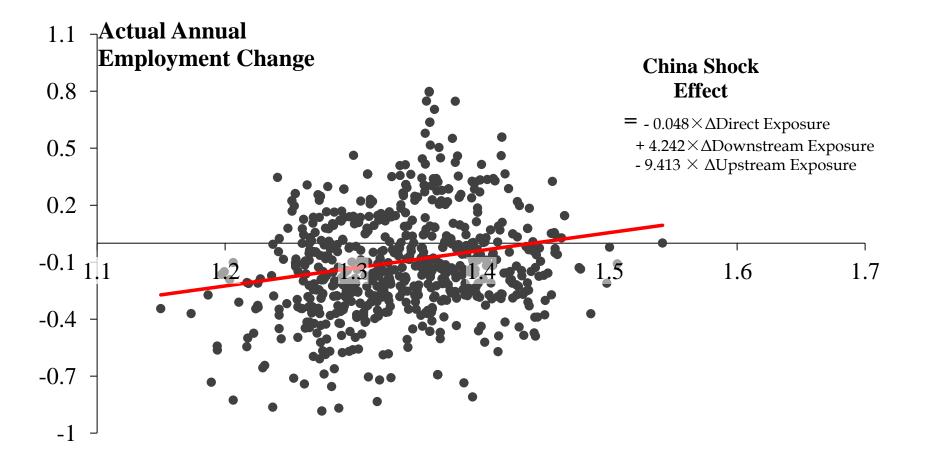
Imports of Chinese intermediate inputs almost tripled to 63.2 billion USD.

≻ 2014:

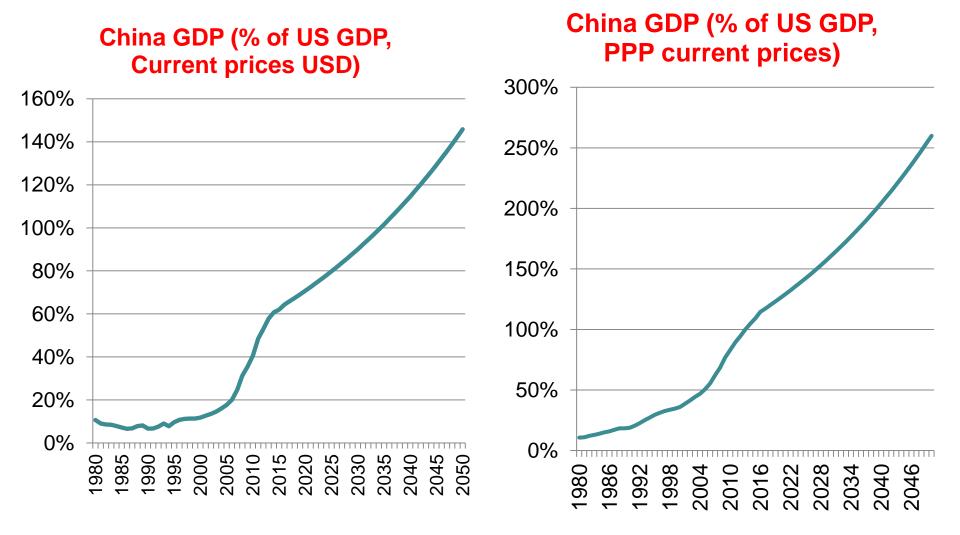
The number doubled again to 130.2 billion USD (and the share also rose to 37.5% of the total imports from China)



Actual Annual Employment Change against Total Effect of the China Shock (% of the working age cohort, 722 Commuting Zones) 2000-2014



C. Long-run Challenge: Rise of China Relative to the United States



- Dealing with the long-run challenge
 Rise of China relative to the United States
 - Implications for world trading system

Will China respect the current set of rules? Do US actions of late make it more or less likely for China to respect the existing rules?

Can China be encouraged to defend and improve the existing rules rather than to upend them?

Proposal: Enhanced 3+10 Cooperation

- "3+10" = China, Korea, Japan + ASEAN
- Can be a champion and leader for an open and rule-based global trading system
 - Sensible competition rules
 - Sensible constraints on RTAs that do not impede global and regional value chains
 - Stronger protection of intellectual property rights
 - Skill upgrading/ re-training/ education programs