Economic Integration of Eurasia: Opportunities and Challenges of Global Significance

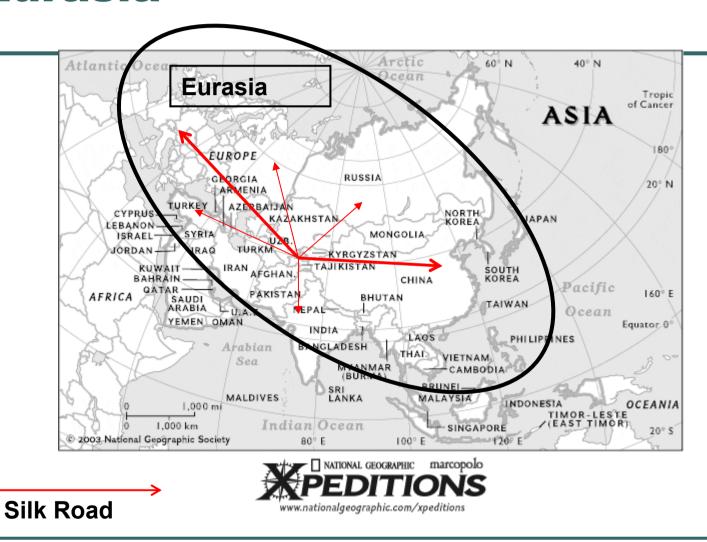
Presentation at the KIEP Leading Experts Seminar Seoul, July 8, 2005

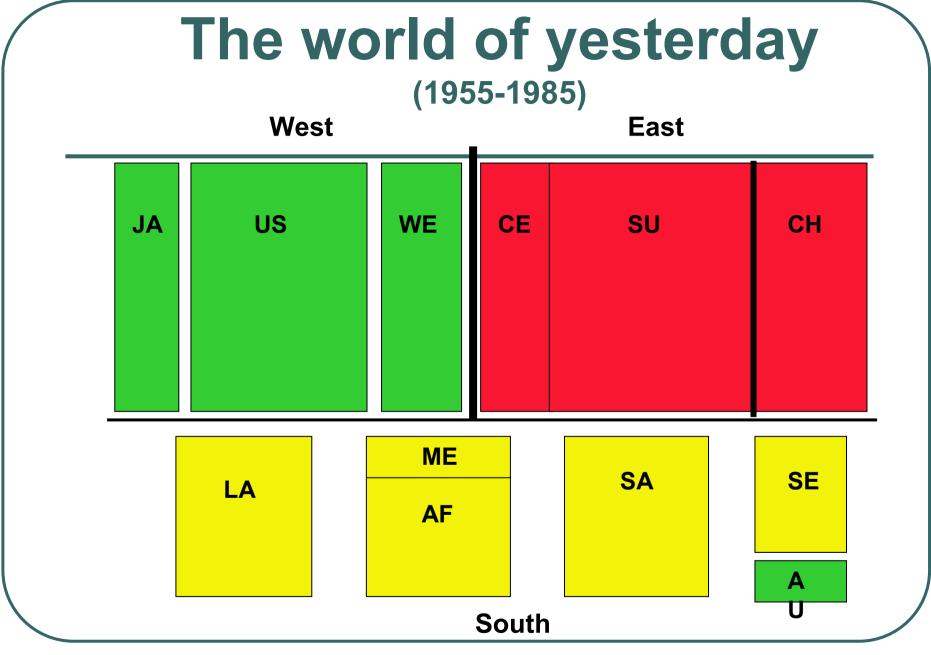
Johannes F. Linn, The Brookings Institution

Introduction

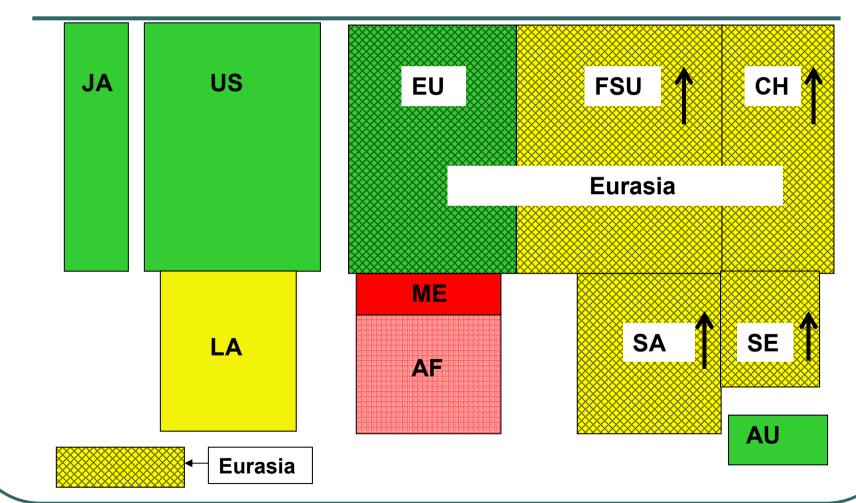
- Focus in Europe these days on internal matters, not surprisingly
- Extension of the horizon at the conference welcome and important
- This paper goes a longer way than usual looks at integration of Eurasian "Super-Continent" as an important new phenomenon
- Start with a definition and a brief historical perspective

Eurasia



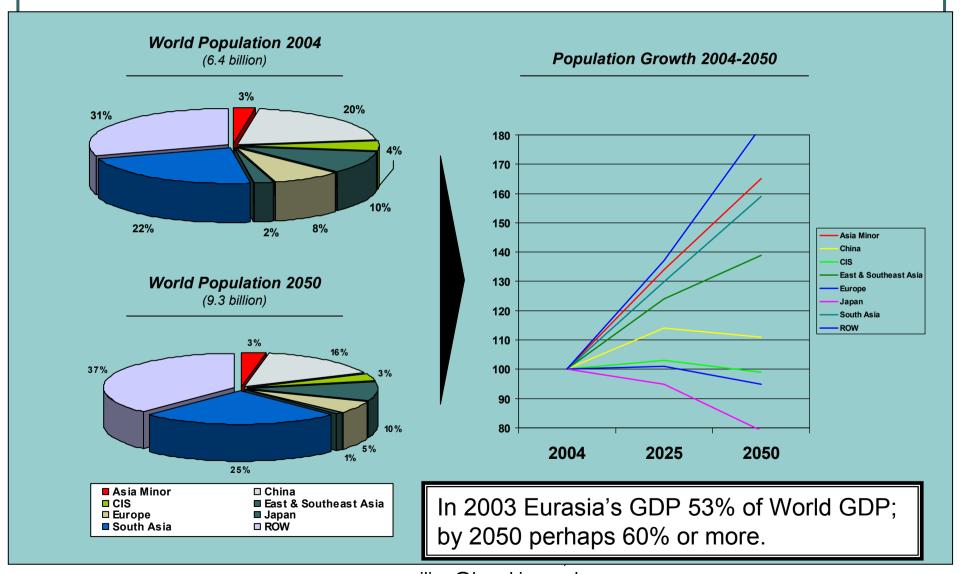


The world of today and tomorrow (1990-2020)



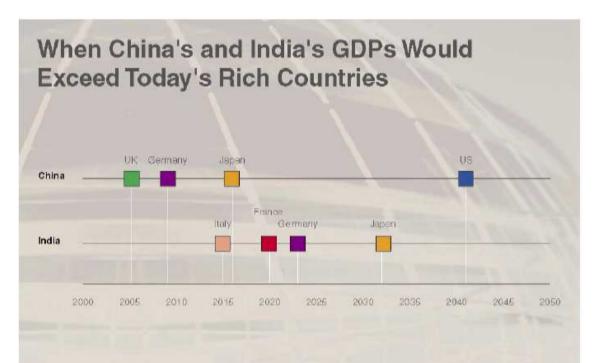
Global Population Growth & Composition





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When China's and India's GDP would exceed...



...and by 2050 GDP of China, India, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK 2½ times that of the US

Eurasian Economic Integration as a Key Potential Driver of Growth

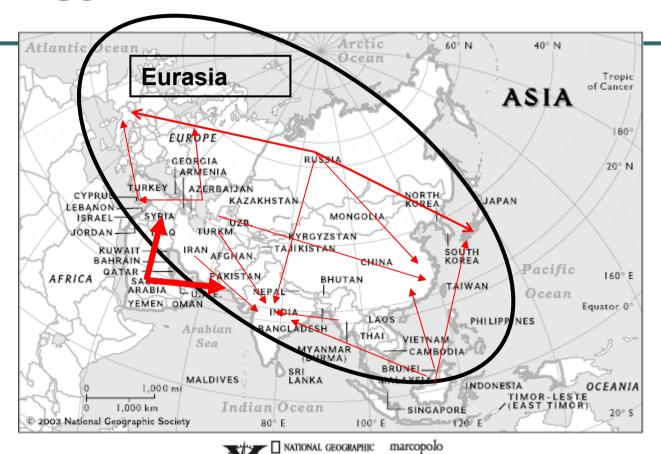
- Energy Trade and Transport
- Non-Energy Trade and Transport
- Drug Flows
- Capital Flows
- Migration Flows
- Communication and Knowledge

Energy Trade and Transport

A key sector for regional integration on the super-continent

- Oil (25% of world reserves, 36% of production, 55% of consumption)
- Gas (57% of world reserves, 50% of production, 57% of consumption)
- Electricity

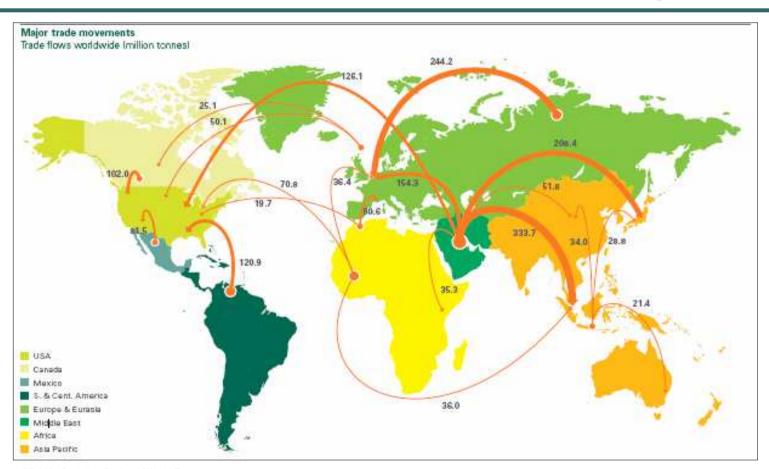
Energy



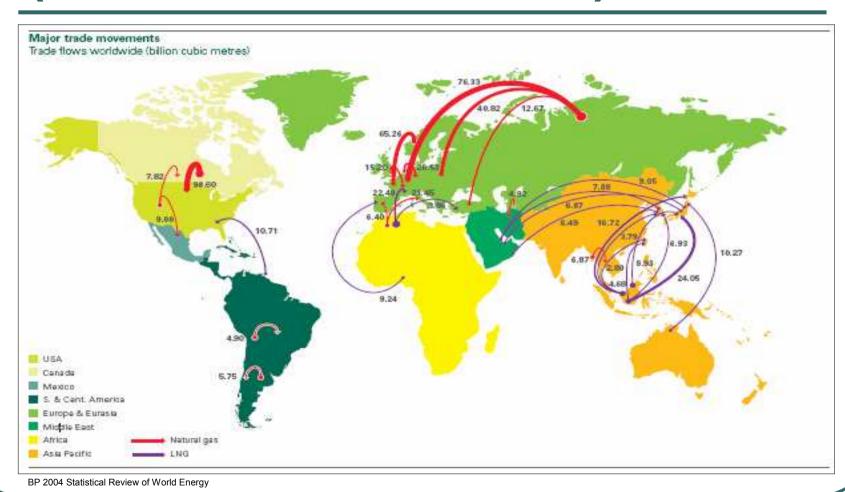
Major Oil and Gas Flows

www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions

Principal Oil Flows in the World (mostly within Eurasia + Arab Peninsula)

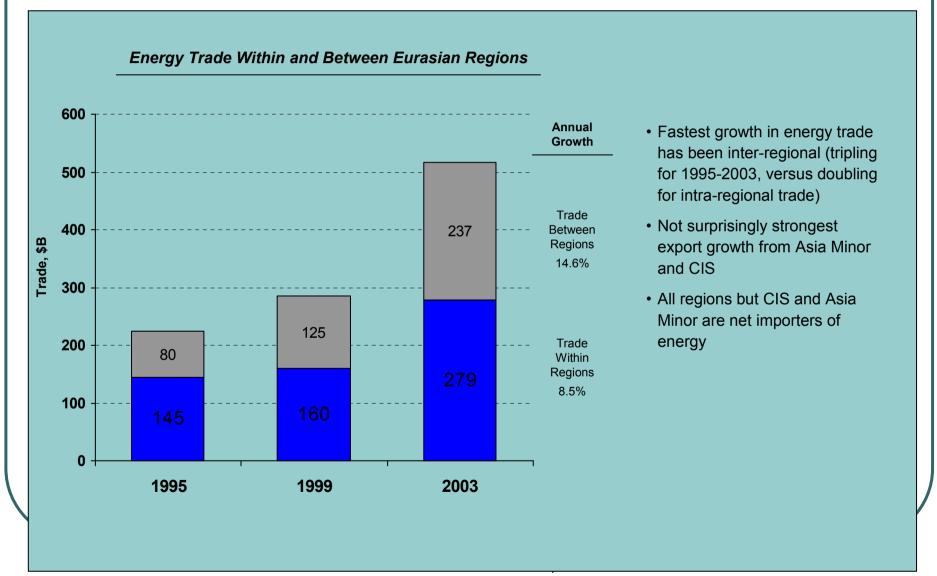


Principal Gas Flows (no trans-oceanic flows)



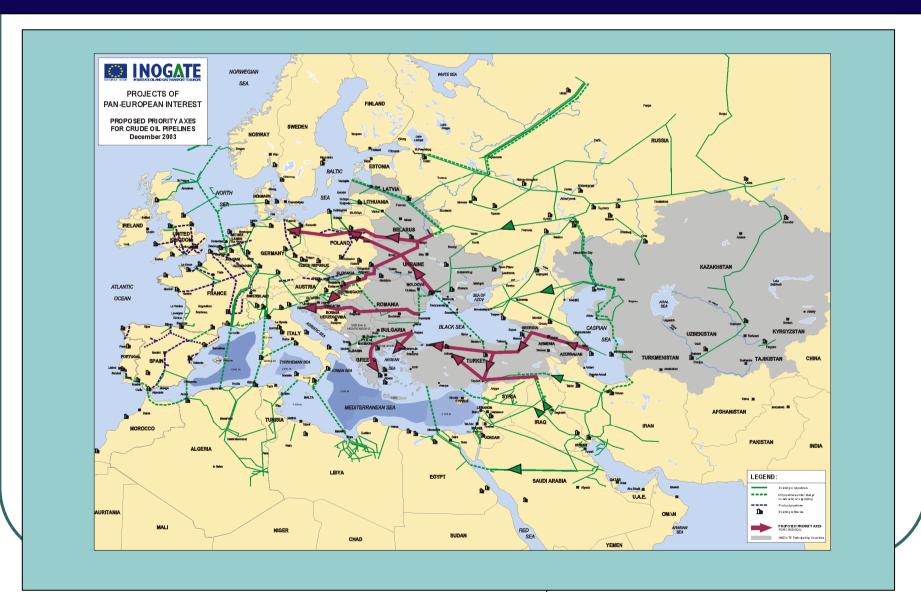
Rapid Growth of Intra- and Inter-regional of Energy Trade in Eurasia





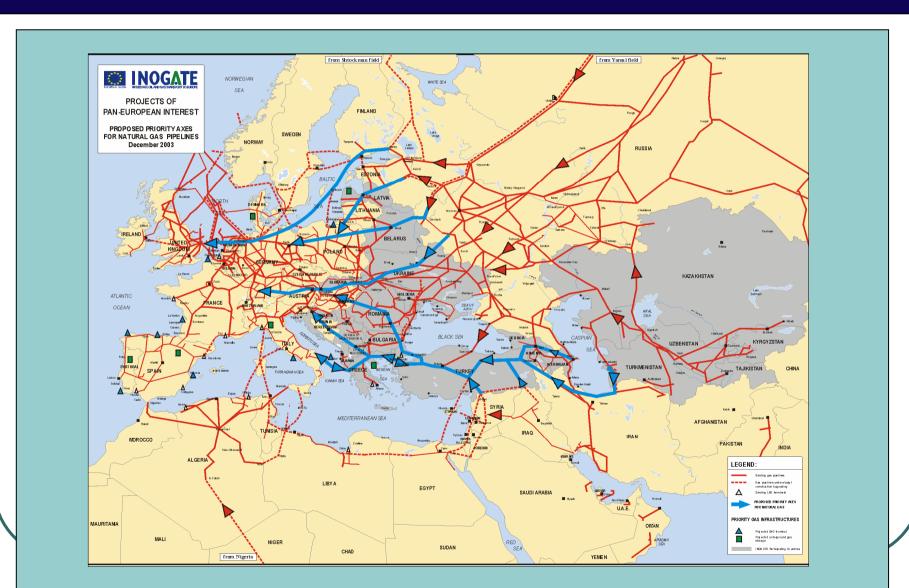
Oil Transport Routes





Natural Gas Transport Routes





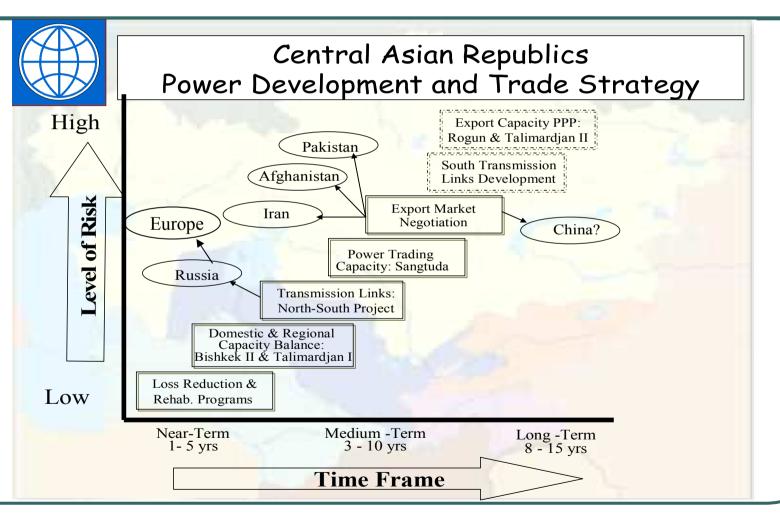
Future Energy Flows to the East and South



Major Oil and Gas Flows

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Electricity Export Options for Central Asia



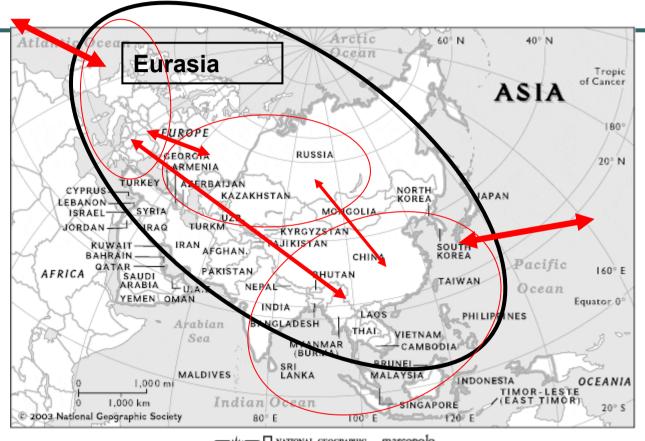
Energy Sector Integration: Conclusions

- Major opportunities for integration in Eurasia given dynamic demand/supply outlook
- Major challenges for energy networks
 - Investments (+ improvements in O&M)
 - Financing (PPPs)
 - Regulation
 - Security
 - Political competition for dedicated supplies

Non-Energy Trade and Transport

- Trade main focus of traditional integration analysis
- Three major trade blocs in Eurasia
 - Europe, CIS, Asia, with rapid growth in trade
 - Much trade with rest of world, esp. N. America
 - But trade within and among Eurasian trade blocs more important than with N. America

Non-Energy Trade and Transport



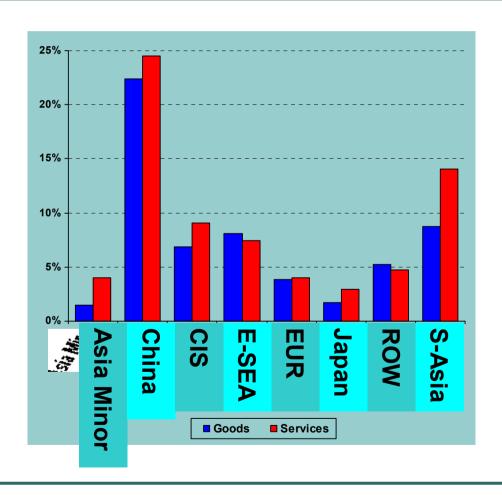
Major Trading Blocs



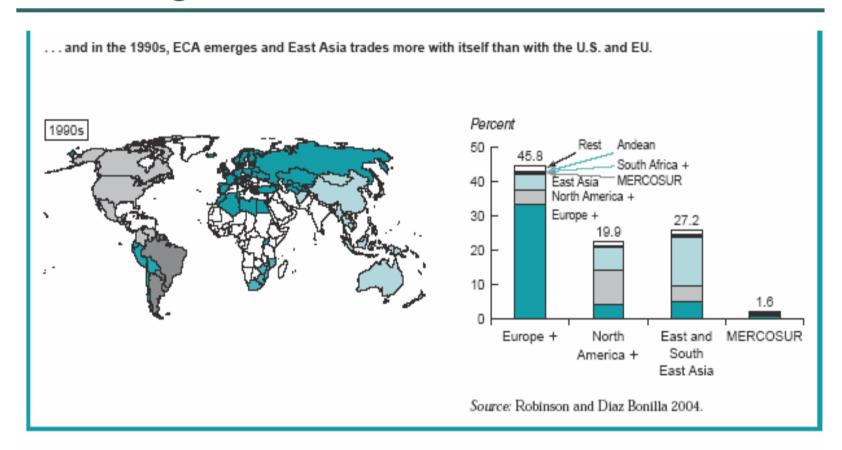


Major other trade links

Growth in Exports of Goods and Services (By Region, 1992-2002)



Evolving Trade Blocks

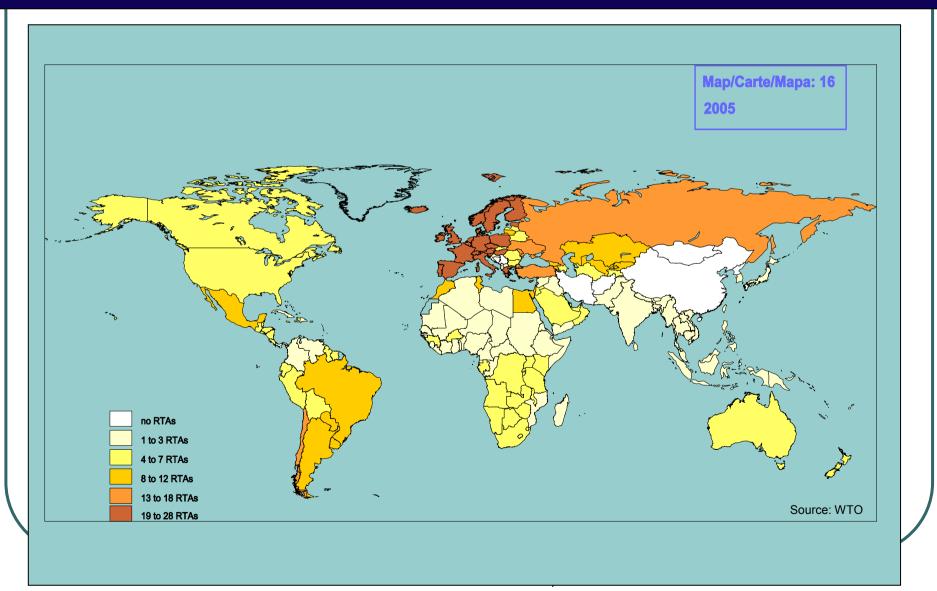


Opportunities and Constraints for Eurasian Trade Integration

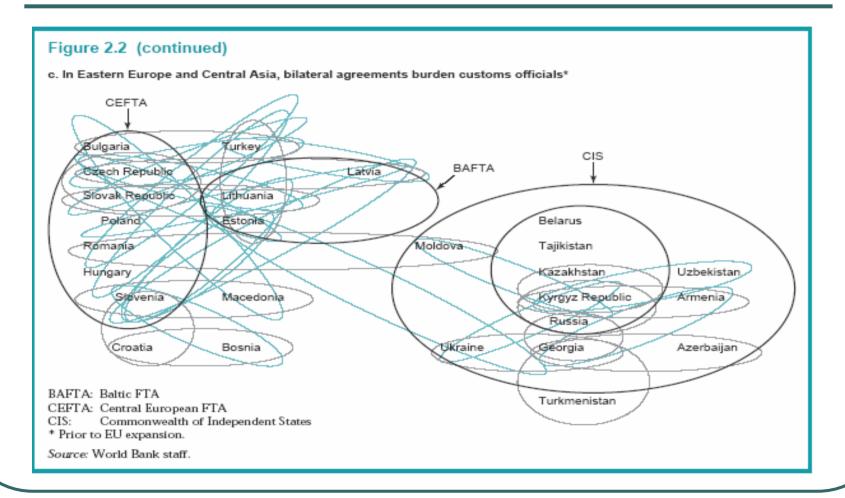
- Trade policies
 - WTO membership (China 2001, big CIS countries expected soon)
 - Regional/bilateral agreements prevalent, but a mixed blessing (poorly designed, implemented "spaghetti bowls")

Regional Trade Agreements: Global





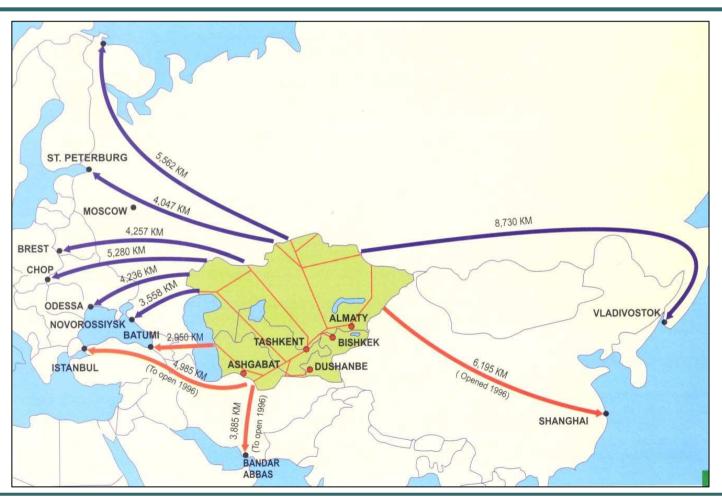
ECA Spaghetti Bowel (GEP2005)



Opportunities and Constraints for Eurasian Trade Integration

- Trade policies
 - WTO membership (China 2001, big CIS countries expected soon)
 - Regional/bilateral agreements prevalent, but a mixed blessing (poorly designed, implemented "spaghetti bowls")
- Transport (esp. important for landlocked areas of CIS)
 - Important investments in rail and road transport links needed, and some underway (e.g., TEN, TRACECA from Europe, ADB-CAREC from East)
 - Expected/needed expansion in air transport intensity (e.g., four-fold increase in flights Europe-China by 2020)
- Transit facilitation (again esp. for CIS)
 - Significant costs from weak and corrupt institutions
 - Security
- Behind-the-border improvements

Great distances to Port from Landlocked CIS Regions



Non-energy Trade Integration: Conclusions

- Eurasian trade integration is happening, with significant amount and growth of trade already
- With improved trade policy, transport investments, transit facilitation and behindthe-border reforms much more trade integration can take place
- CIS region (plus Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan/India border) still a major bottleneck, although improving, compared to 10 years

Trade in Illicit Drugs

- Illicit drug flows in Eurasia and Americas of continental scale, but quite separate and different (opiates v. cocaine)
- 75% of world's IDUs in Eurasia (10m)
- Eurasia supply hubs in Afghanistan and Golden Triangle
- Demand hubs are Western Europe and rapidly growing Russia/China
- Much trafficking through Central Asia with corrosive effects
- Need for better demand and supply control critical; otherwise trafficking will continue.

Drug Flows



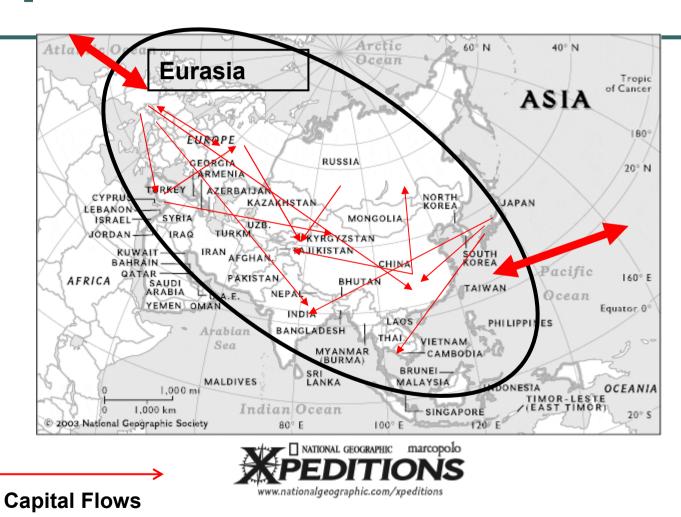
Drug Flows

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Investment and Capital Flows

- Eurasian capital market integration limited, but important actual/potential links
 - Contagion effects of Asian/Russia crisis
 - Russia capital flight (via Cyprus, Switzerland)
 - Potential shift of reserve holders in Asia/Russia to the Euro
- Eurasian FDI flows still limited, but growing (EU → China/Russia, Japan → SEAsia/Europe, Russia → CIS, Turkey → CIS, China/India → Russia energy)
- Continued capital market integration possible, esp. as closely linked to trade integration

Capital Flows



Migration Flows

- Limited data on transcontinental migration
- Mostly from East to West for now, and limited (except for selected CIS countries)
- Migration within countries (China, Russia)
- Potential for future increases, given great differences in demographic dynamics and very large real income differentials
- Barriers likely to remain in place, esp. in Europe; offsetting capital movements and outsourcing may be the inevitable consequence

Migration Flows



Migration Flows

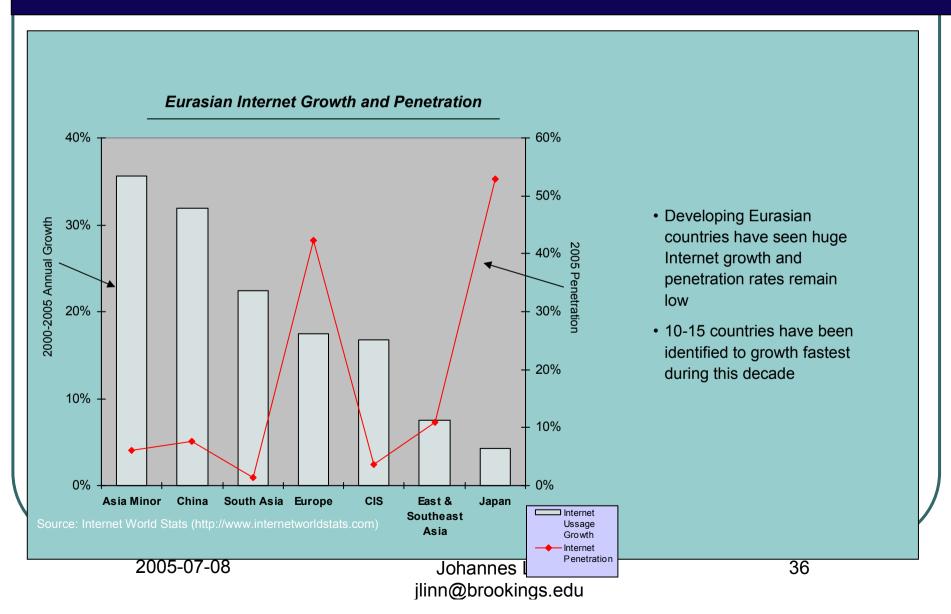
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Communication and Knowledge

- Eurasia is quickly becoming interconnected, regionally and world-wide, in terms of communication and knowledge, e.g.:
 - Improved access to communication satellites, telephony and internet (NATO "Virtual Silk Highway")
 - Distance learning institutions and facilities (e.g., WB GDLN facilities)
 - Research and other institutional networks are expanding rapidly
- This cuts the effective cost of distance and will support other areas of integration

Eurasian Internet Growth (By Region)





Development of Institutional Infrastructure for Regional Cooperation

- No overarching regional integration framework currently exists, but
- Sub-regional cooperation and integration initiatives are expanding
 - EU expanding + Neighborhood Policy
 - CIS regional organizations
 - China active in regional organizations (e.g., SCO, CAREC)
 - ASEAN+, SAARC, ECO
 - ASEM (EU+ASEAN+CHINA+Japan+S.Korea)
- Except EU, limited operational usefulness to date, but potential for trust building, stepping stones for future regional institution building

Key questions for future integration of Eurasia

- What are the opportunities, gains from further integration? (More research needed)
- Will gains from economic integration drive political cooperation, or
- Will economic integration be harmed by political obstacles, competition and conflicts?
 - India/Pakistan, Russia/China, China/India
 - North-East Asia
 - Central Asia
 - Caucasus
 - EU neo-isolationism (no further expansion esp. Turkey, Ukraine, etc. –, no immigration)
- How can the institutions for regional cooperation best be strengthened?

Tentative Policy Implications

- Energy sector currently center stage; but other areas matter also – trade, drugs, investment, migration, communication (plus others)
- Universal WTO membership will help Eurasian trade integration, but improved transport, transit facilitation and behind-the-border reforms will play a big role for increased transcontinental integration (esp. for CIS)
- Focus on Central Asia, South Caucasus, Afghanistan, Iran, Kashmir is key, as important actual or potential transit corridors face serious risks of political instability and conflict
- EU policy/leadership plays a critical role in the near term; the quartet (EU/RU/CH/IN) in the long term; role of US can be limited for Eurasian integration, if key regional actors meet the challenges of cooperation