

# The Achievements and Outlook of ASEAN Free Trade Area: An Overview

Maung Maung LWIN\*

## Introduction

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), established in 1967 mainly with a political objective of maintaining peace and stability in the region, has been growing rapidly as one of the important regional organizations of the world. It comprises Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, recently Vietnam, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia<sup>(1)</sup>. Some of the ASEAN member countries are known as important world producers of industrial parts and materials, and manufactures goods. Regarding level of development, Singapore has been considered as the leading newly industrializing countries (NICs) of Asia and economically most developed countries of Asia after Japan. The so-called near-NICs comprising Malaysia, Thailand are followed by Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam<sup>(2)</sup>. The remaining countries, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia are also performing better than the past. Recently, except Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia, the ASEAN member countries have been actively participating in establishing of full-blown ASEAN free trade area (AFTA). However, it has been a long way,

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because it took about 25 years for ASEAN to reach this practical free trade initiative with an objective of growth in regional investment, production and trade.

The main focus of this paper is to examine the achievement and outlook of AFTA from the aspects of tariff reduction process and some of its effects. Accordingly, as groundwork, the first two sections, 1 and 2 introduce the objectives of AFTA and the declining role of tariff, respectively. Section 3 explains the tariff reduction schedule under CEPT in detail. The achievement of AFTA from the aspect of tariff reduction is discussed in section 4. The relation of Japan and AFTA is also considered briefly, in section 5. Finally, the outlook of AFTA is examined in the last section.

## **I . Objectives of AFTA**

In 1992, ASEAN leaders made an announcement of a plan for establishing an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) within 15 years. At that time the size of AFTA was about 330 million population and a combined GNP of about US\$300 billion. The explicit as well as implicit reasons for formation of AFTA can be summarized as follows:

- (i) To speed up the slow progress of trade liberalization activities among ASEAN member countries under the Preferential Trading Agreements (PTA), which had begun in 1977,
- (ii) to have responsive strength toward European Union (EU), North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), and Uruguay Round of the GATT and WTO,
- (iii) to have appropriate responsive strength in line with the trend of world economy which has been moving towards the formation of regional trading blocs,

- (iv) to strengthen the responsive and adjustable ability in line with drastically changing economies of ASEAN member countries,
- (v) to have better rational allocation of resources within the ASEAN member countries,
- (vi) to strengthen the ASEAN competitiveness in world trade,
- (vii) to maintain and accelerate the inflow of foreign direct investment toward ASEAN member countries, and
- (viii) to promote the intra and extra regional trade of ASEAN.

It is needless to mention that the work of “measuring achievements of AFTA” has to be based on investigating the fulfillment of above mentioned objectives. However, this paper attempts to examine only the achievement of AFTA from the aspects of tariff reduction. Before the exploration CEPT tariff reduction schedule and achievement of free trade targets, it would be appropriate to examine first “Why global economy has been moving towards the formation of regional free trade areas ?”

## **II Why Free Trade rather than Protectionism ?**

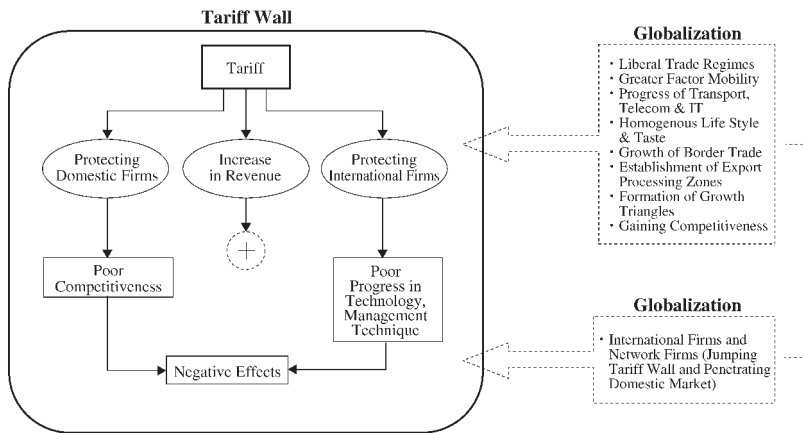
Generally, application of protection policies involves with positive and negative results. Although the identification of impact of trade protection measures on domestic economy is difficult in practice, we can simplify the positive and negative impacts as depicted in diagram (1). Positive results comprise such as protecting country’s infant industries and international firms from unfair competition as well as increasing tax revenue. But on the other hand, over protection by tariff and non-tariff barriers hinder the progress of quality of domestic products and consequently reduce the strength of competitiveness and size of market. Moreover, over protection of country’s international firms also leads to poor progress in technology and management techniques within the

country. Since around the end of 1980s, protectionism has played lesser role in protecting of domestic and international firms due to the drastic changes in global economic and political environment. For example, emergence of “liberal trade regimes, greater factor mobility, progress of transport and communication, homogeneous life-style, border trade, export-processing zones and growth triangles, and growth of international and network firms” in a global scale has been reducing the role of tariffs and non-tariff barriers. It is also widely known phenomenon that application of over protection measures for trade and industrial development is one of the sources of delay for the developing economies’ switching from “import substitution to export-oriented”. As can be seen in appendix table (1), almost all the ASEAN member countries are establishing “Growth Triangles and Quadrangles” in order to achieve the better free trade and investment activities with their neighbors<sup>(3)</sup>. Moreover, appendix diagram (1) also explain the economic linkage of ASEAN with Japan, USA, China and Asian NIEs, which has been reducing the important role of tariff and non-tariff barriers. This changing economic environments within and outside ASEAN member countries make the tariff and non-tariff barriers less important and consequently pave the way to the establishment of free trade area<sup>(4)</sup>.

### III. Original and Revised Tariff Reduction Schedules: CEPT

In 1993, a Common Effective Preferential Tariff (CEPT) schedule began to apply as an instrument of AFTA. This CEPT scheme covered all processed agriculture goods and all manufactured goods having an ASEAN (one country or more) content of 40% or more. Unprocessed agriculture goods, services and capital goods will be also included subsequently. According to the 1992 agreement, CEPT schedule has two

**Diagram 1**  
**Globalization and Tariffs**



tracks: (1) fast track and (2) normal track. A simple diagrammatic explanation for original CEPT tariff reduction schedule for fast track and normal track is given in diagram (2).

(1) Fast Track

Under the fast track, which covered (15) designated product groups, the full fledged achievement of free trade target among ASEAN member countries will take place by 2003, that is within ten years. The 15 product groups under fast track, were cement, chemicals, ceramics and glass product, copper cathode, electronics, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, plastics, precious metals, rubber product, leather products, pulp, textile, vegetable oil, wooden and rattan furniture<sup>(5)</sup>. The products with tariff rates “over 20%” and “20% or below” will be reduced the tariff under different schedules.

(a) For the products with the tariff rates of over 20% will be reduced to 0%~5% by 2003, that is within ten years. The point (e) of diagram-2 represents this condition.

(b) For the products with the tariff rates of 20% or below will be reduced to 0%~5% by the year 2000, that is within seven years. The point (d) of diagram-2 represents this condition.

(2) Normal Track

Under the normal track, as in the fast track, the products with tariff rates of “over 20%” and “20% or below” are also having different schedules.

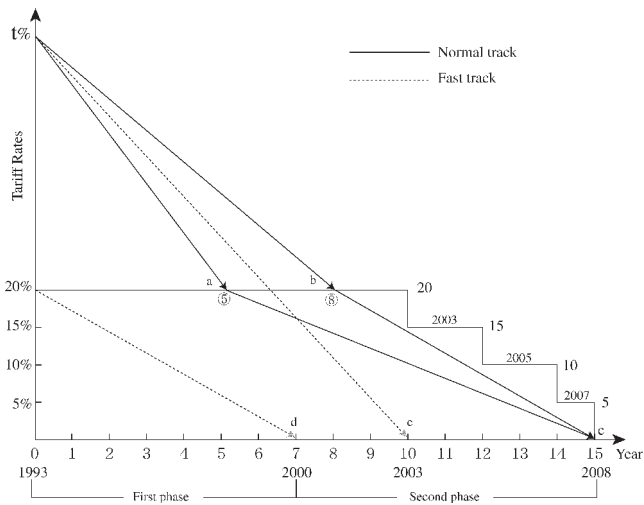
(a) For the products with tariff rates of over 20% are to be reduced in four stages: (i) to be reduced to 20% within five to eight years, point (a) and (b) of diagram-2 (ii) to be reduced to 15% by 2003. (iii) to be reduced to 10% by 2005, and (iv) finally to be reduced to 0%~5% by 2008, point (c) of diagram-2.

(b) For the products with tariff rates of 20% and below will be reduced to 0%~5% by 2003. The point (e) of diagram-2 represents this condition.

Moreover, import quotas and non-tariff barriers are also prohibited for the items under tariff reduction schedule of CEPT. But, Exclusion Lists are permitted for all member countries for their strategic domestic industries, severe foreign exchange shortages, etc.

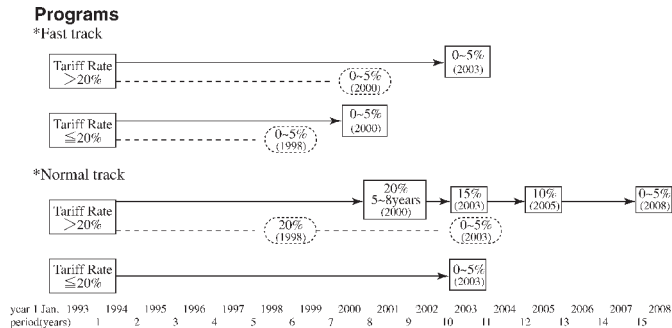
Since then, revised CEPT schedule was approved in 1995 with the following objectives:- (i) Shortening the completion time frame of tariff reduction from 15 to 10 years, (ii) transferring the products from “Temporary Exclusion List” to “Inclusion List” in 5 equal installment starting from 1 January 1996, and (iii) covering unprocessed agriculture products in the new category called the “Sensitive List” under CEPT scheme.

Diagram 2  
Original Tariff Reduction Schedule



Source: Modification based on Mohamed Ariff (1993), Florian A. Alburo (1995) and Gerald Tan (1996)  
Note: Rate of tariff reduction under normal track can be formulated as follows:  
(a) Annual rate of reduction (over 20%) =  $t\% \sim 20\% / 5 \sim 8 \text{ years}$ ,  
(b) Minimums 5 quantum per reduction (20% and less) =  $20\% \sim 0\% / 7 \text{ years}$ .

Diagram 3  
Original and Revised CEPT Tariff Reduction Schedule



Source: Modification of Florian A. Alburo's Graph (1995), note:   -Original,   -Revised

In detail, the timetable for completion of CEPT tariff reduction schedule under AFTA was revised as follows.

*Under the fast track*, the tariff reduction, which will complete in year 2000 rather than original date 2003, are undertaken by two steps. (i) Reduction of tariff rates from over 20% to 0%~5% by January 2000, and (ii) Reduction of tariff rates from 20% and below to 0%~5% by 1998.

*Under the normal track*, which was originally scheduled to complete by 2008, the tariff reduction schedule will complete in 2003. As in the fast track tariff reductions are taken by two steps: (i) reduction of tariff rates from over 20% to 20% by January 1998, and (ii) reduction of tariff rates from 20% and below to 0%~5% by January 2003.

In short, reductions of tariffs under the fast track will complete within seven years instead of the original target 10 years. For the normal track, achievement of free trade will take place within 10 years instead of the original target 15 years. A simple diagram for original and revised CEPT tariff reduction schedule is depicted in diagram-3.

Moreover, elimination of non-tariff barriers, inclusion of unprocessed agriculture products and Green Line for CEPT products are also introduced as “AFTA Plus”.

#### IV. Achievements of AFTA

The scheme of AFTA endorsed in January 1992 at the ASEAN summit had little preparations for rule of origin, regional content, dispute settlement procedures, etc., prior to the planned launching date of January 1, 1993. It would be appropriate to keep this point in mind when one examines the achievement of AFTA.

According to original CEPT schedule, each member country has to offer a set of product items for which will begin to reduce tariffs under



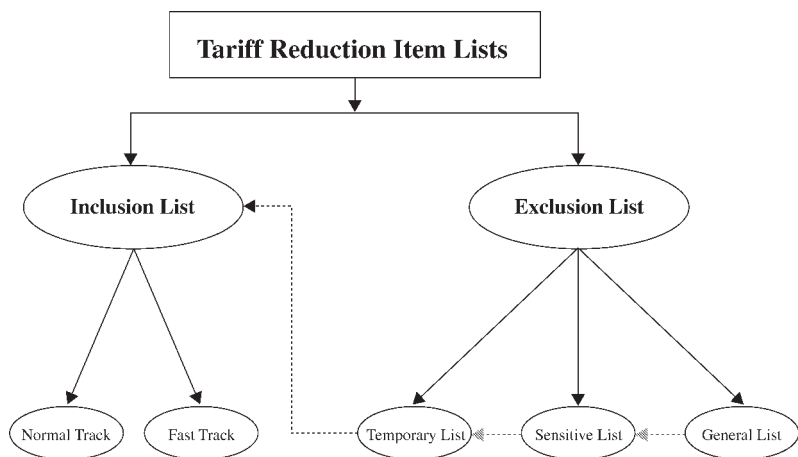
the fast track and normal track programs. Among the member countries, Malaysia's offered product item was the largest (11,748 items) while Thailand and Philippines offered the smallest number, 5,318 and 5,561 items respectively. The main reason for the Philippines and Thailand's inactive participation under CEPT schedule is likely that they have their own unilateral tariff reduction plans which will hopefully bring many of their high tariff items below 20% beginning in 1993.

The extent of offered tariff reductions under AFTA looks inactive due to the existence of long exclusion list which includes items considered to be "sensitive" to domestic manufactures and strategic products for investment promotion. Tariff reduction item list comprises (1) inclusion list and (2) exclusion list. The exclusion list has three categories, (i) temporary, (ii) sensitive and (iii) general<sup>(6)</sup>. Type of tariff reduction item list is given in diagram (4).

- (i) Temporary exclusion list consisted of the items "which will either be placed under the normal track after eight years" or "will be offered as fast track items at a later date". Malaysia and Philippines were in the top of the list with 1,708 and 1,199 items, respectively.
- (ii) The sensitive list mainly covers the sensitive items for domestic key industries and strategic products for investment promotion.
- (iii) General exclusion list included the items such as gun, ammunition and unprocessed agriculture products that are to be permanently excluded. Malaysia stands first for this general exclusion list with 952 items.

The offered item list under AFTA for tariff reduction seems inactive compared to the earlier announcement of AFTA. However, it is worthy to note that the value of the offered items was about US\$9.3 billion worth of intra ASEAN trade and accounted for about 37% of total intra-

**Diagram 4**  
**Types of Tariff Reduction Item List**



Note: <----- change of items from one list to another

ASEAN import.

According to the published data from ASEAN Secretariat, when AFTA was first initiated in 1993, Inclusion List consisted of 41,147 tariff lines which will reduced to 0%~5% by the year 2008. The Temporary Exclusion List and General Exception List consisted of 3,321 and 523 tariff lines, respectively. Moreover, the accession of Vietnam to the CEPT agreement also enlarged and altered the composition of CEPT package<sup>(7)</sup>.

As a result of revised CEPT schedule in 1995, the number of tariff lines in inclusion list increased by 3,495 (8.49%), that was from 41,147 to 44,642 tariff lines. The Temporary Exclusion List increased by 364 tariff lines from 3,321 to 3,685 tariff lines, and General Exception List increased by 143 tariff lines. In the Sensitive List, about 287 tariff lines were included.

According to the SEAN Secretariat data of 1997, given in table (1), the ASEAN-6 had 40,755 tariff lines (93%), and temporary exclusion list covered only 2376 (5.3%) tariff lines. Sensitive and general exception list covered 219 (0.4%) and 496 (1.3%) respectively. These figures give the impression that the problem of exclusion list seems negligible, although we do not have the data for the estimated value of exclusion list items.

**TABLE 1**  
**1997 DISTRIBUTION OF TARIFF LINES**  
**BY COUNTRY AND BY CATEGORY**

COUNTRY	Inclusion list	Temporary exclusion list	Sensitive list	General exception list
Brunei	6060	220	14	209
Indonesia	6440	752	23	45
Malaysia	8680	516	146	60
Philippines	4949	768	29	28
Singapore	5730	0	0	128
Thailand	8996	111	7	26
ASEAN-6	40755	2367	219	496
(%of Total)	93%	5.4%	0.5%	1.4%

Source: ASEAN Secretariat.

**TABLE 2**  
**AVERAGE CEPT TARIFF RATES, BY COUNTRY 1997-2003**

Country	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Reduction
Brunei Darussalam	1.58	1.21	1.16	0.90	0.87	0.87	0.84	0.74
Indonesia	8.53	7.05	5.82	4.92	4.92	4.20	3.72	4.81
Malaysia	4.04	3.41	3.01	2.58	2.41	2.27	1.97	2.07
Philippines	9.20	7.71	6.79	5.45	4.96	4.68	3.72	5.48
Singapore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thailand	13.10	10.45	9.65	7.29	7.27	5.93	4.63	8.47

Source: ASEAN Secretariat.

Concerning average tariff rate reduction by country, the ASEAN average tariff rate in 1996 was about 7.66% and it will fall to 4.02% by year 2000, and then again to 2.89% by year 2003. Reduction of tariff is rather difficult for the countries with high tariff rates. Indonesia and Thailand with double digit tariff rates have been facing this problem. But, for the whole ASEAN, about 87.7% of total tariff lines under the Inclusion List will be in the 0%~5% level by year 2000, rather than 2003.

Moreover, the average CEPT tariff rates by country between the year 1997 and 2003, given in table (2), also gives the positive impression. For example, in 1997, Indonesia (8.53%), Philippines (9.20%) and Thailand (13.10%) were having average CEPT tariff rate of over 5%. But, these rates will be declined to less than 5% in year 2001 in almost all the ASEAN-6, except Thailand. The CEPT target will be fully achieved in 2003. Therefore, completion of tariff reduction by 2003 for ASEAN member countries would not be a difficult one.

Regarding average tariff reduction by products under received CEPT schedule, given in appendix table (2), the targets are expected to achieve faster than the target date. For example, the products under (i) machinery and electrical appliances (2000) (ii) mineral products ((1996) (iii) base metals and metal articles (2000) (iv) chemicals (1996) (v) plastics (2000) (vi) live animals (2000) (vii) vegetable products (2000) fats and oils (1998) (viii) hides and leathers (1998) (ix) pulp and paper (2000) (x) textiles and apparel (2000) (xi) stones, cement and ceramics (2000) (xii) gems (1999) (xiii) vehicles (2000) (xiv) optical and musical instruments (1998) and (xv) antiques and work of arts, totaling about 14 product groups, will be achieved their targets in year 2000, rather than 2003. The remaining six groups of product, prepared foodstuffs (2002), wood and wood articles (2002), footwear (2003), Arms (2003), miscellaneous manufactures (2003) and un-

processed agricultural products (2002) will reach their free trade target level at a later date.

Therefore, it is relevant to conclude that the AFTA objective of reducing intra-ASEAN tariffs to 0%~5% is feasible. Moreover, tariffs are more likely to fall to zero rather than 5% because, the cost of tariff collection and administration would exceed the tariff revenue.

## V. Japan and AFTA<sup>(8)</sup>

Japan's contributing to economic development of ASEAN and other countries of Asia has been gaining increasing importance, heretofore. The centerpiece of Japanese economic assistance to ASEAN is the new Asian Industrial Development Plan (AID). The official loans, export promotion policies, and technology transfer through public and private sector under AID have stimulated the development of small and medium sized industries in ASEAN. Moreover, the economic role of Japan in the region has been widening through investment, trade, tourism, technology transfer, management, marketing, and work culture. Therefore, it is needless to point that the role of Japan in AFTA is really important.

During the October 1992, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed the positive impression on the idea of AFTA as follows<sup>(9)</sup>.

“It demonstrates a regional development model of free and open economies to the world, and the Japanese government will try to aid its early and accelerated materialization as much as we can.” And he also promised the followings:

- (i) To hold the seminars for ASEAN government to invite the investment of Japanese enterprises,
- (ii) to cooperate with the professional training for engineers and middle level manager of ASEAN economies,

- (iii) to assist the supporting industries for subcontracting in ASEAN,
- (iv) to promote the technology transfer to ASEAN enterprises, and
- (v) to extend the bilateral aid program called “Green AID Program” to prevent industrial pollution to all the countries in ASEAN.

However, Ichimura (1998, p.229) stated in his comment that “The cooperation of Japanese government towards AFTA remains only lip service at this stage. More fundamental contributions would be to increase Japanese import or rather take radical step for increasing the import of manufactured goods and services from other Asian countries. This is because, according to the finding of National University of Singapore, even if all the custom duties are eliminated, intra-regional trade would increase by 3.1% only”. Therefore, Japan’s active cooperation towards ASEAN and expansion of its import from ASEAN member countries are really important.

## VI. The Outlook

The general level of tariff rates in ASEAN member countries are low compared to other developing countries standard. Moreover, ASEAN countries’ tariff rates have been declining steadily over time. Average nominal tariffs in Brunei and Singapore are negligible and it has declined obviously in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand (ASEAN-4) as a result of unilateral trade liberalization. It is also likely that the high tariff rates are no longer needed in ASEAN, except for new members like Vietnam and Myanmar, as domestic products are becoming sufficiently competitive. Thank to existence of generally low level of tariff in ASEAN, it would be relatively easy to implement the CEPT schedule under AFTA.

As mentioned earlier, this paper does not attempt to measure the

achievements related to growth of trade and specialization, inflow of foreign direct investment, improving competitiveness, etc. as a result of formation of AFTA. However, as an outlook of AFTA in general, it would be appropriate to summarize the effects of AFTA tariff reduction as follow<sup>(10)</sup>.

*Trade effects*—The Trade Effects would not be significantly high due to the long existence of extensive extra regional trade and investment linkages of ASEAN member countries<sup>(11)</sup>. Outside the ASEAN framework, ASEAN member countries are already having long experiences of practicing unilateral trade liberalization measures. In the short-term, it is generally expected that intra-ASEAN trade would not grow significantly as a result of establishment of AFTA mainly due to having long-lasting strong extra regional trade. However, if ASEAN member countries achieve the higher stages of industrial development and income than the present, positive trade effect can be expected. The effects of trade creation and diversion are also highly discussed by many scholars. But, it seems difficult to measure the magnitudes of the effects on trade creation and diversion. However, it is likely that price and income effects underCEPT schedule would maintain the intra-regional trade.

*Investment effects*- Achieving free trade among ASEAN countries would provide (i) greater regional market, about 420 million population (ii) greater efficiency of production (iii) greater international competitiveness (iv) greater scale economies and (v) increase intra regional specialization. If these targets are achieved, we can expect that AFTA would bring the foreign investment opportunities in ASEAN than the past.

*Distribution effect*- Needles to point that there will be “winners” and “losers” among ASEAN member countries as a result of trade liberalization under AFTA. Generally, distribution of gains and losses depend on

structure of export and import, share in international trade, and readiness in practicing of CEPT schedule. Moreover, one can roughly guess the likely winners and losers of ASEAN member countries for the short run basing on structure of trade and industry, and level of development.

### Conclusion

The difficulties likely to face by ASEAN member countries, during and after the implementation of AFTA tariff reduction goals, are numerous. However, we can summarize these difficulties in general, as follows:

- (a) Difficulties in verifying the origin of products or rules of origin due to the increasing internationalization of production process of intermediate and finished products.
- (b) Difficulties in measuring the local content of the products due to increasing nature of the products which contain wide varieties of components from different sources. But, the 40% local content rule of AFTA is lower than that of most free trade areas, which generally have about 50%.
- (c) The enforcement of local content rules would create the problems of documentation and transaction cost.
- (d) Diversity in initial tariff structure among ASEAN member countries would create unfairness.
- (e) The differences in export and investment incentives among ASEAN member countries would create unfair competition.
- (f) There is still no guarantee that ASEAN countries would not do dumping activities under AFTA.
- (g) Application of uniform rules under AFTA for all member countries with different levels of development and different trade and industrial structures would create unmanageable adjustment problems among



ASEAN member countries.

- (h) AFTA is still lacking formal dispute settlement mechanism.
- (i) Differences in degree of political and economic openness among ASEAN member countries would create uneven opportunities for investment, production and trade.
- (j) Although, all the ASEAN member countries can achieve the tariff reduction targets, achieving expected positive economic results in trade, investment and industry etc. are still uncertain.

The difficulties for achieving numerous positive economic results after tariff reduction process under AFTA are not purely economic but also political, social and cultural problems. Having macro economic and political stability and more market friendly environments especially in Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam and Myanmar would be the more important factors for achievement and prospects of AFTA. However, it is expected that above mentioned difficulties would not create the barriers for future development of ASEAN member countries.

## Notes:

1. Cambodia became a latest ASEAN member country in April 1999.
2. The concept of “Newly Industrializing Countries” or “Newly Industrializing Economies” varies slightly from time to time and author to author. It is also still lacking any clear and generally accepted characteristics. The Newly Industrializing Economies of Asia (Asian NIEs) are generally agree to include Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. Recently, Malaysia and Thailand are considered to be at the threshold of NICs status and sometimes referred to as “near-NICs”. For detail about NICs concept, please see in Tan (1992), pp.1—4.

3. For detail please see in Myo Thant et la., (1994), Growth Triangles in Asia.
4. Concerning globalization and tariff, please see in Florian A. Albuero (1995), pp-64—66.
5. Original source; Singapore Declaration, 1992, ASEAN Summit. Secondary source; Pearl Imada and Seiji Naya, (1992), p.77.
6. For detail, please see in The AFTA Schedule as of 1996, ASEAN Secretariat 1996, and Jyant Menon, Manuel Montes and Joseph L H Tan (1997).
7. Concerning Vietnam and CEPT Schedule, please see in AFTA Reader (1996), pp.34—37.
8. Please see in Kunio Iguka and Hiromitsu Shimada (1997), AFTA and Japan, in Joseph Tan, (ed), (1997), see also in ASEAN6 and Japan,, Gerald Tan (1996), Chapter 10, and Shinichi Ichimura (1998), pp.107—109.
9. Shinichi Ichimura (1998), pp.228—229.
10. For detail about the impact of AFTA please see in Mohamed Ariff (1993), pp-15—22.
11. See also in Appendix Diagram(1).

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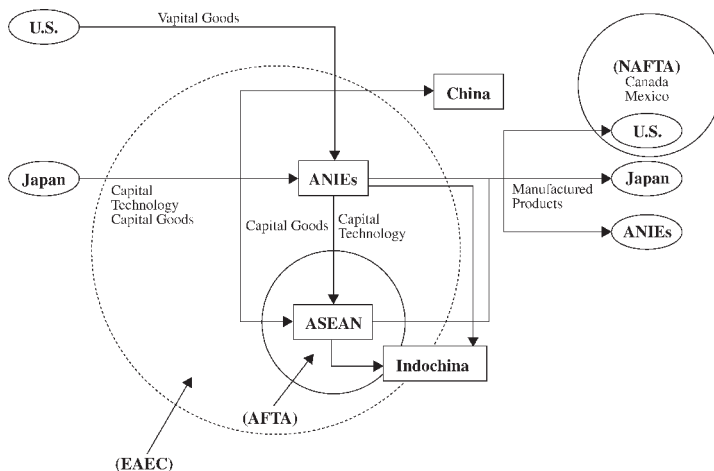
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## Appendix Diagrams and Tables:

### Appendix Diagram 1 Economic Linkages in the Asian-Pacific Region



Source: Original-MITI Trade Yearbook 1992 (Tokyo), Secondary-Kunio Igusa and Hirimitsu Shimada (1996).

**Appendix Table 1**  
**Growth Triangles in Southeast Asia**

Name	Parties	Co-operation Areas
SIJORI	Singapore, Johor Riau Province	Manufacturing, Services, Tourism
IMTGT Growth Triangle	Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand	Manufacturing, Services, Tourism
East ASEAN Growth Area (EAGA)	Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines	Manufacturing, Services, Tourism, Agriculture
Growth Quadrangle	Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines	Industry, Trade
Mekong Project	Vietnam, Cambodia, Southern China	Transportation
Quadrangle	Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, Southern China	Tourism, Trade, Communication
Arafu Sea	Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Australia	Trade

Source: Toh Mun-Heng (1997), p.58.

**Appendix Table 2**  
**Revised CEPT Tariff Reduction Schedule by Sector**

Sectors	Number of tariff lines	Average Tariff Rates							
		1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
ASEAN Average									
All sectors	44642	7.66	6.95	5.76	5.19	4.02	3.89	3.47	2.89
Machinery & electrical appliances	6763	5.88	5.22	4.64	4.28	3.47	3.40	3.06	2.69
Mineral products	1120	2.50	2.47	2.22	2.18	1.95	1.95	1.87	1.81
Base metals & metal articles	5344	6.85	6.72	5.73	5.43	4.34	4.12	3.42	2.65
Chemicals	5820	3.96	3.54	3.01	2.85	2.48	2.47	2.32	2.14
Plastics	2341	9.91	8.65	6.63	5.87	4.46	4.40	3.83	3.22
Live animals	1451	8.35	8.25	6.58	6.26	4.92	4.64	3.54	2.27
Vegetable products	1784	6.46	6.35	5.12	4.83	3.87	3.61	2.91	2.10
Fats & oils	551	5.78	5.00	3.76	3.30	2.64	2.64	2.43	2.35
Prepared foodstuffs	1620	10.13	9.63	7.99	7.32	5.78	5.47	4.17	2.71
Hides & leathers	589	7.04	5.99	4.81	4.08	3.06	2.88	2.74	2.46
Wood & wood articles	2694	12.93	11.83	10.60	8.75	6.67	5.92	4.92	4.58
Pulp & paper	1178	7.99	7.83	6.36	6.17	4.69	4.54	3.88	3.00
Textiles & apparel	7430	11.27	9.04	7.82	5.99	4.17	4.17	4.15	3.92
Footwear	447	14.77	13.70	11.39	10.93	8.36	8.19	6.18	3.96
Stone, cement, ceramics	1094	9.56	8.63	6.93	5.50	3.92	3.81	3.43	2.92
Gems	376	5.35	4.88	4.35	4.05	3.47	3.26	3.10	2.76
Vehicles	1094	6.50	6.29	5.42	5.15	4.15	3.78	2.96	2.16
Optical & musical instruments	1677	5.71	5.42	4.65	4.37	3.65	3.53	3.21	2.84
Arms	54	12.73	12.57	10.29	10.00	7.68	7.55	5.45	3.42
Miscellaneous & manufactures	1114	12.73	12.57	10.29	10.00	7.68	7.55	5.45	3.42
Antiques & works of art	84	7.28	6.70	5.68	5.30	3.99	3.85	2.49	1.92
Unprocessed agricultural products	1333	8.20	8.10	6.45	6.32	5.96	4.75	3.53	2.34

Source: AFTA Reader, September 1996