

Proceedings

국·영문 대역본

IGE's 10th Anniversary International Conference

세계경제연구원 개원 10주년 기념 국제회의

세계경제와 국제금융체제

Global Economic Prospects and Financial Architecture

중국경제: 성장 지속 가능성과 한국에 미치는 영향

The Rise of China: Sustainability and Implications for Asia



세계경제연구원
Institute for Global Economics

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The Rise of China: Sustainability and Implications for Asia

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- 후원학원의 종류

- 법인 회원
- 개인 회원

- 법인 회원에 대한 서비스

- 연구원 주최 행사에 우선 초청
- 연구원 주최 행사에 5인까지 무료 참가 가능
- 연구원이 발간하는 모든 간행물 무료 제공
- 법인 회원을 위한 특별 세미나 및 간담회 개최

- 개인 회원에 대한 서비스

- 연구원 주최 행사에 초청
- 행사 참가비 할인
- 연구원이 발간하는 일부 간행물 무료 제공

- 후원회비는 관련세법에 따라 세금공제 가능

- 회원 가입 문의

- 주소: 서울 강남구 삼성동 159 무역센터 2505
세계경제연구원
- 연락처: 551-3334~7(전화) 551-3339(팩스)
- E-mail: igenet.com
- (Website) <http://www.igenet.com>

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2003

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Kenneth Curtis

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2003 5

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<i>Anne O. Krueger</i>	
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■ **Anne O. Krueger**

現 IMF

Oberlin大 卒, Wisconsin大

Minnesota州立大

, Stanford大

Krueger 'Trade Development in Korea (1975)', 'Development Role of the Foreign Sector and Aid: Korea (1979)', 'Changes in Exchange Rates in Rapidly Developing Countries: Theory, Practice and Policy Issues (1999, Takatoshi Ito)', 'The WTO as an International Organization (2000)', 'Economic Policy Reform: The Second Stage (2000)'

■ **Nicholas R. Lardy**

現 Brookings

Wisconsin大 卒, Michigan大

Yale大, Washington大

Lardy

'Integrating China in to the Global Economy (2002)', 'China's Unfinished Economic Revolution (1998)'

*

Anne O. Krueger

10

5

가 가

. 2001

가

가

*

가

3

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가
가
10
10
IMF
가
가
가 (+)
가
가
1997
2001
가
가
가
(outsourcing)
가

가

IMF

가

(swap network)

IMF

, IMF

. ASEAN+3 가

가

가

가

(work-out),

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가

()가

가

가

가

가

가

가

가가

가

50

가,

(Doha Round)

가

(Cancun)

WTO
가

가

9

IMF

가 IMF

. IMF

가

가

IMF가

IMF
가 10
가

가

IMF

가 IMF
(Financial Sector Assessment Program)

가

2

가
가

가

IMF

가 ,
가

IMF , , 가
가 , IMF 가
가 , IMF 가
IMF , IMF 가
IMF IMF 가

IMF

IMF

IMF IMF 가

IMF IMF , IMF , IMF

IMF IMF , IMF

가 IMF , IMF

가 IMF , IMF

i) 가 가

, ii) , iii) , iv) 가가 가

IMF가

가

가 가 가

(가 가

가) 가

가

가

가
GDP 가
가

가

가

가 가

가

IMF

가 IMF

가

가 (SDRM) SDRM 가

가

SDRM

가가 SDRM

가

IMF

가

가

가

가

SDRM IMF

IMF

가

SDRM

가

가

, SDRM

, SDRM

, SDRM

가

, SDRM

가

, SDRM

가

, SDRM

가

가

가

“

”

,

가

가

가

가

GDP

가

가

가

IMF

(IMFC)

4

SDRM

IMF

가

1990

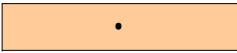
가

가

가

IMF

가



가가

가

가

가?



(FRB)

,
가?

가?



1990

가

가

가

가

,
가



,
가?



가

가

,
가


.
,
. . . .
가
가 가 가
가 가 가
가
가
가 가
가 가
가 가 가 가
가 가
가 가
가 가
가 가
가 가
가 가
가 가




(Moody's)

. 가
. 가가
. 가? 가

 가
. IMF
. IMF 가
. 5% 가

 가
(FTA) (ASEAN) FTA
. 가 FTA
가?

 가
. 가
1950 1960

가

가? 5 가

가,

가?

가?

가?

가? 가? 가?

가? ()

가 가?

가? 가

가 , 가

가

가 , 가

가? IMF가

가?

IMF

가
, 가
,

1 가? 가
가? 1,200 가?
가

IMF
가
가
가

IMF
가

가? 가
가? , 가
가 5 가
가

5

가

IMF 4

가

가

5

가

가

5

: 가 *

Nicholas R. Lardy

가
가,

가

가

2

가 2001

가

8%

2

가

GDP

가

가

가

, 1990

10

*

) 1/12, 8% (가
, 1990 가
2000 가 , 1990
가
4.5 가
가
2001 가
7.5% 가
2% 가
1/5 20%가 가
가
가
4.5 , 10 30%
, 1990 10 가

가 4 , 가 . , 2,150 가 .
가 , 1,200

가 5 , 4 가

2004 . 10

가 . ,

(FDI)

2

2001

가 2001

. 2000

1.5

7,350

30%

2001

15%

가 490

15%가 가

527

(M&A)

, M&A

가

가 .

가 ?

가 가 가
WTO

가

가

“ 가 (The Coming Collapse of China)”
가

가

가

가

가

WTO 가

3~4 , 5 가

3/4 , WTO 가 . 1980

55% . 1985 , GATT

WTO 가

WTO 가 15% .

WTO 가 가

가

3.5%

WTO 가

가

(quota)

. 1980

45%

WTO 가

2001

4%

3~4

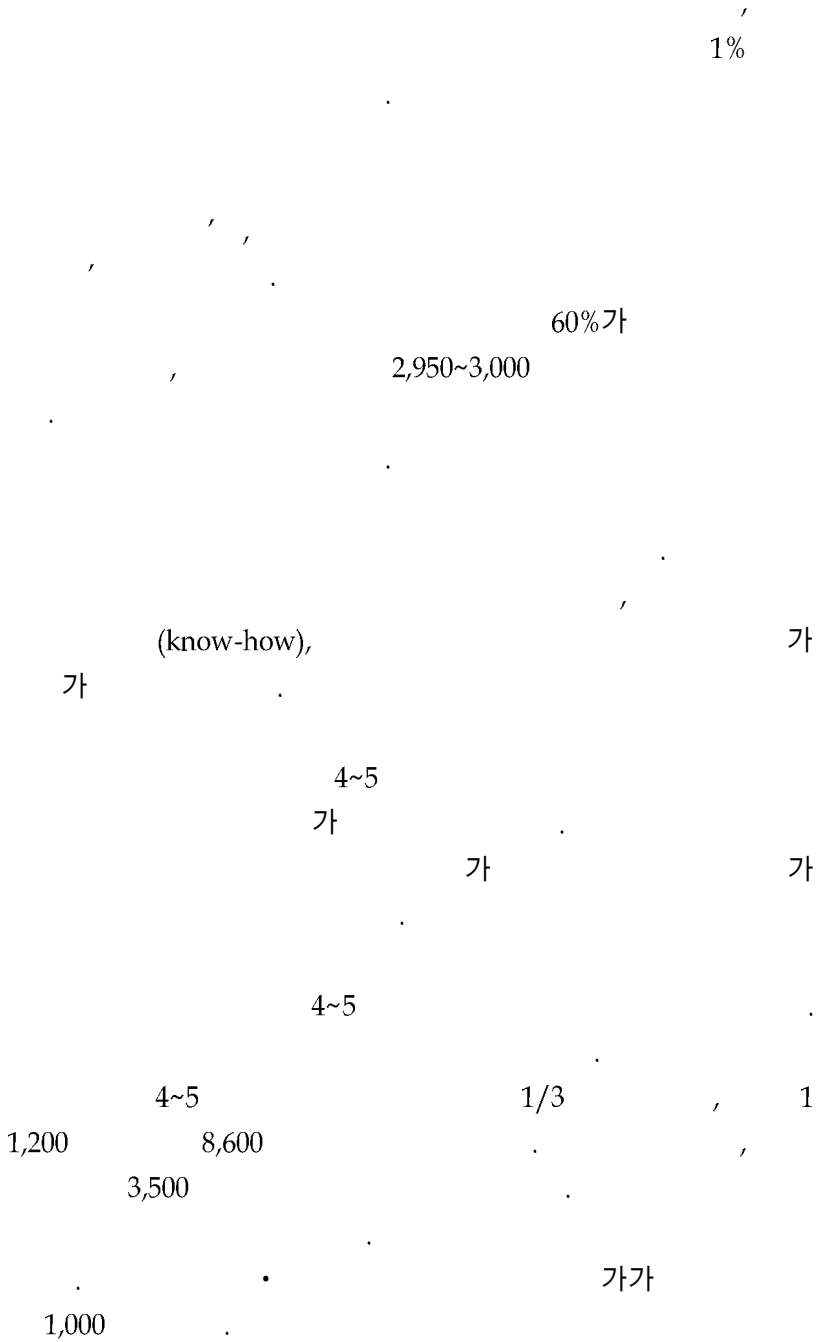
WTO 가

WTO 가

WTO 가

2001

30%가



가

2/3

10

3,300

가

1,100

2 가

가

가

GDP

GDP 6%

0.4%

4

1~2%

가

가

3~4

가

가

3~4

, WTO
1990 가

“ (heavy lifting)”

가 가

가

(insolvent but not illiquid) 가

가

가 가

가

가

가

3~4

가

가

가

가 3~4

30%가

1997 2001

15%가

China)

50

(Industrial & Commercial Bank of

가 11

가

4

4

1997

4

70%

2001

4

50%

가

가 가

가

5

가

, 1997

가 0.2%

가

2

2000 2001 1/5 가

가 1/4 가

가

가 가

가 80~85%가 가

2001 가

가 (+)

가 가 1/4

(

).

가 가 ,
WTO 가
가

가

가

가

가 가

11%

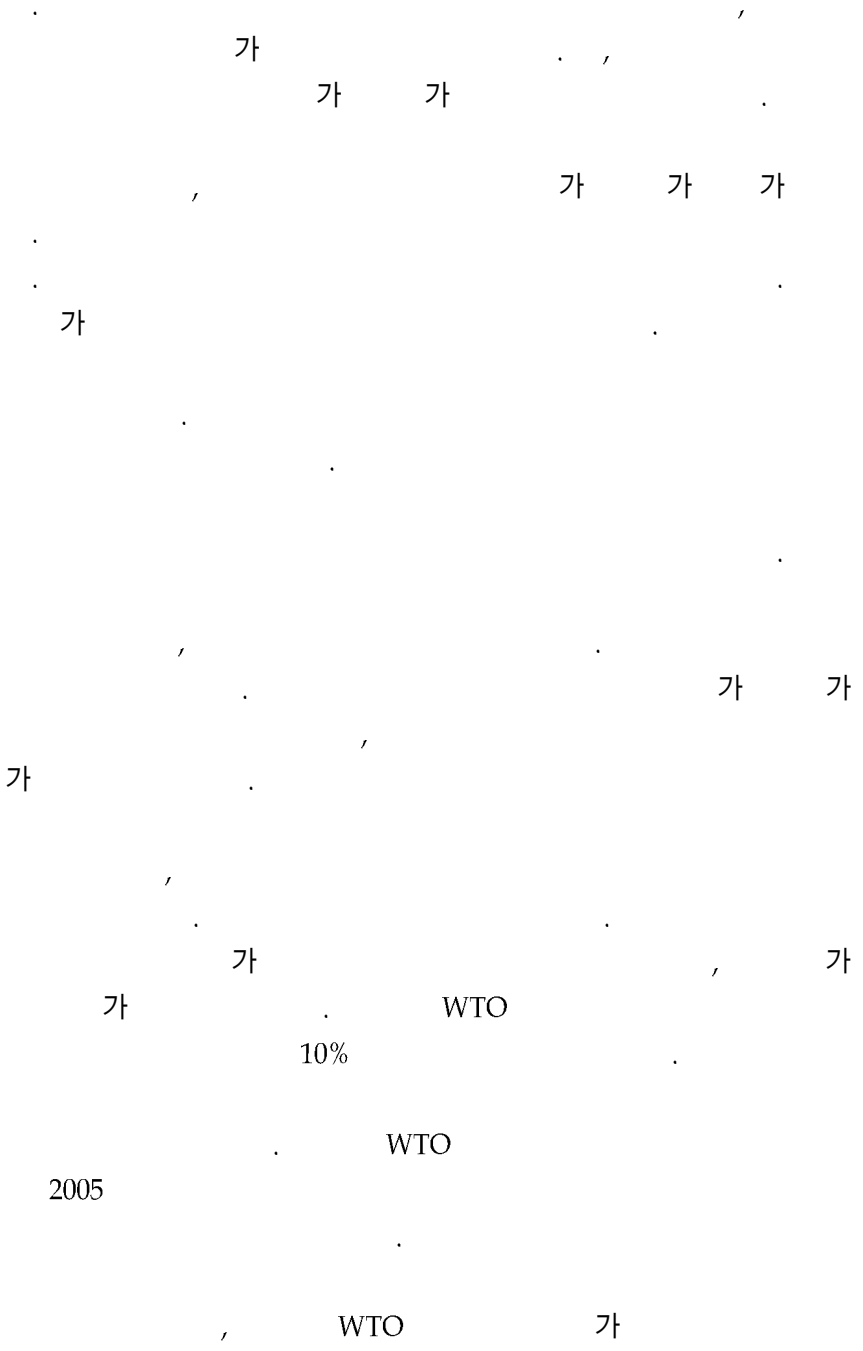
35~40%

가

가

가

가



가
가

, ,
가

가

“ 가가 가 (enclave) ” , 가
가가 가

가

가 3,250

55%

가

7~8

가

가가

2

가

. 1993~1994

15%

가가

30%

가 가

, 가가

가

가

가
3
2001
170
300
가
2010
(Goldman Sachs)
1,000
가
가
가
가
가?
가
3
가

3

가가

3

가

3

가가

3

가

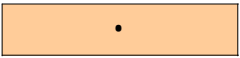
+ASEAN

(-)

ASEAN+3(

가

가



가

가

가

가
가?



가

가

가

가 가

가

가

가

가

5%

가 가
가

5

가

가

가

가

가

10~20



가

가

가?

가

WTO

, IMF

가?



가

가

가

가 가

, 300 ,

3/5

가가 가

가

3,250 , 2,950

가 6,000 , 300

70~80

200 , 5

가

가

가

가

가

가

8%

가

2,820

가 .

가

가

가

(renminbi) 가



(portfolio)가 가

가

가,

가

가?

가 가

가?

가?



가,

가

가

가

2

가

90

(

).

가

가

1995

2~3

가

가

(GDP

25~40%

가),

가?

가?

가

(interest-bearing bond)

1

(RMB)

10

6~7

가가

가

GDP

1994

10%

17%

가

10~11%

, 17%

가

7

GDP

0.75~1%

가

6~7

가

GDP

70% 가

가



가

가?



가

(1,200~1,300

) 가 가

가

, 가가 2

IPO()

'A'

1,000 RMB

IPO

, IPO

1/3

RMB ()

가)

1 8,000

2
 가 5,000 가
 가 , 가 가
 가
 가 가 가 가

'A'



가

가?



가

, 가 가

가

가

가



가?

가?



가

가

가

가

(Nike)

(Reebok)

가

,
.
OEM 가

■ IT 가 IT 가
가 , 가
가?

■
(LCD)

. 가 IT ,

■ FTA가 FTA 가
가? . FTA가 가
, FTA 가?
가 , 가?

가?



(Robert Zoellick)

FTA

FTA

가

FTA

가

FTA

가

(global agenda)

가

가

English Texts

Global Economic Prospects and Financial Architecture*

Anne O. Krueger

In my remarks today I want to discuss the challenges facing the world economy and ongoing efforts to improve the prospects for sustained and broadly shared economic growth. I intend to focus especially on the work that is underway to strengthen the international financial architecture, in order to help prevent financial crises and resolve them effectively when they do occur.

Let me start with the world economic outlook. The past decade, as you know, has been a time of considerable progress for the world economy. Growth has been strong. Inflation has fallen to levels not seen in decades, and not thought possible even five years ago. It is particularly remarkable that this has been achieved despite the large shocks that have hit the world economy. The ability to bounce back from adversity importantly reflects the strong macroeconomic policy frameworks and structural reforms that have been put in place in much of the world.

These have both strengthened the underlying sources of growth, and they have left policy makers in a better position to respond to the weakening in global prospects.

* This is the transcription of a presentation given at the Institute for Global Economics' 10th Anniversary International Conference on Tuesday, February 11, 2003.

Nevertheless, at the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the future direction of the world economy. After an initial rebound from the downturn in 2001, economic activity has again slowed in recent months, particularly in the advanced economies, and forward looking indicators are not that encouraging. This slowdown, however, appears to be largely due to rising uncertainties about the possibility of war in Iraq and its effects on oil prices, equity markets, and business confidence. While there are downside risks to the outlook, on balance I believe that the most likely scenario is for the recovery to strengthen during the course of this year.

Three factors in particular point in this direction. First, there is considerable policy stimulus in the pipeline in the advanced economies and scope for further easing of monetary policy should that prove necessary.

Second, by now we may have seen the worst fallout from the bursting of the equity market bubble, which has made firms reluctant to invest in the face of excess capacity, and ongoing balance sheet adjustment. Provided equity prices do not drop sharply further, the drag on economic activity should start to ease.

Third, in most regions of the world, countries are continuing to embrace the sound policy orientations that lay behind the favorable growth performance in the 1990s, and their influence should be increasingly evident in the years to come.

The steps taken to improve the fundamentals of the US economy during the 1980s and 1990s have been an important

factor in its ability to weather the recent storm. The strong fiscal position and low rate of inflation provided considerable scope for macroeconomic policy easing to cushion the downturn in economic activity in the US. For the immediate future, our expectation is growth in the US will pick up during the course of this year, underpinned in part by relatively easy monetary positions.

The weakening of the dollar should also be a plus for exporters. However, the picture is not entirely rosy. Labor market developments have been sending mixed signals, and consumption, which up to now has been boosted by mortgage refinancing and auto discounts, may stop them somewhat.

But there are also signs in the US of a strengthening in business investment, as expenditure on equipment and software has risen for three successive quarters. Over the medium term, we would expect continued gains in productivity to underpin solid growth performance.

The countries in the euro area have also made important strides, not least through the process of macroeconomic convergence and seamless introduction of their common currency. But the near-term outlook in the euro area is uncertain. Domestic demand is still weak, and the euro is appreciating, which may weigh on future export performance.

Consumer confidence is falling and there are strains on the balance sheets of banks and non-financial enterprises, particularly in Germany. These factors may delay a pick-up in investment. Measures to increase labor market flexibility and put health and pension systems on a sustainable footing will be a key to

improving longer term growth prospects in Europe.

In Japan, economic activity last year was somewhat stronger than expected. But recent data suggests that the economy has stalled again, and until decisive action is taken to end deflation and address the deep-seated problems in the banking and corporate sectors, it will be difficult to be too optimistic about the outlook.

I was asked to expand a bit on my comments on Japan, so let me just add that we see major problems in the banking sector. We see the need for forceful efforts to get credit moving again and to increase liquidity within the economy. We are assured by the Japanese authorities that that is also their intention. We hope very much to see that happening in the near future. Meanwhile, in the very short-run, I do not think even the most optimistic forecasts for Japan call for anything more than a very minor pickup in economic growth.

In contrast with Japan, and for that matter with Europe, the economic performance in developing countries over the past decade, while uneven, has on the whole been encouraging, with growth strengthening markedly relative to the previous ten-year period.

Moreover, events of the past few years have demonstrated that good policies pay off in times of turbulence. The IMF has actively engaged in helping a number of countries that have suffered from financial crises. But the countries with sound fiscal and monetary policies and a good track record of structural reforms have come

through this period well and have, for the most part, been able to maintain positive growth and access to international capital markets.

In Asia, the performance of emerging markets and developing countries has been particularly impressive. The considerable strengthening in reserves and external debt positions since the financial crisis, and the adoption of more flexible exchange rates in many countries, have provided an important buffer. Growth has rebounded sharply from the 1997 financial crisis and the slowdown in 2001.

Exports have been the cornerstone of this recent upturn, boosted by competitive exchange rates and increased outsourcing from industrial countries. But these sources of growth are a double-edged sword. With prospects in East Asia in particular depending on external demand in the electronics sector, the possibility of further weakness in these key areas remains a source of down-side risk.

The IMF has welcomed steps toward greater regional economic and financial integration in Asia in the context of outward oriented and liberalizing policies. Here, and elsewhere, regional integration can be an important complement to stronger global cooperation and governance. The finalization of the expanded swap network among the ASEAN+3 countries was a welcome development, which we see as complimentary to financial assistance from the IMF for members undertaking necessary economic reforms. More generally, the IMF stands ready to assist in the implementation of the new swap network and in the further development of regional

economic trade and financial cooperation.

Ultimately in Asia, as in other regions, the key to developing better domestic sources of sustained growth will be action to strengthen the structural and institutional underpinnings of a dynamic market economy, not least through dealing with non-performing loans, strengthening insolvency regimes to facilitate loan workouts and corporate restructurings, and returning banks to private ownership to ensure market-based financial intermediation. Countries that have moved most vigorously to address structural weaknesses have seen more robust recoveries, and here Korea's experience is particularly instructive.

As you know, the Korean government embarked on a vigorous and wide-ranging reform program in the wake of the financial crisis, and this has undoubtedly made an important contribution to its strong economic growth performance. Moreover, while recent regulatory action to limit household credit is likely to result in somewhat slower growth this year than last, the outlook for the medium-term, as we see it, is still very positive.

Substantial progress has been made in strengthening the banking sector and reducing vulnerabilities in the corporate sector, although there is still further work to do here, as, I should add, almost everywhere else. The government's record of sound fiscal management has also ensured that public sector debt in Korea has remained low so that fiscal policy retains the flexibility to support the economy in the event of a downturn.

I will not say much about China, except to note that its

remarkable performance has drawn considerable interest from both inside and outside the region. Its growth has continued to exceed expectations, with strong exports and inflows of foreign direct investment.

Looking to another large regional economy, India has also made great strides in recent years as it has embraced a more market-based and outward oriented strategy. Moreover, the steady progress to reduce external vulnerabilities has paid off handsomely, as India has emerged relatively unscathed from recent periods of global turbulence. However, the large fiscal deficit and high level of public debt in India are a source of concern, and steps are urgently needed to put these in a firm downward track.

In addition, further reforms in India - particularly to privatize public enterprises, impart greater flexibility to the labor market, and strengthen the financial sector are needed to unlock the full potential of the Indian economy and to achieve growth rates necessary to make inroads into the still high rates of poverty.

All in all, the prospects for continued growth in the global economy remain promising, but policy makers will need to cope with a number of risks in addition to the uncertainty about the situation in Iraq. Vulnerabilities in a number of emerging market countries - most noticeably in Latin America and the Middle East - remain high, making them particularly susceptible to any further deterioration in the global environment.

Global recovery remains heavily dependent on developments in the US, and if US growth were to falter there is no obvious

candidate to pick up the slack, in view of the depressed state of domestic demand in Europe and Japan at present. I do bear in mind that here in Asia there is a growing concentration of persistently strong performance which may, in due course, constitute another major point of reference for the global economy. But for the present, reliance on the US has contributed to wider global imbalances, and the possibility of an abrupt unwinding of these imbalances is another source of risk.

Over the long run, it is dangerous to only have one locomotive for the global economy, since this means there is risk that the whole train will come to a halt whenever that locomotive requires preventive maintenance, as it sometimes does.

In this period of uncertainty, policy makers need to stand ready to adapt quickly to changing circumstances. We would advise that macroeconomic policies in industrial countries remain supportive for now. As the outlook becomes clearer, we believe attention should shift more decisively to medium-term risks and challenges and the structural reforms necessary to build confidence and strengthen the basis for sustained growth.

Let me now turn to international cooperation and its role in harnessing the benefits of globalization. While it is clearly important for the public and markets to see evidence that countries are actively acting to put their own affairs in order, international cooperation also plays a crucial role in building confidence and improving global growth prospects. In particular, the environment for global growth would be improved by decisive action to preserve the benefits of globalization and ensure that these benefits

are broadly shared.

Integration into the global economy can bring new risks and strains, most noticeably an increased vulnerability to volatility in international capital markets. But over the past fifty years, through the spread of knowledge, better division of labor, increased productivity, and access to foreign direct investment, the process of globalization has been the source of unprecedented rates of economic growth and gains in human welfare.

For that reason, it would be only logical for the advanced economies to show leadership in overcoming obstacles for a successful conclusion of the Doha Round of trade negotiations. But developing countries also have a crucial interest and should be more proactive. Indeed, middle-income countries and newly industrialized countries such as Korea that have benefited so much from opening and growing world markets, could be seen as having a special responsibility.

The Doha Round offers prospects for greatly boosting world incomes and growth by unshackling competition in areas such as agriculture and services, which have remained largely outside international disciplines in the past. There are also opportunities for progress in dealing with tariff peaks and in reducing non-tariff barriers to trade. The Doha Round contains a particular commitment to ensuring that developing countries can participate more fully in the international trading system and are in a position to reap its benefits.

But action has not, so far, matched the rhetoric. The political

will must be found to stand up to vested interests, especially in agriculture, if the September Ministerial of the WTO in Cancun is to have a chance of success. Delay in the timeline of the negotiation would send a bad signal to the world economy at exactly the wrong moment, reduce growth prospects for all, and weaken a key pillar of support in the fight against global poverty.

Let me now turn to the role of the IMF. It is crucial for the international community, through its actions in the IMF and other financial bodies, to demonstrate its commitment to a strong and healthy global financial system. The IMF has a special responsibility for safeguarding the stability of the international financial system, and for encouraging sound macroeconomic policies and sustainable growth in its member countries.

First and foremost, we intend to do our best to help our member countries avoid financial crises. But even with the best of efforts, there will always be some risk of crisis somewhere in a dynamic world economy. So it is also critically important for the IMF to have adequate tools for crisis management and resolution.

In recent years, based on the lessons learned from the financial crises in Asia and other regions, the IMF has adopted a series of fundamental reforms. The global economy now has distinctly improved shock absorbers relative to those of a decade ago, in a number of ways. Our advice to members recognizes the critical role that flexible exchange rates can play as a buffer against external shocks and as a tool for promoting orderly adaption to changing economic conditions.

We are paying careful attention to the sequencing of capital account liberalization and financial sector development. More broadly, the IMF and World Bank are using their joint Financial Sector Assessment Program to help our members detect sources of financial vulnerability and build sound financial sectors. We welcome the recent completion of a financial sector assessment for Korea based on nearly two years of extensive consultation with the authorities and market participants. We look forward to our continued cooperation in this crucial area.

The IMF is also helping to protect the integrity of the international financial system, through our assessments of off-shore financial centers and our assistance in the effort to combat money laundering and the financing of terrorism.

We are enhancing the IMF's capacity to monitor and analyze developments in international financial markets and cooperating with other international institutions, the private sector, and civil society in exploring ways to reduce the volatility of international capital flows without impairing the dynamism of markets.

We have taken steps to improve the quality, timeliness and availability of information on foreign exchange reserves, external debt and other key indicators of external vulnerability. To further improve risk assessment and help members identify priorities for strengthening institutional capacity, we have taken a central role in developing and assessing internationally recognized standards and codes. Over time, these are increasingly coming to be recognized as voluntary ground rules for economic management in a globalized economy.

In addition to that, there has been a near revolution in transparency at the IMF and a steady improvement in the release of economic information by our member countries. This approach strengthens accountability and gives markets better tools for assessing risk.

As yet another element in a culture of greater openness and accountability, we have stepped up our cooperation with other international organizations and our outreach to civil society, and established an independent evaluation office to subject our policies to systematic, in-depth scrutiny.

Finally, we are taking steps to streamline IMF conditionality in order to focus on the policy measures and institutional reforms that matter most for the success of IMF supported programs. We expect that this will make room for true national ownership of reform programs, and increase the prospects for successful program implementation.

We believe that the reforms already undertaken and underway at the IMF and in member countries are making a difference in our ability to help members cope with risks and external shocks. However, there is still a lot of unfinished business. We need to continue implementing forcefully the initiatives that are already underway. Based on the lessons of our recent experience, we also intend to strengthen further the IMF's capacities for crisis prevention and crisis resolution. For this we need the support and active engagement of all our members.

Ultimately, the key to the IMF's role in crisis prevention is the

effectiveness of IMF surveillance: our regular policy dialogue with member countries, sometimes known as Article IV consultations. Building on the enhancements already in the pipeline, we will be trying to use the surveillance process more actively to help member countries put in place “shock absorbers”, as we call them, to cope with crises, including better debt and reserve management, more flexible exchange rate regimes, sound budgets that leave room for maneuver in difficult times, efficient and diversified financial systems, and more effective social safety nets.

But we also need to do a better job convincing member countries to take early action to head off financial crises. The IMF’s policies and transparency will clearly have an important role in this process. In the category of “early action”, I would include steps by the advanced industrial countries to deal with the root causes of volatility in international capital flows. In the period ahead, I expect that the international community as a whole - especially standard-setting bodies and the Financial Stability Forum, with the cooperation of the IMF and World Bank - will deal successfully with issues of financial disclosure and corporate governance, as a natural extension of the ongoing work on financial stability and internationally recognized standards and codes.

The IMF is also working toward an integrated approach to strengthen the framework for crisis resolution. Our strong advice to our members is that they should work as much as possible and as long as possible with voluntary market-oriented solutions to their debt problems. We expect, in turn, that private creditors will act responsibly in recognition of their own interest in the stability

and growth of the global economy. Our evolving framework for crisis resolution will reinforce these principles by combining a clearer policy on access to IMF resources, a more comprehensive framework for making judgments on debt sustainability, greater selectivity in IMF lending, and better debt restructuring mechanisms.

Reflecting a recent discussion in the IMF's Executive Board, we are now following a policy under which exceptionally large access to IMF resources - something associated with a recent number of crisis cases - will require the fulfillment of four conditions. These are: first, an exceptionally large balance-of-payments financing need; second, a sustainable debt burden when evaluated under reasonably conservative assumptions; third, a judgement that the country will be able to return to private capital markets within a reasonable period of time; and, fourth, indications that the government has the will and capacity to deliver on its agreed upon program.

We expect that these principles will provide member countries and financial markets with greater clarity and predictability about the decisions the IMF will be taking in dealing with financial crises.

As another key element in the evolving framework for crisis management, the international community is engaged in an active debate on how best to deal with the (hopefully rare) cases in which sovereign debts have become truly unsustainable. There is typically at least a brief period, and often a longer one, between the time when there is a recognition that a member has an

unsustainable debt burden and the onset of a full-blown debt crisis.

In the interim, countries usually experience sharp increases in real interest rates, a precipitous decline in economic activity, and accelerating inflation. These dynamics can only make the debt to GDP ratio higher, the prospects for debt sustainability even worse, and the ultimate outcome more painful both for the country and its creditors.

By short-circuiting this process, a timely debt restructuring can lead to a better outcome for all parties, debtor and creditor alike. However, despite the potential gains from early restructuring, typically it does not happen. This failure of collective action provides the rationale for public intervention and is the key problem which the proposals under discussion are intended to address.

We are presently working with the international community on three possible approaches. The first is the establishment of a sovereign debt restructuring mechanism, a statutory approach to overcoming the collective action problem. The second approach would be the inclusion of collective action clauses in debt contracts. And a more recent, third proposal is the development of a voluntary code of conduct to complement the other initiatives.

The IMF supports the initiative to develop a code of good conduct because we would expect that transparent guidelines on best practice would help markets work more effectively. Indeed, this is the philosophy that guides the IMF's work on standards

and codes.

We are also cooperating actively in the effort to design and promote the use of collective action clauses. These clauses would be included in individual sovereign bonds when they are issued, and would be designed to permit a pre-specified super majority of holders of that particular bond issue to agree on a restructuring that would be binding on all holders of that issue. By preventing a small minority from holding out, such clauses could facilitate a restructuring in cases where one is clearly needed.

Finally, as you know, we are continuing to elaborate our proposal for sovereign debt restructuring mechanism (SDRM). In its present form, the SDRM proposal has three key elements. First, as with collective action clauses, a super majority of creditors could vote to accept new terms under a restructuring agreement, thereby binding all affective creditors. But unlike the collective action clauses, the SDRM would provide for the aggregation of claims across a range of debt instruments.

Second, creditors could agree to give fresh private lending seniority and protection from restructuring. This would most likely be applied in the case of trade credit. Third, a dispute resolution forum would be established to verify claims, ensure the integrity of the voting process, adjudicate disputes that might arise, and in general guide the process after a country had activated the SDRM.

Initially, we had envisaged that this mechanism would give the IMF the authority to endorse a stay on creditor litigation, so that the sovereign debtor would have protection from disruptive legal

action while restructuring negotiations were underway. But after extensive consultation with debtors and creditors, we have come to the view that while a stay has its merits, it does not constitute a proportionate response to the magnitude of the risk of litigation, and may not fit comfortably with other features in the mechanism.

In our revised proposal, there would not be a stay on litigation. Instead, we envisage a much more limited protection for debtors, with private creditors having a key role in the decisions. Thus, under the present proposal, the SDRM would not give new legal powers to the IMF. The decisions taken would be those of the debtor and the super majority of its creditors, following negotiations. The IMF's role would essentially continue to be one of signaling whether it is willing to support and provide assistance for a country's adjustment program.

I am convinced that the broader use of appropriately designed collective action clauses would be a step forward. But I also believe that the SDRM has a number of crucial features that are very important in dealing effectively with collective action problems. First, while collective action clauses would appear only in new instruments, the SDRM would deal with the entire existing stock of effective debt, including instruments that do not have collective action clauses. Or, to say it another way, it would come into effect immediately.

Secondly, the SDRM would provide a single voting procedure for restructuring a variety of different debt instruments, and thereby rule out the possibility that one class of creditors could block a settlement over all instruments.

Third, the SDRM would provide an impartial dispute resolution forum to protect creditors against fraud, the lack of which has been a major impediment to the wider use of collective action clauses.

Fourth, the SDRM would make it possible for a super majority of creditors to give special status to new money that could help to limit the economic dislocation experienced during the restructuring process.

Fifth, the SDRM would go into effect in all countries at the same time. With collective action clauses, there could be a first mover problem, which is to say it is quite possible that no major emerging market country would want to be the first to introduce collective action clauses in its bond contracts for fear that investors would misinterpret this as a signal that restructuring is more likely.

I would like to stress that these proposals are intended to deal with a highly limited set of circumstances. They are not designed to lead to restructuring when debt is sustainable. That process is far too costly and painful for all concerned. Indeed, it is so painful that sovereign debtors typically put off the day of reckoning beyond the point where there are any reasonable prospects of the situation correcting itself. But by holding out the realistic hope for a better outcome in extreme cases, the proposals now on the table would contribute both to crisis resolution and to crisis prevention.

They would contribute to crisis prevention by discouraging both excessive lending and over borrowing. Private markets would

more readily cut off lending to countries with excessively high debt to GDP ratios, and the proposals would reinforce the message that the official sector is not waiting on the sidelines to bail out imprudent creditors. Similarly, these proposals would make crisis resolution more orderly and less costly, because they provide incentives for countries to face up to their problems promptly, while also helping to reduce the amount of unsustainable debt that will ultimately need to be dealt with.

The IMF's ministerial level oversight body, the International Monetary and Financial Committee, has asked us to develop a concrete proposal for a statutory SDRM for consideration at its next meeting in April. We are looking forward to a lively and constructive discussion, because a more orderly, uniformed and transparent process would be in virtually everyone's benefit.

So let me now try quickly to conclude. This is clearly a time of considerable risk and uncertainty in the global economy. But on balance, there is good reason to expect a resumption of solid growth as the year progresses. A reinforcement of the policy frameworks that led to good growth performance in the decade of the 1990s should provide a basis for strong performance in the years to come.

For the immediate future, it is crucial for policy makers to be vigilant and use the available room to maneuver to respond proactively to any further weakening of the global economy. But equally important will be sound macroeconomic policy frameworks, strong institutions, and openness to structural reform to enhance flexibility and growth potential. Global growth

prospects will also be reinforced by more decisive action toward a successful conclusion of the Doha Round, and further progress in the reform of the international financial architecture.

The initiatives already underway at the IMF are helping our members cope with direct risks and uncertainties in the global economy and promote sustained growth, but we clearly need to do a great deal more to enhance the framework for crisis prevention and crisis management. I look forward to continued constructive input from the Institute for Global Economics on these and other ideas for reform in the period ahead. Thank you very much.

Questions & Answers

Question: This is about the mounting budget deficit in the US. You emphasized improvements in the prudent fiscal policies in every country. But in the US the deficit is growing very fast. What is your view on that? Also, how will the attack on Iraq affect the US economy in the short-run?

Answer: The US started out with a fairly low debt to GDP ratio and, at this point, there is no concern about the ratio of debt to GDP, or debt servicing, in the US. The real question concerns whether or not, going forward, fiscal deficits will rise as much as anticipated without any impact. Three years ago everybody was worrying about fiscal surpluses. There was even concern about what would happen if the US Treasury ran a surplus and had to buy back its debt. It is too early, as yet, to worry about the possible very long term implications of the fiscal deficit and debt. There is some question as to whether the proposed fiscal stimulus

would come at a time when the economy was already recovering, and might lead to too rapid an upturn.

It is hard to say how a war in Iraq would affect things. It is hard because one has to specify what kind of war. Is it going to be short term? Quick and decisive? Medium term? Is it going to be a long mess? If it is short term, or medium term, or long term, will it be confined to Iraq or will it spill over into other parts of the Middle East? Without answering all of those questions, it is very difficult to give any answer to the question of how a war would affect the US or the global economy.

If one takes the view, as most observers seem to, that any war is likely to be reasonably short, reasonably confined, and reasonably decisive within, say, half a year or less, then the best guesstimate is that it would not have a major impact on the US or world economy. The range of estimates that have been given so far in terms of the cost of that type of war seem to be well within the margin of error of the budget. The associated oil price increase would be short-term and reversible. So there would not seem to be very much long-term effect. Obviously, if things were to go on for a longer time, and if there were a longer disruption of oil supplies, the outlook could be somewhat different.

Question: Concerning the US Fed interest rate policy, even if there is a war in Iraq, could the Fed keep a low interest rate? What is monetary policy in general in the US in the short-term?

Answer: One of the things that was unusual about the boom in the US in the late 1990s was that there was no sign of inflationary

pressure. The people at the Federal Reserve Board of Governors kept looking for it. It was not there. The Fed will not start raising interest rates until it sees some hint that there are inflationary pressures on the horizon, or that the US economy is somewhat closer to full employment than it now is. It is also not likely to lower interest rates unless the US economy gets weaker than it now seems to be. So in effect, if the recovery continues down approximately the course I mentioned, I would expect that over the short term, we would not see much move in US interest rates unless we saw some up-tick in inflationary pressures.

Question: The current account deficit is related to the exchange rate of the US dollar, and US consumers are spending a lot to finance the current account deficit with foreign capital. How long can this go on? What will that imply for the exchange rates among major currencies? What is your personal view on this?

Answer: Obviously, when there is a large current account deficit as the US is running, it is always possible that the people who are supplying capital to the country running the deficit will decide that they don't want to. When that happens, that can always be a source of vulnerability. That goes without saying.

But in the US it seems reasonably evident that most of the capital inflow is coming because a lot of people think that the US is the place in which to invest. It looks to many of us as if the exchange rate is driven more by the desire of people abroad to invest in the US, than it is by some failing in the US economy. That does not remove the vulnerability completely, since that feeling can change. But as far as I would judge, the capital inflows

are driving the exchange rate to a fair degree, and to that extent there has not been much source of vulnerability.

An interesting question has arisen as the US dollar has depreciated against the euro over the past couple of months. Some observers are again raising the question of whether or not the euro may become an attractive, alternate investment currency. That might make the US a less attractive place in which to hold assets than was formerly the case. If that is true, and if that is what the euro is reflecting, then we are already seeing something of the adjustment that may be warranted.

Some people look at how much the US dollar appreciated in real terms, and it certainly has. But if you look back, we have had at least three episodes since the period of floating when there has been at least that much of a real change, one way or another, among the major currency groups. I do not find that a serious source of concern per se, except in the sense of vulnerabilities more generally.

How long can the current account deficit go on? As long as people find it profitable to invest in the US. As long as the US is, for whatever reasons, maintaining its own structural reforms and keeping its own markets flexible, and as long as there are profitable investment opportunities above and beyond those which the US itself wants to invest in.

Question: On Korea specifically, the North Korean nuclear issue is troublesome. In relation with Korea's credit standing in the international markets, Moody's just changed the outlook from

positive to negative. They didn't lower the grade, just the outlook. When the Moody's team was here, it seemed as if they would not change their outlook. But somehow it happened. What is your assessment, and will that have any outcome on Korean economic prospects?

Answer: I do not know anything about Moody's outlook. That just happened today and I have not heard the details. From our view point, the Korean economy has looked healthy. Our forecasts for this coming year call for economic growth of around 5%, which is very consistent with what the domestic commentators are calling for. So beyond that, I do not have any answer to that particular question.

Question: On economic cooperation, there are a lot of FTAs going on in this region at this time. The Chinese have an initiative to have an FTA with ASEAN, and there are also various Japanese initiatives to establish FTAs with countries in the region. What is your assessment on these particular policy initiatives?

Answer: You can have two kinds of regional groupings. One, the regional grouping is turning inwards and turning its back on the rest of the world. In the other, the region is opening to the rest of the world and taking down barriers even faster internally.

The European Union was the latter kind, namely opening internally but even more rapidly taking down external barriers, at least during the period of the 1950s and 1960s with very rapid European growth. They were cutting their external tariffs like mad, and they were cutting their internal tariffs. They were getting rid

of non-tariff barriers to trade internally and externally. The whole thing worked.

The risk comes when you are getting regional preferential arrangements instead of external liberalization. When you get multiplying free trade agreements, as they come up in this part of the world, there can be complications. You must ask, what is more important for any given country? Strengthening a preferential trading arrangement in five years, or spending time this year getting the Doha Round on track? I have no hesitation in saying that pushing the Doha Round is way better. That's where the bigger pay-off lies.

Question: What is your view on a Northeast Asian regional bank?

Answer: If one were to have a Northeast Asian development bank, you would have to ask yourself, how does one get the financing and how does it work. Who are the members? Does it really stay regional? Who is expected to come in? If you only have one large economic power in it, say Japan, and if they dominate, is this the way one wants to go? If not, how do you bring in others? There would be some interesting questions there, but I do not have any answers.

Question: This is about the recent idea of establishing a regional bond market. Recently, Thailand and Hong Kong tried to establish a regional bond market to recycle Asian lending to Western bond markets. These days we are only recycling. But we would like to establish a proper regional bond market because this region has

very large exchange rate reserves in most countries. What is your view on this idea? Do you see any feasibility in this? Will the IMF support it?

Answer: We are for anything that improves the functioning of the international financial system. Is this bond market something that improves that functioning? If one develops a market by giving better information and by facilitating and lowering the cost of trading, it has to be working for everybody's benefit.

Question: What is the optimal level of foreign currency reserves? Can you give us a number for Korea's optimal reserve? Countries in this region have some US\$ 1 trillion in foreign reserves. Is more better? Korea already has US\$ 120 billion in reserves. Should some of that pile of money be put to work harder, making more money? What is the optimal level?

Answer: We are looking at this at the IMF. Quite clearly, it is costly to hold international reserves, not only for Korea. A lot of other countries have vastly increased their reserve holdings as a way to guard against negative shocks, which quite clearly has a benefit. Namely, you are more comfortable and have more room to maneuver. But, just as you say, you might be able to invest that money more productively.

We do not have any good answers at this stage. But given the number of countries following the same strategy, we are looking to see whether we can find and suggest ways to have the same degree of increased insurance without necessarily incurring so much of the cost.

Question: If you meet the president-elect, what would you advise? How should he handle Korea's economy? Also, how do you evaluate the current government's last five years of policies and performances?

Answer: Quite clearly, Korea has been making major strides in structural reform over the past five years. We think that shows up in, among other things, the very success and satisfactory rates of economic growth Korea has achieved. We would say that Korea has done very well.

This is not to say that there is not more that can be done. There is no economy of which that can be said. There are still some things that can use some work. Based on what I know from the IMF team that was here and did the Article IV surveillance, there remains further work to be done, not necessarily so much in the banking sector, although there is still some privatization to be done there, but in other financial institutions and also in making sure the supervisory, regulatory and risk management framework is appropriate.

More and more, the thinking internationally is that the best way to underpin a well functioning market economy is to have a very good banking and financial system which appropriately evaluates risks and returns, within a framework where it's looking at the right things. Getting that system going seems to be of crucial importance everywhere, not just in Korea.

Korea has done a lot to improve the functioning of its financial system over the past five years. But I would judge there are still

quite a few more things that can be done to strengthen it still further. That is one of those things that, to a considerable degree, also reduce the vulnerability from other quarters.

There are some other things as well. For instance, the bankruptcy law looks like it could do with some improvement. But in general, I would argue that the thrust of economic policy over the past five years has certainly been in the right direction, and my advice would be to make sure that one keeps on that path to a fair degree.

The Rise of China: Sustainability and Implications for Asia*

Nicholas R. Lardy

Many people regard China as one of the bright spots in the world economy. That is certainly borne out if you look at the growth of the economy, the expansion of its foreign trade, and its ability to attract record amounts of foreign direct investment (FDI).

In my opening remarks, I would like to talk about those three aspects of economic performance both from the point of view of the regional context and also particularly focusing on the last couple of years. Though China's long-term performance is very impressive, developments over the last two years are, in some ways, even more impressive in terms of assessing the success of China's economic reform strategy.

Let me start with the question of the growth rate. We all know what the long-term growth performance is. But I think it is particularly worth noting that, as the world economy slumped particularly in '01, and then had a very modest recovery last year, China's economy continued to power ahead at about 8% per year. So China has done well even when the global economy has been in a relatively weak position over the last two years. It is also

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worth looking in the regional context in East Asia, to see what China's contribution is in terms of increments of economic output and gross domestic product.

I like to compare China with Japan, obviously since Japan is the largest economy in Asia. If you take the decade of the '90s as a whole, at the beginning, China's economy - at exchange rate terms - was about a twelfth the size of Japan's, about 8% the size. But it grew so much more rapidly than Japan that by the end of the decade, its economy had expanded by almost as much as the Japanese economy itself. In other words, its growth rate was so much more rapid than that of Japan that the increment of output being produced in the year 2000, compared to 1990s, was as large as that of Japan. The gap between the two economies is being very substantially reduced over this period.

If we look just at last year, the increment of growth in the Chinese economy is about four and a half times that of Japan, again because China has become relatively larger compared to Japan, although still significantly smaller. But with a much more rapid rate of growth, the increment of output being produced in China is very substantially larger than in Japan. China's contribution to output in the region is already significantly surpassing that of Japan.

On the trade side, it is also worth noting that over the last couple of years China has done especially well. In the year 2001, we saw the first shrinkage in absolute terms of global trade. But China expanded its trade by about 7.5%. Last year, we had what appears to have been a somewhat anemic recovery in global trade,

perhaps of 2%. China's trade expanded by more than a fifth last year, some 20%. Indeed, based on the preliminary numbers that are being estimated for the growth of world trade last year, it would appear that China alone accounted for half the growth of world trade last year. It has done extremely well in a weak global environment in terms of trade expansion.

Again, you can compare China to Japan. A decade ago, Japan's trade was about four and a half times that of China's. By last year, Japan's trade was only about 30% more than China's. If you focus on the import side alone, which is especially relevant for other countries in the region, during the decade of the '90s China's imports almost quadrupled. That is, they increased by about US\$ 215 billion, whereas Japan's only increased by about half as much, about US\$ 120 billion.

China is now globally the fifth largest trading economy. I believe this year it will become almost certainly the fourth largest trading economy. But in the regional context it is very likely that China will become a larger importer than Japan in the current year. If it does not happen in the current year, it will almost certainly happen in 2004. A decade ago, Japan was a much, much bigger trader than China. This year, China's going to be a bigger importer than Japan. Of course, though, it will still not be a bigger exporter than Japan because of Japan's very large current account and trade surplus.

Let me turn, thirdly, to FDI. Here, the story over the last two years is very similar. Global flows of FDI declined very dramatically in 2001. They had been about US\$ 1.5 trillion in 2000.

They declined to about US\$ 735 billion in 2001. The preliminary numbers suggest they declined by another 30% last year.

But in 2001, China's FDI inflows increased by about 15%, to reach US\$ 49 billion, and last year they increased by another 12.5%, to reach about US\$ 52.7 billion in gross terms.

The decline in global FDI flows has been primarily because of a very dramatic shrinkage in merger and acquisition (M&A) activity, which is primarily among the most developed economies of the world. Given the collapse in M&A activity, and the continued growth in inflows of FDI into China, it appears - though, again, we don't have final numbers for last year - that China became for the first time last year the world's leading recipient of FDI.

In a weak environment, where FDI and global trade have both declined, China has continued to do extraordinarily well both in terms of trade growth and in terms of continuing to attract FDI.

I would like to turn next to some of the medium-term risks going forward. What are the factors that might cause this economy to have a significant downturn, or some other kind of discontinuous event, that would affect its economic future?

I want to start with a possibility which has been widely suggested in the US, that China will have such a strain meeting its WTO obligations that there will be rising unemployment combined with some systemic problems, like corruption. Some people predict a collapse. In fact, a well-known US book, "The Coming Collapse of China", postulates that the demand for structural reform as

tariffs are reduced and the economy is opened up will be so great that unemployment will rise to unsustainably high levels. The forecast is for a collapse of the Chinese Communist Party.

Quite frankly, there is a very, very low probability of that occurring. The reason why is that, in the process of negotiating its entry into the WTO, China dramatically reduced its trade barriers even before becoming a member. As a result, competition has increased quite significantly in this economy. The adjustment process that China must undergo has actually been underway at an accelerated pace for the last three or four, or even possibly five, years.

On the tariff side, China had reduced its average tariff level by more than three quarters before it came into the WTO. They were about 55% in the early- and mid-1980s. Remember, 1985 was when they expressed their interest in becoming a member of the WTO, then the GATT. By the time they came into the WTO, the average tariff was down to 15%. Not only that, but the vast majority of imports into China by the time they came into the WTO were entering entirely duty free. The average rate of tariff collection in China - that is the value of tariff revenues collected relative to the value of imported product - was about 3.5%.

Tariffs have been very substantially reduced, and also non-tariff barriers were also very substantially reduced before China came into the WTO. If you take the most common non-tariff barrier, that is the existence of a licensing requirement or the existence of an absolute limit on the quantity of an import in the form of a quota, in the late-1980s about 45% - that is almost half of China's tariffs

lines - were restricted by either an import licensing requirement or a quota limit.

By the time they came into the WTO in late-2001, these restrictions applied to only 4% of the lines in the tariff schedule. They will all be completely eliminated over the next three to four years. The point is, the rate at which those restrictions were being eliminated in the years running up to China's entry into the WTO was actually more rapid than the rate at which they are currently being eliminated under China's WTO commitments.

That does not mean that there will not be very substantial structural readjustment for the few industries that were still being protected when China came in to the WTO in late-2001. But from a macro point of view, a great deal of the adjustment had already occurred.

A third and final source of competition on which I want to focus because I think it is somewhat overlooked, is the role of foreign companies within China. We all know about the large volumes of FDI into China. I mentioned a few of the numbers. But we must put it in the context of what those companies produce, relative to the overall level of manufacturing.

In China today, about 30% of all manufactured goods are actually made by foreign companies. That is substantially ahead of the output of manufactured goods produced by foreign affiliates in the US, Germany, or Italy. It is vastly, vastly ahead of the 1% of manufactured goods produced by foreign affiliates in Japan.

The standard thought that comes to mind for many people is, yes, there are many foreign companies using China as an export platform, which accounts for this very large share of production by foreign companies in China. But in fact, in recent years about 60% of all the output being produced by foreign companies in the manufacturing sector is actually sold on the domestic market. The value of those products is roughly equal to the US\$ 295-300 billion last year in imports. So competition comes not only from imported goods, but also from goods made by foreign companies within China.

This is obviously just as important a source of competition as imports. Foreign companies can bring to bear whatever technology they want, whatever managerial know-how they care to bring in, and whatever other advantages they may have, in order to compete on the domestic market.

The key here is that competition has increased very substantially within the domestic market in China over the last four to five years. The postulated collapse of the economy because the economy will not be able to undertake the structural adjustment is vastly exaggerated.

Restructuring has in fact occurred as a result of competition over the last four or five years. Employment in the state sector has declined dramatically. If you take the overall state sector, employment has declined by about one third in the last four to five years. It has gone from something like 112 million people, down to around 86 million. So, roughly speaking, about 35 million people lost their jobs in the state sector. That sector is not going to

completely go away. China is a huge country. For example, in primary and secondary school education, there are 10 million teachers employed by the state. They are not privatizing primary or secondary education, so the scope for reduction in overall state employment has some limits.

But if you look in the state-owned manufacturing sector, employment has actually declined by two thirds. It's gone from a little over 33 million people at its peak about a decade ago, down to only a little over 11 million more recently. The rate of reduction in the state-owned manufacturing sector is twice as fast as has occurred in the state sector overall. This is a consequence of bankruptcies of state companies, privatization of state companies, and the shrinkage of companies that remained state owned.

A second indicator of restructuring is a very substantial reduction in the rate of inventory accumulation in this economy. In the run-up to the Asian financial crisis, when China had a highly excessive rate of lending and firms were not restructuring, additions to inventories averaged an astounding 6% of GDP per year. In the US economy, it is about 0.4%.

Firms had almost unlimited access to credit. Managers were charged in part with the maintenance of high levels of employment, and they preferred to keep people working and pile up unsold goods in inventories, rather than curtail production levels or lay-off workers.

In the last four years as employment shrunk dramatically, particularly in the state sector, inventory accumulation has averaged between 1-2%, a very substantial reduction, primarily as

a result of the increased competition and also some reforms in the financial sector.

Thirdly, profitability in the state sector is measured by return on assets, which had been declining for years. In the last three or four years, it has actually turned up and recovered. It is still a bit below what you would expect for an economy growing as rapidly as China, but the long-term secular decline in profitability in the state-owned sector seems to have been reversed in the last three or four years.

From looking at this kind of evidence, a lot of the structural reform that China has to undertake to meet its WTO obligations has, in fact, been well underway for some time, accelerating in the late-1990s. That does not mean there is not a significant amount of restructuring that is still required. But a very substantial portion of what I would call a heavy lifting has already been accomplished. That leads me to the view that the possibility of a collapse as the need for structural reform overwhelms the system is a very low probability.

A second medium-term risk that could lead to an economic downturn is a melt-down China's financial system. It has long been known that China's banking system, in particular, is extremely weak. The phrase I have used, and I believe it is still accurate, is "insolvent but not illiquid". This condition is not likely to persist indefinitely.

Whereas I cannot give you a comprehensive analysis of what the depth of the problems in the financial sector is in absolute

terms at the present time, I can look at several indicators that suggest that some reforms in the financial sector have had a positive effect.

The first one that I think is extremely important is the excessive rate of lending growth, which was characteristic of China, as in many other countries in Asia, during the run-up to the Asian financial crisis. Growth in lending has moderated significantly over the last three to four years. The banking system seems to be becoming more selective in who they lend money to. This, of course, is obviously quite related to the substantial decline in the rate of inventory accumulation, which is almost certainly historically, and still today, financed overwhelmingly by bank credit. The rate of growth of credit creation has come down significantly, though it is still probably a little too rapid.

A second important indicator is that banks have become quite sensitive to their cost structure. Chinese banks, all state-owned one way or another, historically have been almost indifferent with respect to their cost levels. In the last three to four years in particular, we have seen a dramatic pruning of the branch structure and substantial reductions in the head counts of the large state-owned commercial banks, which traditionally have dominated the financial system.

The branch and sub-branch count was actually down by 30% between 1997 and the end of 2001. I do not have final numbers yet, but I am very confident that that continued last year. The head count for these banks is down by about 15% over the same period. These are very substantial reductions. In the case of the

Industrial & Commercial Bank of China, for example, there has been a reduction in head count of about 110,000 people from a starting point of almost 500,000 employees. These banks are very large, and very cumbersome. But they are reducing.

A third indicator which I tend to think is positive is the share of credit extended by the four largest state-owned banks, which have been the least commercial credit-oriented banks in the system. It has declined very substantially over the last four years. As recently as 1997 those four banks were responsible for more than 70% of all new loans. In the year 2001, and again last year, the share of lending from those institutions had fallen to just under 50%. Again, this probably reflects some greater selectivity on their part. But it also reflects the fact that demand for credit from the state sector finally began to decline, as the state sector is now substantially smaller than it was a few years ago.

A fourth indicator which should be positive for the banks in the long-term is that consumers are emerging for the very first time as significant borrowers in this economy. The stylized model has it that in the old system the banks took the deposits from the households and lent them entirely to the corporate sector. There was no consumer credit in China as recently as five years ago. Five years ago, at the end of 1997, the share of loans outstanding to consumers was 0.2% of all loans.

Banks have now been given the authority to lend to consumers. There is a burgeoning mortgage market. In the larger cities in China, almost all the housing has been privatized, and even a secondary housing market is emerging. Consumer credit is

becoming a significant activity for China's state-owned banks.

In 2000 and 2001, about one fifth of all new lending went to consumers. Last year, it may have been as high as a quarter of all new lending going to the consumer sector. The stock of loans outstanding to the consumer sector has begun to rise to significant levels for the first time.

This is potentially good for banks because, on average, lending to the consumer sector should be a better business than the historic lending to state-owned companies. In particular, China is not like Korea where there is a large increase in lending to consumers, mostly in the form of unsecured credit card debt. In China, 80-85% of all consumer lending is for home mortgages. The balance is for automobile loans, which is also emerging as a rapidly growing sector. The number of cars sold last year in China doubled compared to the year 2001. Private individual buyers are emerging as a significant source of demand for the first time. There is also a tiny amount of credit outstanding for tuition loans. So consumer credit in the form of unsecured credit card debt is basically not part of the mix. This should have a positive effect on bank earnings going forward.

The combination of a reduction in the rate of credit expansion and the emergence of consumers taking almost a quarter of all new loans, almost certainly means - and the data on this are fuzzy, but by implication - that the absolute amount of money and new loans going to the state sector has to be declining for the first time ever. This, all other things being equal, is a positive sign.

So there are two big risks to the sustainability of growth in China. The WTO induced collapse has a very, very low probability of occurring. The financial sector is still a huge risk for China going forward. I would even say the largest risk, although the indicators I just summarized very quickly would suggest that the problem is no longer getting worse at an accelerating pace. Perhaps it has even stabilized. There is even some possibility of some improvement in the overall situation faced by the banks in recent years.

There are some fundamentals that are positive for growth in China long-term. One, with which we are all familiar, is the high rate of savings and investment. Sometimes we look at this economy, with very large FDI inflows, and some people argue that China has become overly dependent on FDI inflows. That is sometimes a criticism that is made within China as well.

Even at the very, very high levels that were achieved last year, gross FDI inflows were equal to only 11% of domestic capital formation. In other words, China is financing the vast, vast majority of its domestic investment from its very high rate of domestic savings. The domestic savings and investment rate has been hovering between 35-40%, which is one of the highest savings and investment rates in the world. This is positive for long-term growth.

Secondly, we have seen a very dramatic expansion of market forces in this economy as reflected by the fact that in the goods market, for example, almost all prices are now set in the market, and most of the markets are highly competitive. Not just consumer

goods, but capital goods and, increasingly, things like electrical power have prices that are market determined. There is competition in mobile telephones between two competing networks. That has driven prices down significantly. Throughout the goods and services sector we have market determined prices.

In labor markets, we increasingly have market determined prices as well. The old system of life time employment in state companies is now a thing of the past. Even the system of life time employment in the government bureaucracy is being eliminated this year. Increasingly, we have wages determined by supply and demand. That is reflected by the movement of a lot of new workers into urban areas, and fewer restrictions on place of residence. This has introduced a fairly dramatic and dynamic change in labor markets.

The weakness is obviously still in the capital market. We still do not have full market determination, or control of interest rates by the central bank. It is a very small and flawed capital market. There is more work to be done there. But in the goods market and labor market, prices are determined by market forces and we have fairly competitive markets.

Thirdly, China's long-term trade policy is highly conducive to sustaining economic growth. They have opened up their market. They have brought tariffs to their lowest level of any emerging market today, and they are going lower. By the time China has fully implemented its WTO obligations, the average tariff will be slightly under 10%. That is significantly lower than any other emerging market with which you want to compare, whether you

are talking about India or some of the larger markets in Latin America. By the time China has fully implemented its WTO obligations by the end of 2005, China's tariffs will be very substantially less than most other economies.

Closely related, China's WTO obligations will lead to additional liberalization of FDI. FDI in the manufacturing sector has been very liberal for quite a long time. But we see very substantial liberalizations coming in financial services, distribution and telecommunications, which will introduce additional competition into this economy. The FDI environment continues to improve and continues to be a force for increase growth and productivity throughout the economy.

The argument that China is overly dependent on foreign capital is a mistake. If you compare inflows to capital formation, the contribution from the foreign sector is relatively small. Another argument one frequently hears is that too much of China's involvement in international trade is bottled up in what some people refer to as an "enclave" sector, the export processing sector, which has traditionally been characterized by relatively low rates of value added. The argument here is that China does not necessarily benefit much from the very substantial increase in trade volumes.

Just to put it in perspective last year, if you took China's total exports of about US\$ 325 billion, about 55% of it was based on processing: the assembly of imported parts and components brought into China on a duty free basis and then re-sold as finished goods in the international market.

But what most people have not noticed is that over the last seven or eight years the rate of value added in this processing activity has more than doubled. If you go back to 1993 or 1994, it was 15%. Last year and the year before the average rate of value added was significantly above 30%. As this activity developed and has been going on, we have seen the development of backward linkages to more domestic suppliers for the parts and components that used to be brought in from the international market. That is a trend that will continue going forward, which is obviously positive for China. It means more job creation domestically as the rate of value added goes up.

Another myth is the argument that FDI inflows will not continue since foreign firms are not making any money. In fact, over the last three years profits in the manufacturing sector, where we have the best data, have more than tripled. Profits in 2001 were about US\$ 17 billion. If you look at the overall earnings of foreign invested firms, not only in manufacturing but services as well, last year, based on first half data from the balance of payments, it looks like total foreign earnings were something closing in on US\$ 30 billion. The idea that no one is making any money in the foreign sector in China is simply not true.

It is likely that inflows will continue to be fairly robust. Goldman Sachs' often repeated view is that China's FDI inflows are going to hit US\$ 100 billion by 2010. We will have to wait to see what happens over that period.

In summary, China does have a lot of fundamental factors in place that will help to sustain economic growth, beginning with

high savings, more competitive markets, more price determination over a broader set of those markets, and a very liberal trade and foreign investment regime that keeps foreigners very heavily involved in the economy, adding competition and market discipline to an ever growing portion of the domestic economy. China will continue to be a fairly major trading power because of the liberalization that is already in place and the large role that is being played by foreign firms and export processing activities.

What are the implications for Asia? The traditional framework for looking at this kind of problem is to first look at inter-regional trade. What does the rise of China mean for , Taiwan, Korea, or other countries in the region? Then we turn to look at competition in third country markets.

The most important thing that is happening in terms of Asia is that China is emerging as the biggest importing country in the region. A growing share of these imports are coming from other countries in Asia, whether it is Taiwan, Korea or even Japan. Most of the finished goods, on the other hand, are going to North America and Europe. The result is that the countries in the region are benefiting from a very substantial acceleration in their exports to China. That is the “opportunity” part of the story.

The “challenge” part of the story is competition in third country markets. We have already seen this in some commodities. For example, a decade and a half ago, 80% of all footwear imported into the US came from Taiwan and South Korea. Today, 90% of it is coming from China. China has completely displaced traditional sources of supply. The story is exactly the same in toys,

and I think the story will be roughly the same in garments as we liberalize trade in that range of commodities less than two years from now.

We are beginning to also see this displacement in consumer electronics and even the information technology sector. China is emerging as a major, major producer. Most people have not noticed, but last year China moved ahead, displacing Japan, to become the second largest producer of information technology hardware on a global basis. It is only behind the US.

About two thirds, or maybe more, of those information technology products - by which I mean lap-tops, PCs, LCD monitors, and so forth - are produced by foreign firms operating in China, particularly firms from Taiwan. That takes us back to the rise of China as a major importer.

The opportunity to sell into China and the challenge from being displaced in third country markets must be taken together. We cannot break down the analysis into two separate components of inter-regional trade on the one hand, and displacement in third country markets on the other. The two are very intimately linked.

China has displaced Taiwanese and Korean products in third country markets. But it has only done so because it imports all the high-value added parts and components from Taiwan and Korea. There is a very strong inter-linkage between the regional trade opportunities, the rise of China as a major exporter of completed products, and the displacement effect in third country markets.

As China displaces Taiwan and Korea as a major source of supply in third country markets, it is becoming a dramatically large importer of high value added parts and components from Taiwanese and Korean firms. The traditional break down into inter-regional trade and third country displacement effects only works in the case of China because of the very large role of processing in their export structure.

I will close by commenting on trade creation versus trade displacement in the case of free trade areas. In Asia, the big challenge for Taiwan and Korea is to make sure that the trade displacement effects of free trade agreements in the region are minimized. As a practical matter, all the empirical evidence I have seen suggests that China + ASEAN has very, very substantial negative effects for economies like Taiwan and South Korea. It could include a very substantial loss of market share in sales to North America and Europe in particular.

It is very much in the interest of Taiwan and South Korea, and for the global system as well, if the basis of free trade agreements in East Asia is ASEAN + 3 - that is the ASEAN countries plus China, Korea and Japan. That is a program that will minimize the adverse consequences of trade liberalization and maximize the opportunities for all countries in the region.

Questions & Answers

Question: My question regards income distribution and social and political stability in China. As you know, there is a substantial

income gap between and among the coastal provinces and the inland provinces. This can cause social discord and dismay, as well as political instability. Only at the earliest stages of development can you have a Communist one-party system with a so-called "market oriented social economy". Can this kind of system go on as incomes improve?

Answer: Dealing with income distribution in China is a major challenge. There is no doubt that the distribution of income has worsened dramatically on every dimension that we can measure, whether we are talking about the difference between rural incomes and urban incomes, between skilled and unskilled, or between the increasingly developed coast and the lagging hinterland. Things have gotten much, much worse.

It used to be the case that China had a relatively low degree of income inequality in Asia, a region which compared to, say, Latin America or South Asia was widely regarded as perhaps the most equal of all the major portions of the developing world.

In the short-term, the distribution is likely to remain somewhat unequal. They do not have the policy instruments to deal with most of the aspects of inequality that I have mentioned. Given where China is today, because of the increasing reliance on labor markets, I do not think the skilled-unskilled differential is going to go down. I do not think the east-west gap is going to be significantly closed.

Keep in mind that only 5% of capital formation in China today is financed through the government budget. So the scope that the

government has to redistribute investment resources into poor hinterland regions is fairly limited. The World Bank supports some of that activity, but World Bank lending to China is down very substantially compared to where it was five years ago. It is a big challenge for the leadership. This leads to the view that the most important thing they can do is to simply sustain rapid economic growth.

Concerning the one-party system, China has had a lot more political reform than some of my political science colleagues sometimes give it credit for. It is a much more responsive government. This is a government that now has elections at the local level. They are contested. Under recent regulations, you cannot be appointed a party chief in a village unless you have already been elected to serve as a government chief, which is a very important reform.

Legislative bodies at many levels are holding hearings on public policy issues. I do not know if they always take the advice they get from the people who come to speak, but this is something that would have been inconceivable a decade or two ago, that the government would actually be seeking advice from the public on how to solve difficult public policy issues. The system is reforming. Future political demand will also create more demand for further economic growth.

Question: My question regards the exchange rate regime. We all know that the yuan is fixed to the US dollar. But pressure is building in this region. As the US dollar gets weaker, the Chinese yuan automatically also gets weaker. This becomes a regional

issue. How long can this go on? As the Chinese economy gets more globalized and becomes a stronger WTO member, how long can the Chinese stick with this kind of fixed exchange rate regime, which goes against all IMF recommendations?

Answer: I have long been of the view that China should introduce more flexibility in its exchange rate system. The advice they have been getting from many quarters, to widen the band slightly as an interim step towards moving towards greater flexibility, should have been followed some time ago.

Having said that, I am not persuaded that their exchange rate is very far out of alignment. Some people ask why, with this huge capital inflow, the exchange rate isn't appreciating. Well, you cannot simply pick out one item from the balance of payments and look at the gross inflows. You have to look at the overall situation. As I mentioned, earnings on foreign capital in China last year were about US\$ 30 billion. So more than three fifths of the gross inflows are accounted for by earnings of previous investments.

The US has been focusing on Japan for so many decades that it assumes that if a country has a big surplus in terms of US trade, then it must have a global surplus as well, because that was true for Japan. But China is not a significant global surplus country. Its exports last year were US\$ 325 billion, and its imports were US\$ 295 billion. On a trade turnover in excess of US\$ 600 billion, they only had a surplus of about US\$ 30 billion. They run a very large deficit on services, about US\$ 7-8 billion per year. So when you look at their goods and services account, their surplus is getting

down to US\$ 20 billion. So it is relatively small, given that they are the fifth largest trading economy in the world.

Another indicator that people look at, which I have a problem with, is the build-up of official foreign exchange reserves. People tend to compare this with Japan. But in Japan, households and firms already have the ability to diversify their financial assets and hold foreign currency-denominated financial assets if they wish to do so. The government becomes a residual buyer for exchange reserves, preventing an appreciation of the currency.

But in the Chinese case, where most domestic residents and most firms are not able to buy foreign currency, the situation is really quite different. If China were to liberalize or even move toward liberalization of its capital account, the demand for foreign currency might be quite substantial. Households today hold an amount of foreign currency that is only equal to about 8% of their domestic currency deposits. So they are not very diversified compared to, say, Japan.

China's foreign exchange reserves stood at about US\$ 282 billion at the end of last year. If you think that is too large, you have to put that in the context of when you think they are going to achieve and move toward capital account convertibility. If you think they are going to do it sometime over the short- to medium-term, or if you think they are even going to start to take steps in that direction, then you have to come to a different view about what the optimal foreign exchange holdings is. So, yes, maybe there should be some appreciation in the renminbi, but I am not sure that it would be very much, particularly if they

moved, or began to move, toward capital account convertibility.

Question: There is financial sector weakness in China, particularly in the banking sector. You already addressed this issue in detail, but my question has some implications on the current Korean situation as well. You emphasized that bank portfolios are moving more toward consumer loans. The Korean economy experienced the same thing. Does that mean that there is a reduced possibility of a financial sector meltdown, or any other problem? Can households run into trouble as well? Is that an argument for more optimism on the Chinese banking sector's stability in the future?

Answer: Whether or not consumer lending turns out to be the saving of the system or just another albatross that drags it down will depend very, very much on the specifics. As I said, there is no unsecured credit card lending going on in China today. Everything is secured lending. They have a very robust secondary housing market. Assessing loans in the mortgage area is a much simpler process than corporate lending, and banks are claiming - but we will have to wait and see - that if mortgages are not paid they will be able to seize property and re-sell it within 90 days.

It doesn't work that way in the corporate sector where bankruptcies drag on and bankruptcy laws are badly flawed. Revisions have been underway since 1995 and we still need two to three more years before we get a good bankruptcy law. But the banks seem to think they will be able to work around these problems when lending to the household sector.

We will have to wait and see. If it is not the case, then you

could have widespread defaults and an improvement in bank earnings. That is a possibility that has not yet materialized.

Question: Since the Chinese banking sector's proportion of non-performing loans is so high - it is estimated to be about 25-40% of GDP - it needs public money to be pumped in. Where does this money come from? How long will it take? How will the non-performing loans in the Chinese banking sector be cleaned up?

Answer: At the end of the day, the non-performing loan problem does become a fiscal problem. We are already seeing that in China. The asset management companies that have taken over a very large chunk of the non-performing loans have issued interest-bearing bonds to the banks. There is roughly RMB 1 trillion outstanding in those ten year bonds. They will have to be rolled over, refinanced, and so forth.

The good news is that over the past six or seven years, there has been very substantial revenue buoyancy. Fiscal revenues of the government on a consolidated basis have grown very rapidly, much more rapidly than the economy. The fiscal revenue to GDP ratio has gone from a low of 10.7% to 1994, to about 17% last year. Now, ten or eleven percent is extraordinarily low by international standards. Seventeen is still low, but China's fiscal revenues as a share of GDP over the last seven years have been regularly rising from three quarters to one percent per year. I ask people if they know of any other country where they have gotten a 70% increase in the ratio between revenues to GDP in about a six or seven year period. The answer seems to be that, so far, there are not many examples out there.

All this is too lengthy an explanation to simply say that they have a better ability to finance the long-term debt that has been issued, as well as the additional debt that will have to be required, in order to recapitalize the banking system and save depositors from a loss of their savings.

Question: This is both theoretical and practical. You said that in terms of the macroeconomy, the Chinese economy is doing so well. But the stock market is not doing so well. How do you explain this disconnection?

Answer: The disconnect between the macro story and the stock market is very easy to explain. China does not, and has not, and still does not have a market driven listing process. The vast majority of companies that are listed on the market - about 1,200 or 1,300 companies now are not companies that you would want to own. They are not making any money, and they are not likely to because of the way that they were selected to be listed.

China is planning on going to a market driven listing process, but it is taking a while to get there, in part because prices have been falling now for almost two years and the IPO volume has collapsed.

Just to put it in perspective, people talk a lot about the stock market in China. I say it is irrelevant. Last year, if you take the entire amount of money raised in the domestic 'A' share market in China, it was under RMB 100 billion. That is the sum of IPOs, rights issues and secondary offers. IPOs were less than a third of that.

The amount of new loans - the increase in loans outstanding for the banking sector - was RMB 1.8 trillion. So in terms of providing finance for the corporate sector in China, you can forget about the stock market in China. It is irrelevant. It has never been very high, and it has actually gone down in the last two years.

All these figures about US\$ 500 billion stock market capitalization is a complete fiction. That figure values all those state-held shares that have never been sold on the market at the same price as the tiny portion of shares that have been sold publicly. Hence, the inflated so-called "market capitalization", when in fact practically no money has ever been raised in the market.

I do not like to compare China's market to other markets globally or in the region by looking at market capitalization. The only useful way to look at it is in terms of the volume of funds being raised: the flow of new money being raised for the corporate sector.

People in the securities industry always say that if they could buy the country, it would be a terrific recommendation. But they can't find any good stocks to recommend. The introduction of the Qualified Foreign Institutional Investor program is almost a complete waste of time. No foreign investor would want to buy any of these things that are on the 'A' share market today. They spent a lot of time and political capital getting that program approved, and I think it will not be a solution to the underlying problems, which is the nature of the listing process.

Question: As China opens its market, there is more competition, but profitability rises. How do you explain that? How long can this phenomenon last?

Answer: There is a non-linear relationship between profitability and competition. Some of the loss-making firms that have been financed by endless increases in new bank loans finally go out of business, and the worst-value subcontractors are eliminated. This is the kind of competition we have seen in China: the worst firms have been either forced out of business or downsizing dramatically. The result is you can have an improvement in profitability overall, even as competition increases.

Maybe as competition increases over the long term, profitability rates will come down. But right now it is a non-linear relationship. We are in the part of the business cycle where competition is increasing and profitability is going up by the process I suggested.

Question: Concerning the labor market, China attracts so much FDI because its labor market is flexible and there are not many labor disputes. How long will the labor market in China remain dispute free? If anything happened there, would FDI keep coming in?

Answer: Quite frankly, for the most part, the most attractive part of the Chinese labor market for Chinese workers is the foreign sector. It is in the state sector where the most problems have occurred. When you read about labor unrest in China, nine out of ten times it is people who have been laid off from the state sector, or promised benefits that have not been provided, or local

leaders and officials have absconded with the money.

You rarely read about such disputes in the joint venture sector. There is a tremendous desire to work in that sector. The wages are better, the working conditions are better, and the benefits are better. There have been a few problem cases in the foreign invested sector with labor, but compared to what is going on in the purely indigenous state-owned firm sector it is almost day and night.

Keep in mind that a large part of the foreign invested sector is made up of Taiwanese companies, for example, that provide shoes to Nike or Reebok. Such global producers have global labor standards. They have inspectors who are not looking at the quality of shoe, but are looking at whether the working conditions are satisfactory. If they are not, the contracts are discontinued immediately and those sub-contractors lose their business. The fact that a lot of these OEMs are producing for brands that have global labor standards is raising up the standards in the country as whole. That is a highly positive development.

Question: About the IT industry, China is catching up with the world in the IT industry. The gap between the rest of the world's level and China's level is narrowing very quickly. How long will it take? What will be the implications for Korea?

Answer: China is catching up because of foreign investment, and particularly because of investment from Taiwan. At least in those sectors where there is a lot of competition between Taiwanese firms and Korean firms - say in LCD monitors - the battle ground is increasingly in China. There is a cost advantage to

be had by moving to China, and in some areas Taiwanese firms have moved well ahead of Korean firms and are now better able to take advantage of the cost savings to increase their market share for some of these products on a global basis. This is reflected in the fact that Taiwanese firms have invested more in China than Korean firms. If you look at various IT hardware products, in the global market for many of them, Taiwan companies are going up as they move their production to China. That is how the competition is playing out between Taiwanese, Korea, and even in some cases Japanese, companies.

Question: FTAs are expanding. What should Korea do about FTAs with China? How will this be explained politically? How does the US view China's expansion of FTAs? Japan is also trying the same thing. How is this viewed from Washington? Could these be related to national power, as opposed to being purely economic?

Answer: US Ambassador for Trade Robert Zoellick has taken a very global approach on FTAs. He has made sure to propose FTAs with many countries, and not put all the eggs in one basket. The US just concluded an agreement with Singapore. We have some agreements with Morocco and Jordan. There is also a possible agreement with Australia. Many people in the US would like to have a FTA with Taiwan. He is not losing track of the importance of the global agenda, but I think he is following a hedging strategy.

He likes to see regional agreements as competitive liberalization that will, in the long run, enhance the multilateral global trade

liberalization in the Doha Round. Given all the political economy restraints in the US and elsewhere, he is of the view that he can advance the global agenda by an increasing number of regional agreements as well.

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Institute for Global Economics

서울 강남구 삼성동 159 무역센터 2505호
전화 : 551-3334~7, FAX : 551-3339
E-mail : igenet@igenet.com
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