

## **GRIPS - RSIS Workshop on**

# **“Regional Economic Integration in the Post-Pandemic Era”**

Wednesday, 16 February 2022 | 9.00 am – 3.30 pm (Singapore time, UTC+8)

### **SYNOPSIS**

Global and regional economic trends over the past several years have given much cause for both optimism and pessimism. On the one hand, the COVID-19 pandemic, Sino-US competition, as well as nationalist and populist concerns have disturbed economic cooperation and disrupted supply chains. On the other hand, there is also a trend towards multilateralism. For example, mega free trade agreements such as the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) entered into force. Also, regional governments have coined several initiatives to strengthen regional economic institutions and resilience. In light of these developments, this workshop seeks to examine how regional countries could bolster economic integration in a post-pandemic era and offer policy recommendations for the way forward.

This workshop is co-organised by the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Japan and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS).

## PROGRAMME

16 February 2022, Wednesday (Singapore Time / UTC+8)	
<b>09:00 – 09:20</b>	<p><b>OPENING REMARKS</b></p> <p><b>Ambassador Ong Keng Yong</b> <i>Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p><b>Professor Akihiko Tanaka</b> <i>President, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Japan</i></p>
<b>09:20 – 10:50</b>	<p><b>SESSION 1: THE IMPACT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND THE US-CHINA STRATEGIC COMPETITION ON THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER</b></p> <p>(i) How have the COVID-19 pandemic and the US-China strategic competition hindered or encouraged economic cooperation? (ii) How do governments' responses to these events shape the regional economic order? (iii) What would a (post-)pandemic vision of regional trade or economic cooperation look like?</p> <p><b><u>Moderator</u></b></p> <p><b>Assistant Professor Lee Su-Hyun</b> <i>Coordinator, MSc (International Political Economy) Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p><b><u>Speakers</u></b></p> <p><b>1.1 Dr June Park</b> <i>Fung Global Fellow (Early Career Scholar), Princeton Institute for International &amp; Regional Studies (PIIRS), Princeton University, United States</i></p> <p><b>1.2 Associate Professor Henry Gao</b> <i>Associate Professor, Yong Pung How School of Law, Singapore Management University; and Senior Fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)</i></p> <p><b>1.3 Dr Sanchita Basu-Das</b> <i>Economist, Regional Cooperation and Integration Division, Economic Research and Regional Cooperation Department, Asian Development Bank</i></p> <p><b>Discussion</b></p>
<b>10:50 – 11:05</b>	<b>BREAK</b>

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<p>11:05 – 12:35</p>	<p><b>SESSION 2: BEYOND RCEP AND CPTPP – TOWARDS FURTHER REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>(i) How do the RCEP and CPTPP bolster international and regional economic integration? What is the future of FTAAP?</li><li>(ii) What are the next steps for the CPTPP and RCEP (e.g. expansion of membership, improving quality of the agreements, etc.)?</li><li>(iii) Given the trend towards mega-FTAs, how to reform the WTO to make it a relevant body promoting trade and investment?</li></ul> <p><b><u>Moderator</u></b></p> <p><b>Ms Eunice Huang</b> <i>Head of Trade Policy, Asia-Pacific, Google; and Adjunct Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</i></p> <p><b><u>Speakers</u></b></p> <p><b>2.1 Dr Piti Srisangnam</b> <i>Director, ASEAN Studies Center, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand</i></p> <p><b>2.2 Professor Shujiro Urata</b> <i>Professor Emeritus, Waseda University; and Faculty Fellow, Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan</i></p> <p><b>2.3 Dr Jeffrey Wilson</b> <i>Research Director, Perth USAsia Centre, Australia</i></p> <p><b>Discussion</b></p>
<p>12:35 – 14:00</p>	<p><b>LUNCH BREAK</b></p>

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**SESSION 3: STRENGTHENING SUPPLY CHAINS RESILIENCE IN THE WAKE OF US-CHINA RIVALRY**

- (i) How have or will regional economies be affected by possible US-China decoupling?
- (ii) How has US-China rivalry affected international supply chains specifically, and what are the longer-term implications for the region?
- (iii) How can regional countries strengthen and deepen international supply chains in an era where national security concerns loom large?

**Moderator**

**Professor Barry Desker**

*Distinguished Fellow,  
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, and  
Nanyang Professor of Practice,  
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

**Speakers**

14:00 – 15:30

**3.1 Professor Natasha Hamilton-Hart**

*Professor, Department of Management and International Business,  
The University of Auckland, New Zealand*

**3.2 Professor Yasuyuki Todo**

*Professor, Graduate School of Economics,  
Waseda University; and  
Faculty Fellow,  
Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan*

**3.3 Dr Dipinder Singh Randhawa**

*Adjunct Senior Fellow,  
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies,  
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore*

**Discussion**

15:30

**END OF WORKSHOP**

## **BIOGRAPHIES OF SPEAKERS**

*\*in alphabetical sequence according to last/family names*

**Sanchita Basu-Das** is an Economist in the Economic Research and Regional Cooperation Department, ADB. She joined ADB in November 2018 and initially served as an Economist in the South Asia Regional Department. She was previously the Lead Researcher for Economic Affairs at the ASEAN Studies Centre of ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. She was concurrently a Fellow of the Regional Economic Studies Program, coordinator of Singapore APEC Studies Centre and a co-editor of Journal of Southeast Asian Economies (JSEAE), all housed under the same institute. Sanchita contributes to the Division's flagship publications, knowledge products and analytical studies. Her core research interests include regional cooperation initiatives and issues related to them, such as trade, logistics/ supply chain, economic corridors, tourism, digital economy, institutions and others. She has published in international journals including the Singapore Economic Review, Journal of World Trade and Asia Pacific Economic Literature and also authored/ edited books and book chapters, as well as regularly written for media. She earned her PhD in International Political Economy from Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and her Masters in Economics and Business Management from the University of Delhi and the National University of Singapore respectively.

**Barry Desker** is the Distinguished Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), and Nanyang Professor of Practice, Nanyang Technological University. He is a Member of the Presidential Council for Minority Rights, Singapore and a Member of the Board of Directors of the Lee Kuan Yew Exchange Fellowship. He was the Chair of the ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in 2018.

From 2000 to 2014, he was the Director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies and served as founding Dean of RSIS from 2007 to 2014. He was the Chief Executive Officer of the Singapore Trade Development Board from 1994 to 2000 and Singapore's Ambassador to Indonesia from 1986 to 1993.

Ambassador Desker served as Singapore's Non-Resident Ambassador to the Holy See and Spain from 2007 to 2020.

A President's Scholar, he was educated at the University of Singapore, University of London and Cornell University. He was awarded an honorary Doctor of Letters by the University of Warwick in 2012 and Doctor of Laws by the University of Exeter in 2013. Ambassador Desker has also been very active in the corporate world serving on the boards of Singaporean and multi-national corporations.

**Henry Gao** is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and a law professor at Singapore Management University. With law degrees from three continents, he started his career as the first Chinese lawyer at the WTO Secretariat. Before moving to Singapore in late 2007, he taught law at University of Hong Kong, where he was also the Deputy Director of the East Asian International Economic Law and Policy Program. He has taught at the IELPO program in Barcelona and the Academy of International Trade Law in Macau, and was the Academic Coordinator to the first Asia-Pacific Regional Trade Policy Course officially sponsored by the WTO.

Henry has been an advisor on trade issues for many national governments as well as the WTO, UN, World Bank, ADB, APEC, ASEAN, EU and the World Economic Forum. His papers have appeared in many journals such as the *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, *Journal of International Economic Law*, *World Trade Review*, *Harvard International Law Journal*, and the *Journal of World Trade*. His works have been cited in government reports as well as the *World Trade Report* by the WTO and the *Digital Economy Report* by UNCTAD.

Henry sits on the Advisory Board of the WTO Chairs Program, which was established by the WTO Secretariat in 2009 to promote research and teaching on WTO issues in leading universities around the world. He is also a member of editorial boards of the *Journal of International Economic Law* and *Journal of Financial Regulation*, both published by Oxford University Press.

Henry is currently working on digital trade, WTO and China, and WTO reform. His most recent work is a paper analyzing China's changing perspectives on the WTO, which was quoted as an "invaluable" paper by the *Financial Times* in its feature [article](#) on China's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary in the WTO.

**Natasha Hamilton-Hart** is Professor in the Department of Management and International Business at the University of Auckland Business School. Her research is in the field of international political economy, with a focus on regional cooperation in East Asia, state institutions, the political economy of finance and capital mobility, regulation and property rights. She has published extensively on the international relations and domestic business-government systems of Southeast Asia, including the region's relationships with China and the United States. Recent publications include articles in *Review of International Political Economy, Development and Change*, *Asian Studies Review*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia* and a series of case studies of New Zealand companies conducting business in the Asia-Pacific region.

Natasha Hamilton-Hart gained her BA (Hons) from the University of Otago and her PhD from Cornell University. Prior to joining the University of Auckland, she held positions at the Australian National University and the National University of Singapore.

**Eunice Huang** leads Google's trade policy work in the Asia-Pacific region and Google's engagement with the World Trade Organization (WTO). Prior to her current role, she spent over a decade in the Singapore Government's Administrative Service, working on a diverse range of issues including foreign policy, energy policy, trade policy and economic development. She also represented Singapore abroad, as political secretary in the Singapore Embassy in Jakarta and as Deputy Permanent Representative in the Singapore Permanent Mission to the WTO and WIPO. Eunice is a graduate of the University of Michigan and Oxford University.

**Lee Su-Hyun** is Assistant Professor and the Coordinator of the MSc International Political Economy Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. She received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Su-Hyun primarily studies the issues of international and comparative political economy (IPE/CPE) with a focus on trade, labor, distributive, and redistributive politics. Her research focuses on explaining the impact of domestic political institutions and interest groups on foreign economic policy and exploring the political and socioeconomic outcomes generated by countries' integration into the global economy. She is currently working on a book project that explores the political dynamics of US trade policy. Her other research projects examine the consequences of global economic integration, including the electoral effects of localized trade shocks, the skill-bias of tariff protection, and the political and economic consequences of Chinese aid and investment in developing countries. Her research publications have appeared in political science and international relations journals, including *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Political Studies*, *The Social Science Journal*, *Revista Derechos en Acción*, *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, and *World Development*.

**Jayant Menon** joined the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute in 2020 as a Visiting Senior Fellow, following his early retirement from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) where he was Lead Economist in the Office of the Chief Economist. At the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Dr. Menon continues his work on trade and development in the Asian region. He holds adjunct appointments with the Australian National University, University of Nottingham, and IDEAS, Malaysia

**Ong Keng Yong** is Executive Deputy Chairman of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He is concurrently Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) at RSIS.

Mr Ong continues to hold the position of Ambassador-at-Large at the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also Singapore's Non-Resident High Commissioner to Pakistan and Non-Resident Ambassador to Iran. Mr Ong has been the Chairman of the Singapore International Foundation (SIF) since 2015.

Mr Ong was High Commissioner of Singapore to Malaysia from 2011 to 2014. He served as High Commissioner of Singapore to India and concurrently Singapore's Ambassador to Nepal from 1996 to 1998.

Mr Ong served as 11<sup>th</sup> Secretary-General of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), based in Jakarta, Indonesia, from January 2003 to January 2008.

Mr Ong started his diplomatic career in 1979 and was posted to the Singapore Embassies in Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and the United States of America between 1984 and 1994. From September 1998 to December 2002, he was Press Secretary to the then Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Goh Chok Tong, while holding senior appointments in the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, and the People's Association in Singapore. From 2008 to 2011, he served as Director of the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

Mr Ong graduated from the then University of Singapore with a LLB (Hons). He studied at Georgetown University in Washington D.C., USA, and graduated with a MA in Arab Studies.

**June Park** is a 2021-22 Fung Global Fellow of the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies at Princeton University. She is a political economist by training and works on trade, energy, and tech conflicts with a broader range of regional focuses not just on the U.S. and East Asia, but also Europe. She studies economic pressures and conflicts, analyzing different policy outcomes based on governance structures – domestic institutions, leaderships, and bureaucracies that shape the policy formation process. Her current work pertains to post-pandemic geoeconomic conflicts in data governance and technology.

As a 2020-21 East Asia Voices Initiative Fellow of the East Asia National Resources Center at the George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs, she has focused on data privacy, governance of AI, and country-specific initiatives. During the COVID-19 pandemic, she has published widely on South Korea's pandemic governance while remotely conducting her fellowship at GWU from Seoul, South Korea. At Princeton, she will investigate the varied levels of country access to vaccines and the governance of vaccine procurement in global supply chains, alongside data deployment in vaccination processes across jurisdictions, with a specific case study on U.S.-South Korea vaccine production and research collaboration.

Dr. Park earned her BA and MA in political science with a focus on international security from Korea University, and has held an internship at the UN Security Council Sanctions Subsidiary Organs Branch. She received her PhD in Political Science with a focus on international political economy from Boston University as a Fulbright Fellow and completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

She is concurrently pursuing the publication of her first book manuscript, [DIGITAL TRADE WARS & CURRENCY CONFLICT: China, South Korea and Japan's Responses to U.S. Protectionism since COVID-19](#) under a National Research Foundation of Korea book grant, and the launch of her second book project, [EUROPE'S CHALLENGES & RESPONSES: Between Faustian Bargains with China and U.S. Pressures since Brexit](#), intended for the European Research Council Starting Grant. Using a framework of *institutional variance*, her first book attempts to answer why the three countries have not acted the same upon encountering U.S. protectionism pre-and post-COVID-19 and offers a mechanism for predicting policy moves. Her second book project will examine the varied policy responses toward pressures from China and the U.S. by Germany, France, Italy within the EU and the UK post-Brexit in the post-COVID digital age.

Outside academia, she advises public and private sectors with regional and country expertise. She provides expert commentary to various international media outlets and contributes her analysis to the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), the research and analysis division of Economist Group, a leading source analysis on international business and world affairs. She also serves as an expert for international consulting firms Duco and Enquire.

**Dipinder Singh Randhawa** is an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University. His research interests are in the areas of Development Economics, Finance and Banking, Policy formulation and analysis, technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and the economic consequences of the pandemic. Earlier Dipinder held research positions at the Institute of South Asian Studies and the Risk Management Institute. He has taught at Syracuse University and the National University of Singapore and held visiting appointments at Universities in China and Thailand. Dipinder received PhD from the Whitman School at Syracuse University.



**Piti Srisangnam** holds a Ph.D. degree in Economics from the University of Melbourne (Australia), and an M.A. degree in International Economics and Finance from Chulalongkorn University (Thailand). He has been teaching International Economics and Microeconomics for bachelor and master degree students at Chulalongkorn University since 2002.

He has been Deputy Director for Academic Affairs of the Centre for European Studies from 2010 to 2012 and Deputy Director for Academic Affairs of the ASEAN Studies Center in 2012, both at Chulalongkorn University, before he became Director of the Center in 2013.

He has been selected for the 2019 Rising Star Royal Thai Government Scholarships Association Award: Rising Star. In 2021, he was granted the Dongfang Scholarships to become a visiting scholar at Peking University for 1 semester.

He has published several papers in journals and books e.g. on the economic development in Southeast Asia, on trade in services among ASEAN member states, on regional economic integration of ASEAN and of the European Union, on the economic reform and SME development in Thailand, on ASEAN-India, ASEAN-China and ASEAN-Japan and ASEAN-ROK relations. Apart from academic works, he also hosts 3 radio programs related to current issues in ASEAN.

**Akihiko Tanaka** is President of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS). Before assuming the current position, he had been Professor of International Politics at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo, for many years. He served as President of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) from April, 2012 to September, 2015. Mr. Tanaka was also Executive Vice President of The University of Tokyo (2009-2011). He is Chairman of the Board, Japan for UNHCR and a Distinguished Fellow at the JICA Research Institute. He obtained his bachelor's degree in International Relations at the University of Tokyo in 1977 and Ph.D. in Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1981. He has numerous books and articles on world politics and security issues in Japanese and English including *The New Middle Ages: The World System in the 21st Century* (Tokyo: The International House of Japan, 2002) and *Japan in Asia: Post-Cold-War Diplomacy* (Tokyo: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 2017). He received the Medal with Purple Ribbon in 2012 for his academic achievements.

**Yasuyuki Todo**, a Ph.D. in economics from Stanford University, has been a Professor at the Graduate School of Economics, Waseda University since 2014, after serving as the Department Head at the Department of International Studies, the University of Tokyo. He is also a Faculty Fellow at Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry. His research fields are international economics, development economics, and applied micro-econometrics, currently focusing on the role of social and economic networks in economic growth and resilience based on firm- and household-level data from various countries. He has published 60 academic papers in refereed journals including Nature Sustainability, the Journal of Industrial Economics, the Journal of Regional Science, Ecological Economics, Research Policy, and World Development. He has also served a number of policy-advising committees in the national and local governments, including the Frontier Subcommittee of the National Policy Meeting of the Cabinet Office, the Committee for Japan's Future under the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy of the Cabinet Office, and the Industrial Structure Council of the Ministry of Economy, Industry and Trade, and T20 Japan 2019 under G20.

**Shujiro Urata** is Professor Emeritus, Waseda University. He was Professor of International Economics, Graduate School Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University. He is currently Faculty Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (RIETI), Specially Appointed Fellow at the Japanese Centre for Economic Research (JCER), Senior Research Advisor, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), Visiting Fellow, Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI) and Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO). Professor Urata received his BA in Economics from Keio University, MA and Ph.D. in Economics from Stanford University. He is a former Research Associate at the Brookings Institution, an Economist at the World Bank. He specializes in International Economics and Economics of Development. He has held a number of research and advisory positions including senior advisor to the Government of Indonesia, consultant to the World Bank, OECD, the Asian Development Bank and the Government of Japan. He has published a number of books and articles on international economic issues. His recent books include *Achieving Inclusive Growth in the Asia Pacific*, co-editor, Australian National University Press, 2020, *Enhancing SME Participation in Global Value Chains*, editor, Asian Development Bank Institute, 2021, *The Effect of Globalisation on Firm and Labour Performance*, co-editor, Routledge, 2021, and *Globalization and Its Economic Consequences: Looking at APEC Economies*, co-editor, Routledge, 2021.

**Jeffrey Wilson** is the Research Director at the Perth USAsia Centre. He provides leadership and strategic direction in developing the Centre's research program across its publications, policy and dialogue activities.

Dr Wilson specialises in the regional economic integration of the Indo-Pacific. He has particular expertise in the politics of trade agreements, regional economic institutions, and Australia's economic ties with Asia. He has been featured in local and international media outlets, contributed to a range of track two dialogues between Australia and key regional partners, and supported policy development through consultancy, publication and advisory work.