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The Integration and “Re-Centering” of Asia – Historical and Contemporary Perspectives¹

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Abstract

This paper argues that Asia’s emergence and integration after the Second World War is not without precedent. During the first eighteen centuries after the birth of Christ, Asia not only dominated the world economy but was also a well-connected and well-integrated region. These trends reversed during the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries when Asia was colonised, and for another four decades after independence when South Asia adopted an inward-looking development strategy and isolated itself from the rest of Asia. Since then, South Asia has been reforming its economic policies and Asia has been re-emerging and re-integrating to regain its past status in the world economy. The paper also develops a research agenda to “re-center” Asia by linking South Asia with East Asia.

I Introduction

There has been much discussion about the economic rise of China and India and the intensification of regional integration between these two Asian giants and the rest of Asia generally. Asia’s emergence and integration is, no doubt, of contemporary relevance. However, these are not phenomena without precedent and it would be more appropriate to refer to “Asia’s re-emergence and Asia’s re-integration”.

It is by now well known that during the first 18 centuries after the birth of Christ, Asia (mainly China and India) dominated the world economy. The 19th century was one of European dominance and the 20th century of American dominance. With the rise of China since the late 1980s and of India since the late 1990s, Asia’s share of the world’s gross domestic product (GDP) has started to increase. According to a recent Asian Development Bank (ADB) study, by 2039, Asia could once again dominate the world economy, and the largest economies in the world at that time could be China, followed by India and the United States (ADB 2009).

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During the period of Asia dominance (the first 18 centuries of human history), it was probably also well-connected and well-integrated. This is less well-known because unlike data on world GDP shares, historical data on the direction of trade before the 1940s does not exist. Qualitative evidence, however, suggests that trade on the Southern Maritime Highway and the Silk Road was extensive and where traders went, religion and culture followed suit. During the colonial period, South Asia strengthened its linkages with its colonial masters and withdrew from the Asian scene. Also, after independence in the late 1940s and 1950s, for over four decades, South Asia adopted an inward-looking Soviet type of development strategy and continued its isolation from the rest of Asia and the world. The focus, therefore, was on East Asia and the miracle economies in that region.

As a result of being driven by production networks in East Asia and the surge in India, Asia's integration has also been increasing since the 1990s – China trade which has been growing at around 50 percent annually since 2002 and reached US\$37 billion last year. Recently, China became the largest trading partner of India. The time has therefore come to focus on the “re-integration” and “re-centering”³ of Asia by linking South Asia with East Asia and thinking of Asia as one continent like Europe and America.

The arguments presented in this paper are three-fold: (i) During the first 18 centuries of human history, Asia not only dominated the world economy but was also a relatively well-integrated region of the world with substantial amounts of trade and labour mobility; (ii) During the 18th and 19th centuries, as the Industrial Revolution occurred in Europe and Asia was colonised, Asia lost its economic dominance to Europe (in the 19th century) and the United States (in the 20th century) and intra-Asian economic relations dwindled as well. South Asia's isolation with the East continued until the 1990s when it began its reform programme; and (iii) Presently, Asia is not only re-emerging but also re-integrating to regain its past status in the global economy. Several authors have forecast that Asia's re-emergence process could be completed some time in the 2040s or the 2050s. On the other hand, what about Asia's re-integration? When can Asia re-emerge as a prosperous, peaceful, stable, and integrated Pan-Asia? There were no doubt local disputes and wars among different petty rules but there was no major conflict. What policy actions are required?

Section II of the paper focuses on Asia's re-emergence, while Section III focuses on economic relations between South Asia and East Asia from both a historical as well as a more contemporary perspective. Although linkages between South Asia and East Asia are starting to strengthen, the vision of an integrated Pan-Asia will take time to be realised and much further thinking and research is required. Section IV of the paper therefore develops a research agenda.

II Asia's Re-emergence

India and China were by far the richest countries in the world 2,000 years ago. As far back as 221 BC, China had unified politically and established a centralised political administration. Temperate climate, rapid population growth, and alluvial agriculture had led to an early emergence of a commercial society. In terms of innovations, they invented the compass, gunpowder, printing press, and paper currency. China was the leader during most of the period from 500 AD and 1,500 AD. During the Ming Dynasty, China excelled in overseas

³ This term was first used by Ellen Frost to argue that maps of Asia and other geographic concepts should reflect India's resurgent links with eastern neighbors.

navigation and conquests. Suddenly, in 1433, the emperor suspended all expeditions. Foreign trade and travel were suspended and per capita GDP declined on a sustained basis.

In addition, by the early 15th century, India had evolved into a sophisticated agrarian economy that sustained a large empire. The textile industry was fairly well developed, overseas trade was impressive, and scholars excelled in Mathematics.

Angus Maddison (1991) estimates that at the beginning of the Christian Era, based on the strengths of the Chinese and Indian civilisations, Asia accounted for nearly 80 percent of the world's GDP. This was true until about the 18th century. Subsequently, for a very long period of time the centre of economic gravity shifted away from Asia. Europe led after the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century and the United States led in the 20th century. The relative share of Asia, therefore, declined sharply on a trend basis. It fell to only about 20 percent in 1950 (see Figure 1). Since then led by the dynamism of Japan in the 1960s and the 1970s, by China's after the 1980s, and India's after the 1990s, Asia's share of world GDP has risen and today it stands at around 40 percent of world GDP on a purchasing power parity basis. In terms of constant dollars, Asia's share of world GDP is lower – about 21 percent.

The much-quoted 2003 Goldman Sachs study (Wilson and Purushothaman 2003) had forecast that by 2050 three of the four largest economies in the world would be in Asia and in this order: China, the United States, India and Japan. The 2007 Goldman Sachs report (Poddar and Yi 2007) updated the forecast and noted that India would overtake the United States earlier than expected and be the second largest economy in the world by 2050 after China.

A recent ADB study (2009) has noted that India has the potential to overtake the United States even earlier. Using a global model to provide a sense of the economic trajectory for different country groups, the ADB has noted that India could accelerate its real GDP growth over the next 30 years to around 9.5 percent a year and become an affluent society in a generation.⁴ In 2039, therefore, India could be the second largest economy of the world, second only to China and surpassing the United States. The ADB study forecasts that in 2039, Asia would once again dominate the world economy.

One must, however, bear in mind that the re-emergence of Asia discussed so far, is only in terms of GDP and not GDP per capita. The data in Figure 2 shows that although Korea, China, and India are catching up with the United States, their GDP is much lower than that of the United States – 45 percent, 12 percent, and seven percent of the United States' GDP respectively. Japan's per capita GDP is declining relative to that of the United States. Moreover, although countries are upgrading their militaries, their combined military spending in 2008 was only about one-third that of the United States.

III South Asia's Economic Relations with East Asia

South Asia has a long history of economic ties and cultural and religious exchanges with East Asia, which dates back to the pre-Christian era.

⁴ However, this requires a formidable set of reforms to (i) tackle disparities among various social groups; (ii) improve the environment; (iii) eliminate pervasive infrastructure bottlenecks; (iv) renew education, technological development and innovation; (v) transform the delivery of public services especially in cities (vi) revolutionise energy production and consumption; and (vi) foster a prosperous South Asia and become a responsible global power.

Pre-colonial Years

The first millennium of the Christian era was a period of rapid growth for India and China. Trade ties between these two countries also increased and the expansion of trade links between these countries widened localised networks into regional ones. Exports from India comprised mainly rice, sugar and cotton textiles, while imports were more varied and included Indonesian spices, various kinds of woods, Chinese silk, tea, gold and non-precious metals such as tin, copper and vermillion. India and China were in contact with each other through a network of land and sea routes. Land routes started off as localised networks and were gradually linked into a long-distance trading channel known as the Silk Road. There were two major maritime ports in the east coast of India, namely, the port of Coromandel (near present-day Chennai) and Bengal. There is evidence of extensive trade with Burma and Thailand.

The opening of the Straits of Malacca in the 5th century enabled direct contact with the northwestern edge of the Java Sea region where intra-regional trade was strong and led to the establishment of the Srivijaya Empire (present-day Indonesia). This, together with the emergence of the Chola Empire in South India and the Sung Dynasty in China in the 10th and 11th centuries as large, unified, and prosperous regional powers, provided an additional fillip to regional economic trade and exchange. Strategically located on the great maritime route connecting China and the West, Southeast Asia also provided a staging ground for merchants from the East and the West. Various strategic alliances were also made. Rajendra I of the Chola dynasty conducted a naval expedition to Srivijaya to protect trade with China. Hence, during the pre-colonial period, in addition to being the dominant region of the world, Asia was one of the most integrated regions of the world. The latter fact is relatively less known.

Together with land and sea-borne commerce, traders, missionaries, priests, adventurers, and fortune seekers moved from South Asia to Southeast Asia. The Sanskrit language, Hinduism, and Buddhism were like old wine lacing East Asia's culture. Names from the Sanskrit language and various Hindu-Buddhist cults were adopted in East Asia (see Table 1). The common people too were influenced by the stories of the Ramayana, and various deities became popular.

Findlay and O'Rourke (2007) remark that around 1000 AD, various regions of Asia (namely, Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia) had extensive trade and cultural links with each other and also with the Islamic world (now, the Middle East) but little contact with Eastern and Western Europe. There were two routes for trade – by the overland Silk Road and also by sea.

Shankar (2004) writes that, “throughout pre-colonial history, Asia has functioned not only as an active participant in the global economy but also, and perhaps much more so, as an integrated region, with close economic ties...What is perhaps not so well known is the existence of a complex and thriving network of interaction among the Asian countries. By the 15th century, Asia was integrated into a large and vibrant regional network of exchange, which in turn was linked to the global economy through trade and commerce with the Middle East and Europe”.

Frank (1998) provides a comprehensive analysis of global trade during the period 1400-1800. His major thesis is that contrary to widespread doubt and denials, during this period when Asia dominated, there was a single global world economy with a worldwide division of

labour and multilateral trade. Using a “Nordic/global” projection of the world, he shows the major trade routes used during that period (see Figure 3). As he notes, this map in Eurocentric and Asia appears much smaller than it should and, therefore, has to be “reoriented”. This he could not do because of a lack of computer software.

On intra-regional trade, Frank writes that “intra-American trade...was surely less than they were between each of them and one or another part of Europe. Some parts of Europe also had less relations among themselves than they had with the people and areas in the Americas and Asia. On the other hand, perhaps most of the major regions or sub-regions in the Indian subcontinent or within China probably had denser intra-Indian or intra-Chinese interregional trade than they did with other parts of the world”. However, parts of Southeast Asia, especially Manila and Malacca, were entrepôts with extensive trade relations with many parts of the world.

Frank presents several interesting maps (see Figures 4 and 5) which show the major trade routes used during 1400-1800 and commodities traded on these routes together with the balance of trade, which was settled, at that time, through the flow of silver or gold. For example, India at that time exported silk/textiles, ceramics, slaves, diamonds, rice, iron and steel products, and shipping services to Southeast Asia. India in turn, imported pepper, spices, rice, sugar, elephants, tin, copper, cinnamon, teak, and rubies. The balance of trade was generally in Southeast Asia’s favour and this was settled by an outflow of silver from India. India obtained silver through its trade with the Middle East and Europe.

India’s trade with Southeast Asia was conducted using the sea route from the ports on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and in Bengal. While ports in the Coromandel coast were used to trade with Burma, Thailand and Malacca onwards to Indonesia, those in the Malabar coast and Bengal were used to trade with Malacca and Indonesia.

While there were road links between India and the Central Asian countries on the Silk Road, via which India exported goods such as cotton and silk textiles, pulses and rice, and imported horses, camels, sheep and cotton, Frank notes that there were no direct trade links between India and China. India exchanged cotton textiles for silk, porcelain and other ceramics with China using the same trade routes that it used for its trade with Southeast Asia through ports in the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, as well as Bengal. From the ports in the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, goods were transported by ships to Burma and Thailand and then they were taken overland to China. From Bengal, goods were taken to Malacca and then on to China by ships.

India also traded with China through Nepal. Bengal and Assam exported textiles, indigo, spices, sugar, hides and other goods to Tibet for sale to merchants there, who sold them in other provinces of China. Payment was in Chinese products such as tea, and often gold. Frank does not mention trade between India and China through the Nathu La pass in Sikkim.

During the period under review, Malacca was peopled almost entirely by expatriate merchants. Maharasthi merchants from Cambay and Surat were probably the most numerous in Malacca. Manila counted 30,000 Chinese merchants to support transpacific-China trade.

Some refer to “Farther India” or “Greater India” to describe Indian influence in Southeast Asia in those days. Coedes (1960) notes that “Farther India” comprised Indonesia, and insular Southeast Asia (except the Philippines) and the Indochinese and Malay peninsula. In the pre-

colonial period, India contributed greatly to East Asia's culture and history. Buddhism was perhaps India's greatest gift to East Asia and indeed to the world. Along with Buddhism came the Hinduisim and Sanskrit names that we see all over East Asia. Indian merchants, while engaging in trade with East Asia, were also middlemen in East Asia's trade with the rest of the world.

The 19th and Early 20th Century (The Colonial Period)

Vasco De Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut in the Malabar Coast of India on 20 May, 1498. Eventually, the Dutch, Spanish, French and British also followed suit. Initially, the colonisers did not disrupt intra-Asian trade. They focused on developing coastal towns – Madras (1639), Bombay (1668), and Calcutta (1690) – as trade bases. They gradually established direct rule. For example, in India, the British conquered the Moghul province of Bengal in 1757, took over the province of Madras and Bombay in 1803, and seized Punjab from the Sikhs in 1848. They also succeeded in marginalising their French and Dutch commercial rivals. However, the British government did not establish direct rule in India until after the Indian mutiny in 1857 when the East India Company was disbanded (Maddison 2007). Eventually, the colonisers divided most of Asia into spheres of influence, took control of trade and customs and restricted access to inland waterways.⁵ They destroyed Asian trading systems and diverted profits to Europe. This distorted centre-periphery relations made Europe stronger while the Asian empires and kingdoms became weaker. Economic linkages between South Asia and East Asia also weakened as South Asian soldiers were used to quash rebellions in other parts of Asia such as China (during the Opium War) and Malaya.

The Post-colonial Period (1950s onwards)

Under India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, India started to re-engage with East Asia. The Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in 1947 under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru served as one of the earliest attempts to form a Pan-Asian identity. Forming a common cause with other Asian leaders on decolonisation, Western imperialism, equality and developing-world solidarity, Nehru helped to forge the "Bandung Spirit" of 1955 which led to the non-aligned movement. This phase of India's engagement with East Asia, however, ended with India's border war with China in 1962, and its preoccupation with Pakistan. India turned inward and adopted the Soviet model of development.

India started to enhance its linkages with East Asia only in 1992 when it launched its "Look East Policy" in the aftermath of the Cold War and the start of its economic liberalisation policies. Under the Congress Government of Manmohan Singh, the "Look East" policy has been re-energised with a renewed focus on India's place in the global economy. Other South Asian countries have also followed suit. "Look East" policies in South Asia have sought to establish trade and investment links with the dynamic Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and now the East Asian countries. India's engagement with ASEAN began as a sectoral dialogue partnership in 1992, which was upgraded into a full dialogue partnership in 1995 and membership in the ASEAN Regional Forum in 1996. The first summit-level interaction began in November 2002. A Long-Term Vision 2020 paper for the ASEAN-India partnership has been prepared and is under implementation. Since 1995, India has also

⁵ Trade within the spheres of influence were, however, high. It is estimated that at that time, the level of intra-South Asian was about 25 percent

participated in the East Asia Summit that brings together the heads of states and governments of ASEAN+3 plus Australia, New Zealand, and India. At the Summit in Singapore in 2007, it was decided that the 3,000-year old Nalanda University in India would be revived as a Pan-Asian centre of excellence. The recent observer status given to China and Japan in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation also portends well for South Asia-East Asia economic relations. Observer status to Korea and ASEAN is also being considered. At the 2006 Asia-Europe Finance Ministers' meeting, the decision was made to expand membership to include India, Pakistan, Mongolia, and the ASEAN Secretariat from the Asian side, and Romania and Bulgaria from the European side.

More recently, as in other parts of the world, there has been a proliferation of free trade agreements (FTAs) between South Asia and East Asia. As of now, there are six FTAs concluded, six under negotiation, and least another five that have been proposed. This contrasts with only one FTA in 1976. The most significant of these so far is the signing of the India-Singapore Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) in June 2005. The CECA, which took effect in August 2005, covers trade not only in goods but also in services, investments, and cooperation in technology, education, air services, and human resources. Various South Asian countries are also members of the Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement under the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). In August 2009, the India-Korea and ASEAN-India FTA were concluded. However, the latter does not cover services and allows India to protect its agricultural sector on 489 products. There are ongoing efforts to establish an East Asian FTA (called the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement for East Asia or CEPEA, including India and the other members of the East Asia Summit) and to sensitise issues through an Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, which has been established in Jakarta.

Numerous infrastructure projects also serve to tie South Asia closer to East Asia. South Asian countries are participating in UNESCAP's Asian Highway Network and the Trans-Asian Railway Network. Discussions are also proceeding on reopening the World War II era Stillwell Road linking Assam with China's Yunnan Province through Myanmar. This follows the reopening of a direct overland trade route along the Nathu La pass on the border between Sikkim and Tibet in July 2006 after 44 years. The ADB Institute's Seamless Asia Study (2009) has estimated that Asia's infrastructure financing needs will be about US\$750 billion per annum for the next 10 years and called for the establishment of an Infrastructure Fund to mobilise these resources and the Pan-Asian Infrastructure Forum to sensitise infrastructure issues. The study has identified 21 flagship projects to link South Asia with East Asia.

On the economic front, the data suggest the following (Rana and Dowling 2009):

- (i) South Asia's total merchandise trade with East Asia grew steadily from US\$12.4 billion in 1990 to US\$25.1 billion in 2000; since then, it has surged, albeit from a low base, to US\$110 billion;
- (ii) The giant and dynamic economies of China and India are key drivers of inter-regional trade flows which now stands at around US\$37 billion;
- (iii) In relative terms, however, although increasing, the level of trade integration between South and East Asia is still low, about 18 percent compared to 55 percent in East Asia;

- (iv) East Asia is more important to South Asia than vice versa – South Asia's total trade with East Asia is only about three percent of East Asia's total trade with the rest of the world; and
- (v) Singapore has emerged as the largest source of foreign direct investment in India from East Asia.

As the economic dynamism of the South Asian and East Asian regions continues, economic relations between South Asia and East Asia are bound to strengthen further. What distinguishes the present engagement with East Asia from the previous one during the pre-colonial period is that it is operating on multiple fronts: South Asia's historical, cultural, and ideological links are being complemented by growing economic interdependence, including the movement of capital and human resources and a growing number of FTAs and security relationships.

IV Research Agenda

The vision of re-centring Asia and establishing an integrated Pan-Asia is a long term one and its implementation will require a lot of thinking and research. The research agenda could, among others, comprise the following topics:

(i) Policy Reforms in South Asia: The Unfinished Agenda

Propelled by the macroeconomic reforms of the 1980s and the 1990s, South Asian countries have plucked the low hanging fruits and jumpstarted economic growth. Now they need to implement reforms at the microeconomic level, or the so-called second generation reforms to improve transparency, good governance, and the quality of fiscal adjustment. The agenda comprises continued reform of the industrial sector; more flexibility in labour markets and better labour relations; human capital development; private sector development; communications, water supply, transportation and energy infrastructure; governance and public administration; and, in the long term, capital market development. These reforms are harder to implement as they need a wider consensus. What progress has been made?

(ii) South Asian Regionalism: The Need for a New Approach

During the colonial days, South Asia was a relatively well-integrated sub-region of the world. After the partitioning of India and Pakistan and adoption of import-substitution policies, the level of intra-regional trade in South Asia fell to only two percent of total trade. With the emergence of China since the 1980s and India since the 1990s, the level of intra-regional trade has begun to rise but it is still only about five percent of the total trade of South Asia, making it the least integrated sub-region of the world. What can be done to revive intra-regional trade in South Asia? What are the lessons from the successful experience of East Asian regionalism?

(iii) Pan-Asian FTA: Implementation Issues

Recent theoretical findings and survey studies suggest that FTAs are less distortionary than expected. In any case, given the slow progress in the Doha Round, FTAs are here to stay. Several studies, using computable general equilibrium models, have also shown that a wider FTA in the region would have sizeable economic benefits over those with a narrower focus

(for example, Francois, Rana, Wignaraja 2009). But how do we move from a “noodle bowl” situation to a seamless Pan-Asian FTA? How do we deal with multiple rules of origin? How do we include services in this wider FTA and deal with World Trade Organization (WTO)-plus issues? How do we deal with the political economy issues? How do we make FTAs stepping stones rather than stumbling blocs to multilateralism? Whither the WTO?

(iv) Connecting South Asia with East Asia: Seamless Asia

How important are issues related to hardware and software connectivity? What is the progress on the Asian Highway and Asian Railway? How can we connect the Greater Mekong Sub-region with the South Asia Sub-regional Economic Cooperation? How about connectivity through the Northern Indian states, and re-establishing Nepal as a possible land-link between India and China through Tibet? How about financing for cross border infrastructure projects? What is progress in establishing the Asian Infrastructure Fund and the Pan-Asian Infrastructure Forum?

(v) Transport and Logistic Costs

Many studies have shown that transport and logistics costs tend to be much higher than tariffs. According to World Bank data such costs have fallen greatly in East Asia. But they are still high in South Asia. How can they be reduced? What are the transport and logistic hindrances to trade between South Asia and East Asia and how can they be overcome?

(vi) The Global Economic Crisis and Impacts on Asia (including G20 issues)

How have Asian countries responded to the crisis (specially the South Asian countries)? What has been the impact of the response? Does the South Asian states need to alter their development strategies of the past? What are the issues being discussed at the G20 and how can Asia be more effective in the G20 negotiations? What would the new post-crisis international financial system look like?

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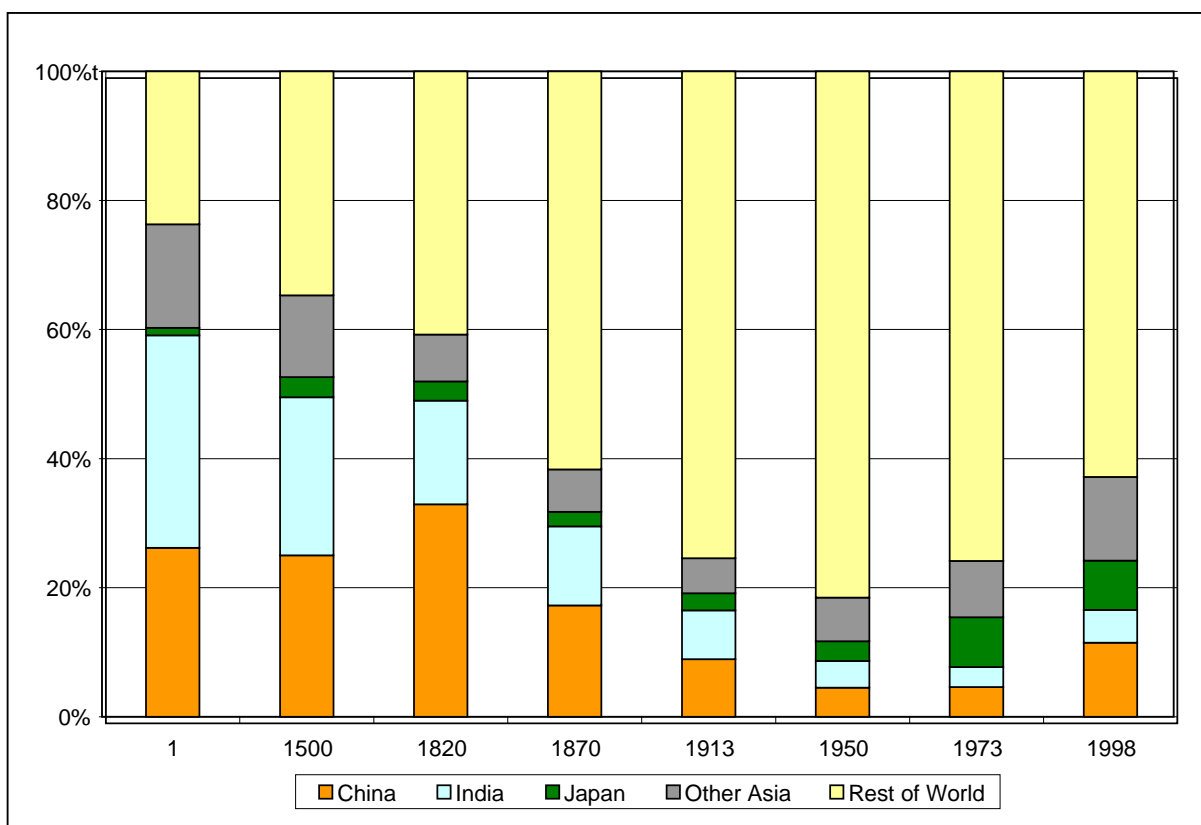
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Table 1: Interregional Trade Flows, ca. 1000

To From	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Islamic World	Central Asia	Sub-Saharan Africa	South Asia	South- east Asia	East Asia
Western Europe	X	Swords	Slaves, swords	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Eastern Europe	Slaves, furs, silver	X	Slaves, furs, silver	Furs, swords	-----	-----	-----	----
Islamic World	Pepper, spices, textiles, silk, silver	Textiles, silver	X	Textiles	Salt, textiles, manufactures, swords, horses	War horses	Gold	Spices
Central Asia	-----	Silver	Paper, silver, slaves	X	-----	Silver, re- exports from China and Muslim world	-----	Horses
Sub- Saharan Africa	-----	-----	Gold, Slaves, ivory, rice	-----	X	Timber, iron	-----	-----
South Asia	-----	-----	Pepper, spices, silk, teak, textiles	Pepper, textiles	Textiles	X	Textiles, pepper	Textiles
South- east Asia	-----	-----	Spices, perfumes	-----	-----	Silk, spices, teak, rice, rubies	X	Perfumes, spices, sandalwood
East Asia	-----	-----	Silk, porcelain	Silk, tea	-----	Silk, porcelain	Silk, copper, cash	X

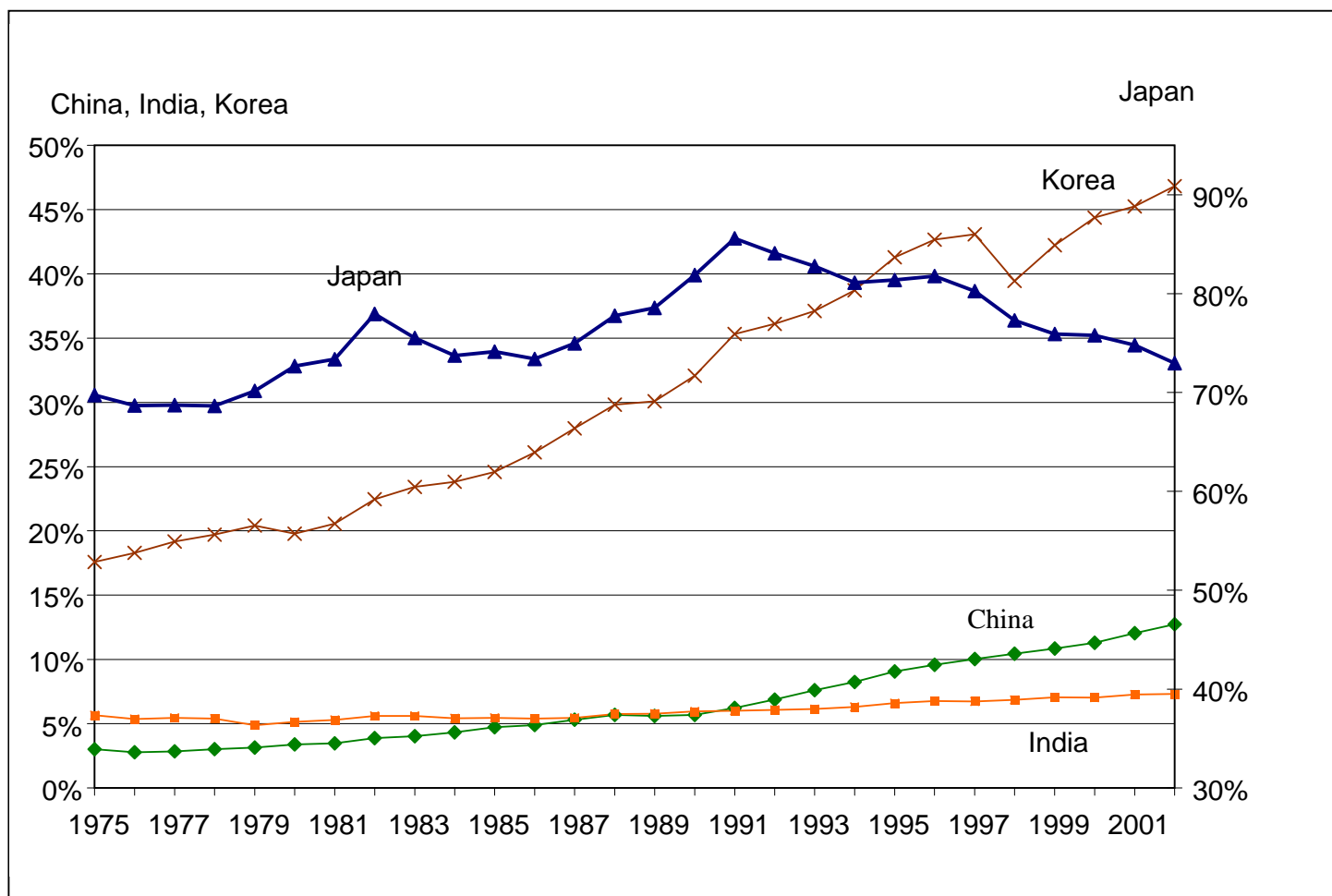
Source: Findlay and O'Rourke (2007)

Figure 1: Asia's Share of World GDP (1990 International Dollars)



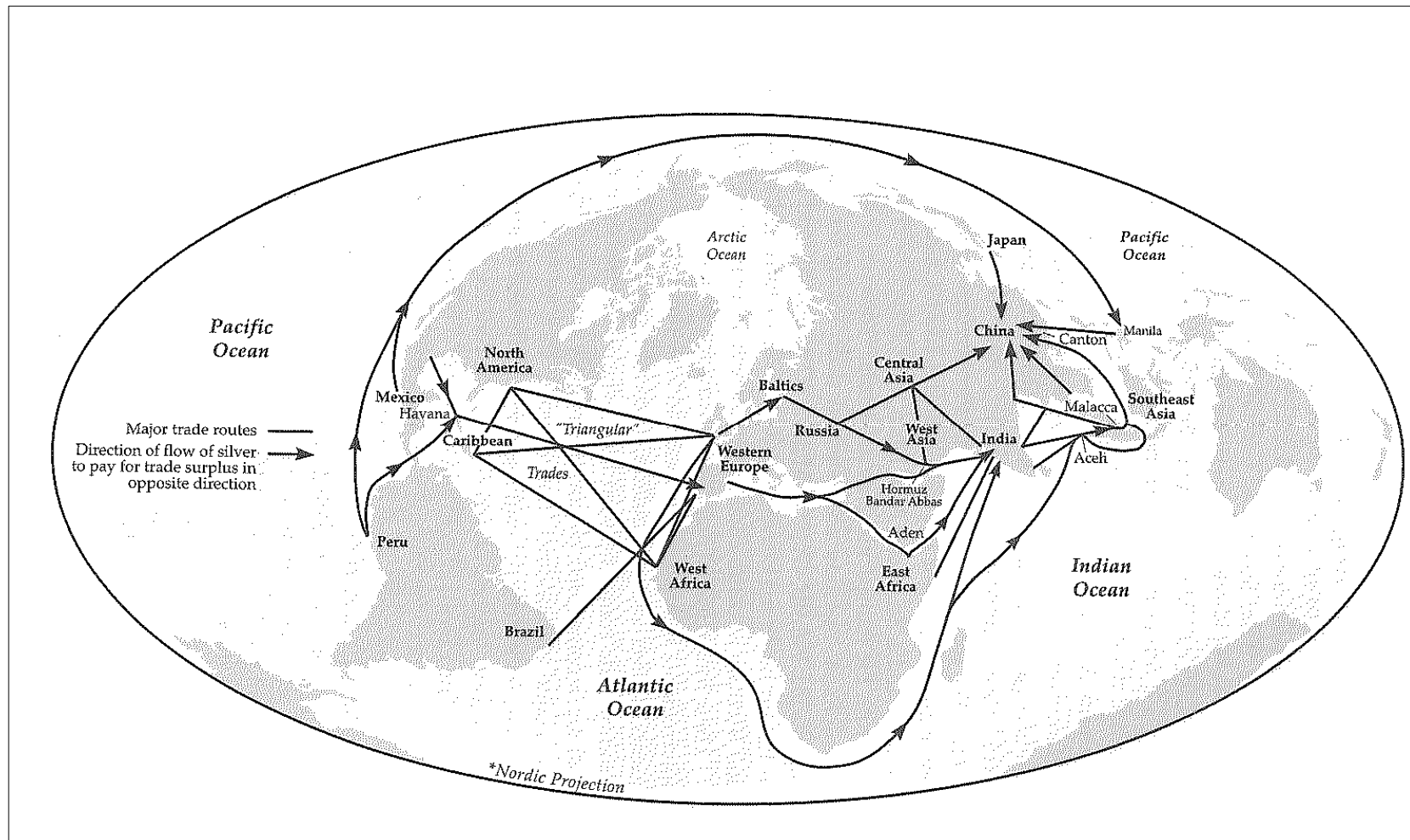
Source: Maddison (1991).

Figure 2: PPP GDP per capita in US\$ (as percent of US PPP GDP per capita)



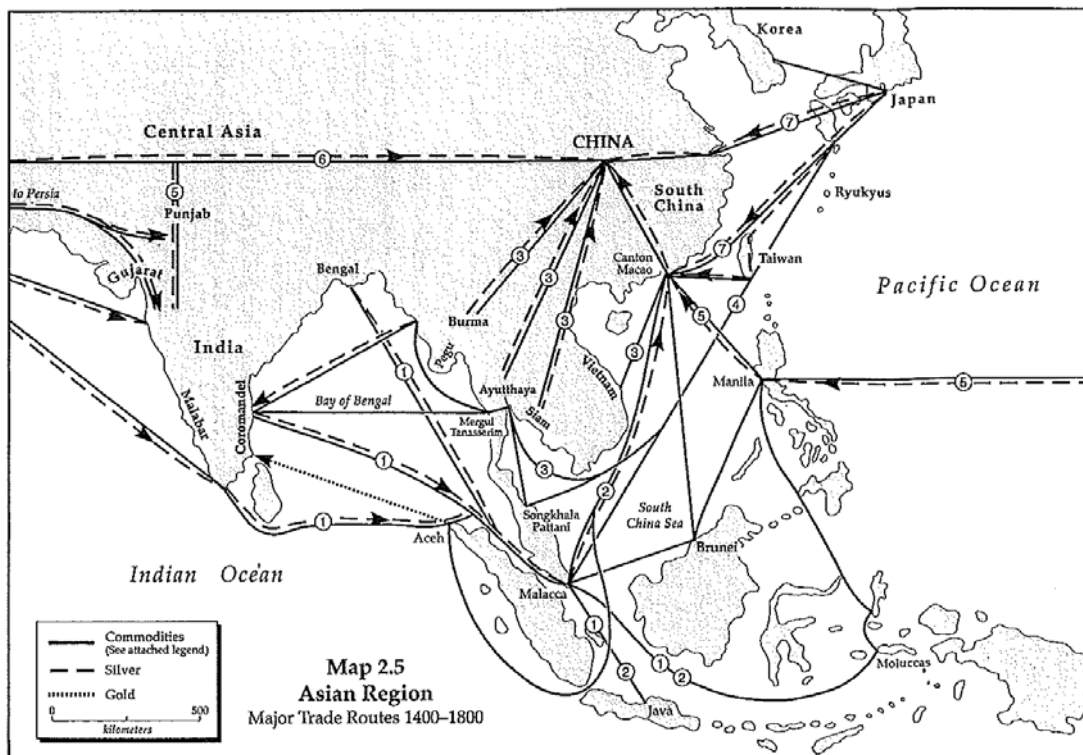
Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators On-line.

Figure 3: Major Circum Global Trade Routes, 1400 – 1800



Source: Frank (1998).

Figure 4: Asian Region – Major Trade Routes (1400 – 1800)



MAP 2-5 ASIAN REGION

[brackets indicate re-export/onward-shipment]

ROUTES

North - Westward

South - Eastward

1. INDIA-SOUTHEAST ASIA

pepper, spices, rice, sugar, elephants, tin, copper, other metals, cinnamon, teak, rubies, GOLD

cot. textiles, silk textiles, slaves, diamonds, rice, iron & steel/prods., diamonds, shipping/services [SILVER]

2. ARCHIPELAGAN SOUTHEAST ASIA - CHINA

pepper, spices, tin, rice, sugar, fish, salt, aromatic woods, resins, lacquer, tortoise shell, pearls, precious stones, amber, jade, birdnests, jaggery, jasper, cutch, tin [SILVER]

silk/textiles, ceramics, tea, cloth, satin, velvet, paper, fruit, drugs, arms & powder, copper & iron products, gold/silver thread, zinc, cupro-nickel

see also route 3 for partial commodity overlap/duplication

3. CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA - CHINA

(north) rice, sugar, cotton, rubies, amber, jade, deer & tiger skins, timber, ships, woods, jaggery, paper, cutch, beetelnut, birdnests, shark fins, tobacco, (south) ceramics, lacquerware, silk/textile, clothing, arms & powder, copper cash, quicksilver, copper & iron products, lead, zinc, cupro-nickel, salt, fruit, rhubarb, tea,

ROUTES

North - Westward

South - Eastward

3. CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA - CHINA, cont.

pepper, sappan wood, tin, lead, saltpeter, SILVER

satin, velvet, brocades, thread, paper, dyes, carpets, shoes, stockings, housewares, labor, shipping/services

4. SOUTHEAST ASIA - JAPAN [VIA TAIWAN & RYUKUS]

(north) spices, pepper, tin, sugar, medicines [cot. textiles]

(south) copper, sulphur, camphor, swords, shipping, SILVER

5. CHINA - MANILA GALLEON - ACAPULCO/ MEXICO

PERU SILVER

silk/textiles, ceramics, quicksilver

6. CENTRAL ASIA - CHINA

silk/textiles, tea, arms, clothing, ceramics, medicines, paper money

horses, camels, sheep, jade, medicines [SILVER]

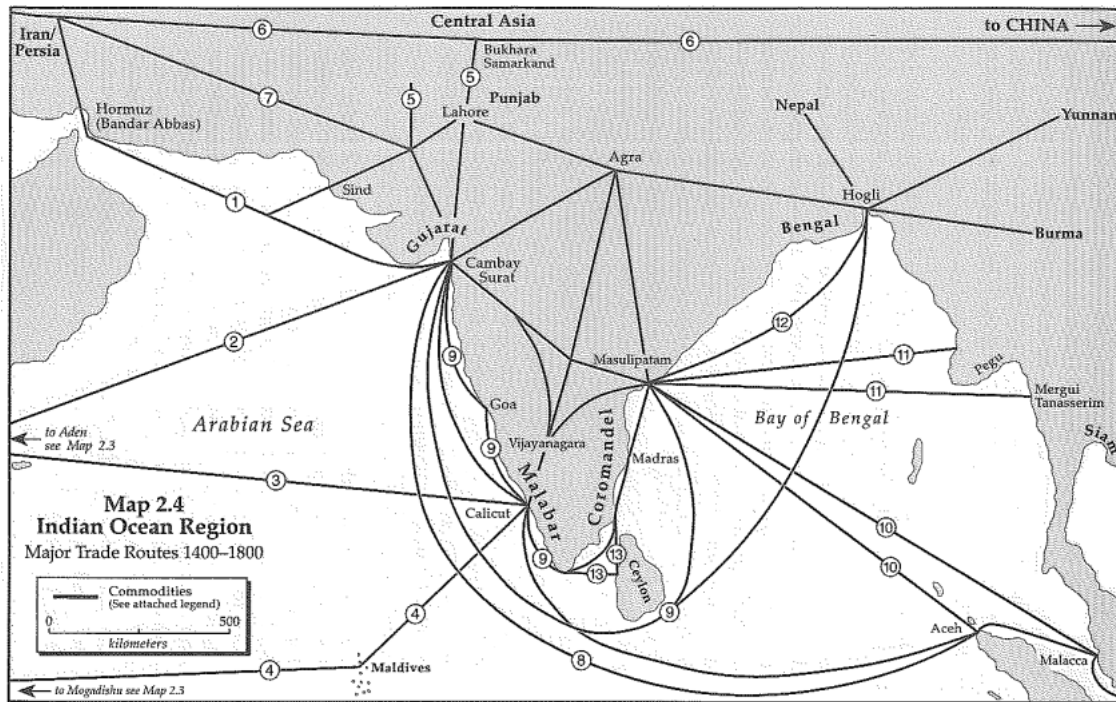
7. JAPAN - CHINA

SILVER copper, sulphur, camphor, swords, iron

silk/textiles, cot. textiles, sugar, skins, woods, dyes, tea, lead, manufactures

Source: Frank (1998).

Figure 5: Indian Ocean Region



MAP 2-4 INDIAN OCEAN REGION
[also see legends to Maps 2-3 and 2-5]

ROUTES

Westward

Eastward

1. INDIA-WEST ASIA

cotton textiles, dyes,
indigo, silk, silk textiles,
iron & steel products,
housewares, wood &
glass prods., rice,
pulses, wheat, oil
[spices, pepper, ceramics]
aromatics, incense,
shawls, blankets, paper,
gumlace, saltpeter

dye woods, salt, pearls,
minerals, metal/prods.,
copper, lumber, horses,
carpets, luxury goods,
fruits, dates, arms,
coral, rosewater,
dye woods
SILVER

2. GUJARAT-GULF

same as 1

wine, opium, pearls,
aromatics, incense,
SILVER, GOLD

3. MALABAR-GULF

pepper, rice
[spices]

GOLD

4. MALABAR-EAST AFRICA

rice, cowries

ivory, slaves, fish, GOLD

5. GUJARAT/PUNJAB-CENTRAL ASIA

[northward]

cotton & silk textiles,
pulses, rice, wheat,
indigo, tobacco

[southward]

horses, camels, sheep, cotton

6. WEST-CENTRAL-EAST ASIA

silk, tea

horses

ROUTES

Westward

Eastward

7. GUJARAT-SIND-PUNJAB-WEST ASIA

cotton textiles,
wheat, indigo

SILVER

8. GUJARAT-SOUTHEAST ASIA

spices, [sugar, silk, ceramics]
GOLD

cotton textiles
coral, copper, glass
[re-exports from Aden/Gulf]
SILVER

9. INDIAN INTER-REGIONAL [not fully represented]

exchanges among most major Indian products along
maritime and overland trade routes among Punjab,
Sind, Gujarat, Malabar, Vijayanagara, Coromandel,
Bengal

10. COROMANDEL-SOUTHEAST ASIA

tin, sugar, metals,
elephants,
[ceramics, silk] GOLD

cotton textiles,
slaves, rice, diamonds,
SILVER

11. COROMANDEL-BURMA/SIAM

tin, elephants, woods,
SILVER

cotton textiles

12. COROMANDEL-BENGAL

silk, cotton textiles,
rice, sugar

13. CEYLON-INDIA

elephants, cinnamon,
jewels, pearls

rice

Source: Frank (1998).