PROSPECTS OF TRADE EXPANSION IN THE SAARC REGION

MANGAT RAM AGGARWAL POSH RAJ PANDEY

NE of the most pervasive and characteristic features of the post-World War II era has been the emergence and growing importance of regional economic groups in different parts of the world. These largely combine the elements of "export oriented" and "inward-looking" import-substitution policies at the regional level to (1) boost trade within and outside the region, (2) promote industrialization more efficiently particularly in the basic and heavy goods sector by overcoming the limitation of narrow national markets, (3) increase efficiency and improve the allocation of scarce resources through the removal of trade barriers, and (4) speed up the process of overall economic progress through collective selfreliance on a regional and subregional basis [1] [3] [17] [8] [14] [19]. The process of regional economic cooperation was initiated by Western Europe in the 1950s with the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and thereafter several other regional economic groups were formed in the various areas of the Southern World. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) comprising the seven countries of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka was formed with the signing of its charter by the head of states/governments at Dhaka in December 1985. The association was set up to accelerate the process of economic, social, and cultural development, and promote and strengthen collective self-reliance through joint action in certain agreed areas of cooperation [20].

The idea of regional cooperation in the South Asian region is not new. The countries of the region have worked together on bilateral and multilateral bases under the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP), the Non-Aligned Movement and within the Commonwealth. Realizing that the existing efforts have not fully exploited the vast potential of regional cooperation that exists [5] (regional cooperation among the countries of South Asia is not only mutually beneficial and desirable under the present circumstances but also would contribute significantly in their efforts to achieve national and collective self-reliance and provide an opportunity for them to have an effective voice in international forums

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[21]), a fresh initiative in this regard was expressed in November 1980 by Bangladesh. Thereafter, a series of meetings among the foreign secretaries of the members of the region took place for the formation of a regional group. An Integrated Programme of Action through the adoption of a Declaration on South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) was formally launched by the foreign ministers in 1983, and in 1985, SAARC came into existence. The broad areas of cooperation which have been identified so far are: agriculture and forestry, health and population activities, meteorology, rural development, telecommunication, transportation, science and technology, postal services, sports, arts and culture, women in development, drug trafficking and abuse, anti-terrorism, control of environment degradation and disaster management, food security, and audiovisual exchange. However, the vital areas of "trade and industry" have been kept out which have been the major sectors for cooperation in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN),1 a neighboring and comparatively mature regional organization. In particular, the basic aims of ASEAN, as defined in the Declaration of ASEAN Concord (1967) and the Preferential Tariff Arrangement (PTA) concluded in 1977, are the expansion of intra-regional trade particularly in: (1) basic manufactures through the reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers on a productby-product basis over a period of time, (2) short- and long-term bilateral and multilateral trade agreements within and outside the region, and (3) the creation of industrial complementarity particularly through the setting up of joint industries/ projects involving two or more countries.

This paper primarily explores the prospects of intra-regional trade expansion among the countries of the SAARC region, identifying the major products in the broad sectors in which mutual trade could be expanded under the present economic, trade and tariffs structures in the region. The paper also outlines economic measures which may be taken in this direction at the regional level, both individually and collectively.

I

Table I, which provides the basic economic and trade indicators of SAARC member countries, shows that the level of per capita gross national product (GNP) of the region as compared to the industrialized nations is extremely low and its growth rate between 1980 and 1987 has been quite disappointing. Figures for Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka have been particularly disappointing (below 3 per cent) chiefly because of the high rate of population growth ranging between 1.5 to 3.2 per cent. However, the relative performance of the region and the countries individually, except Bangladesh, as measured by the growth of gross domestic product (GDP), has been quite satisfying. This growth has ranged between 4.6 and 12.5 per cent, and the share of the industrial sector in total GDP for all the countries, except Bhutan, has increased significantly ranging between 13 and 30 per cent in 1987. This indicates that the region has been gradually undergoing

¹ The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 with the signing of ASEAN Declaration by the ministers of foreign affairs of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Brunei joined in January 1984.

5	TABLE I BASIC ECONOMIC AND TRADE INDICATORS OF SAARC MEMBER COUNTRIES, 1987	GDP Rate of GNP Per Annual Annual Annual Growth of Capita Growth (1987) (1987) (1987) (1987) (1987) (1987) (1987) (1987) (1980-87) (1980-87) (1980-87)	17,600 3.8 160 1.6 2.8 11 13 2	250 6.1 150 3.9 2.0 6	220,830 4.6 300 3.1 2.1 22 30 22	87^a 12.5 300 9.0 3.2 13 ^a	2,560 4.7 160 2.0 2.7 11 14 11	31,650 6.6 350 3.7 3.1 20 28 11	6,040 4.6 400 2.9 1.5 11 27 13	279,017 4.8 260 3.9 2.3 21 28 19	
	BASIC ECONOMIC AND TRADE INDI										$10,780,345^a$ 2.5 13.

TABLE I (Continued)

	Total Trade As a % of	Average Annual Growth Rate	Share of Machinery and Transport in	Share of Manufactures in Total	Exports As a % of Imports	Balance in Current Account (U.S.\$ Million)	Current int (illion)
	(1987)	of Exports (1980-87)	Total Exports (%) (1987)	Exports (%) (1987)	(1987)	(1970)	(1987)
Bangladesh	19	16.4	17	33	40.3	-610.3	-1,041.3
Bhutan	61	:	0	29	35.2	:	-84.1
India	16	20.5	10	59	9.89	-531.0	-5,027.0
Maldives	149	25.3	:	:	38.7	-24.9	-9.1
Nepal	36	18.6	2	70	27.5	-113.6	-196.9
Pakistan	32	20.4	3	64	70.2	-705.0	-967.2
Sri Lanka	56	17.7	2	89	64.2	-71.4	-524.4
SAARC region	19	20.0	8	59	65.2	-2,056.2	-7,765.9
Developed countries	33	4.3	:	:	94.3	:	:

Sources: World Bank, World Development Report, 1989 (Washington, D.C., 1989); [23, 1988 edition]; United Nations, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific, 1988 (1989); Bhutan, Planning Commission, Central Statistical Office, Statistical Yearbook of Bhutan, 1988 (Thimphu, 1989).

Notes: 1. Figures for SAARC region are weighted average.

..=Not available.

b 1970-86. а 1986.

e Gross domestic investment.

SAARC REGION

TABLE II
BILATERAL TRADE BALANCE OF SAARC MEMBER COUNTRIES WITHIN
SAARC REGION, 1980 AND 1987

(U.S.\$ Million)

						(0.0.4	Tillianoi)
To∖From		Bangladesh	India	Maldives	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Bangladesh	1980		52.0		0.4	-21.2	1.0
	1987		56.0		-5.4	41.0	7.3
India	1980	-47.6		-3.3	70.6	66.8	-62.4
	1987	-63.4	_	-0.4	-62.4	9.6	-74.4
Maldives	1980		2.0			-0.2	-0.7
	1987	0.1	1.0	_		0.3	1.4
Nepal	1980	-0.5	57.0	<u> </u>		-3.6	-0.4
	1987	4.9	48.0			0.5	-4.4
Pakistan	1980	20.4	-70.0	0.2	3.2		4.3
	1987	-9.4	-13.0	-0.3	-0.7	_	-16.3
Sri Lanka	1980	0.1	51.0	0.4	0.4	-1.2	
	1987	-4.8	65.0	-2.4	4.1	18.4	_
SAARC Region	1980	-27.6	92.0	-2.7	66.6	40.6	-58.2
	1987	-72.6	157.0	-3.1	-64.4	69.8	-86.4

Source: [12, various issues]. Note: Negative sign signifies deficit.

a process of structural transformation, but the slow rate of change does not raise much expectations for an early restructuring of the economies in the region. The importance of trade in the economies of the region as revealed by the ratio of total trade to GDP is quite high ranging between 32 and 149 per cent, except in India and Bangladesh where it was 16 and 19 per cent respectively in 1987. Though the trade performance of the region and the countries individually has been quite impressive (they achieved far higher rates of export growth during the 1980–87 period than the developed countries), they have experienced huge and progressively increasing trade deficits which may be partly explained by their inability to create export surplus and partly because of a weak world growth environment. However, within the region, India and Pakistan have had continuously increasing trade surplus, while Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Maldives have had continuous sizeable deficits (Table II).

Table III presents the direction of trade for the region during the period 1980-87. It reveals the following four points. (1) The magnitude of intra-regional trade is very low, 2.98 per cent in export trade and 1.79 per cent in import trade, and was below 10 per cent in 1987 in all the countries, except for Maldives in exports and Nepal in both exports and imports. (2) Intra-regional trade has continuously declined except for minor deviations, showing that the countries of the region have been moving away rather than coming together in their economic relations. The high magnitude of regional trade for Nepal and Maldives gives a distorted picture. Nepal is importing 22 per cent of its total imports from and exporting 29 per cent of total exports to a single trading partner, India. The situation is similar for

(%)

TABLE III
DIRECTION OF TRADE OF SAARC MEMBER COUNTRIES, 1980 AND 1987

From	Bangla	adesh	India	ia	Maldives	ves	Nepal	le	Pakistan	an	Sri Lanka		SAARC	Region
To	1980	1987	1980	1987	1980	1987	1980	1987	1980	1987	1980	1987	1980	1987
Bangladesh Exports			26.09*	25.56*	:	:	4.62*	0.19*	33.17*	55.41*	5.43*	14.42*	12.31*	7.72*
Imports	1		5.71*	12.12*	:	:	0.58*	4.66*	61.06*	52.93*	2.27*	0.14*	16.49*	20.39*
India	***************************************	i					*10 71	*00	*10 07	12 07*	46 54 %	16.00*	11.17	*17 77
Exports Imports	57.80*	63.64*]]		68.75*	5.41*	98.95	93.98*	3.13*	12.57*	73.31*	60.03*	24.00*	17.27*
Maldives													,	1
Exports	:	0.23*	0.87	0.39*		1	:	:	0.18*	0.18*	1.63*	12.12*	0.38*	0.75*
Imports	:	:	:	:	١	1	•	:	0.40*		1.44*	3.55*	0.82*	1.29*
Nepal														
Exports	0.73*	11.51*	33.91*	39.45*	:	:	1	İ	0.24*	.98*	:	0.19*	3.49*	9.32*
Imports	1.04*		15.00*	53.54*	:	:	1	1	3.22*	1.17*	0.30*	3.26*	14.76*	20.57*
Pakistan														
Exports	80.61*	62.98*	1.74*	4.30*	19.05*	:	18.46*	1.87*	l	I	46.40*	56.34*	29.50*	28.53*
Imports	36.28*		52.86*	24.24*	4.17*	4.05*	0.46*	1.44*		1	22.67*	33.02*	21.31*	16.38*
Sri Lanka														
Exports	*66.9	0.45*	37.39*	29.30*	80.95*	100.00*	2.05*	7.66*	23.53*	30.36*	1	l	13.18*	*90.6
Imports	4.88*		26.43*	10.10*	27.08*	90.54*	:	:	32.18*	33.33*		١	23.98*	24.09*
SAARC region														
Exports	8.71	4.11	2.91	5.06	29.17	18.14	34.57	32.11	6.30	3.93	7.09	3.81	4.50	2.98
Imports	3.68	4.28	1.04	0.48	26.67	7.44	43.07	23.90	2.32	1.61	6.48	6.50	2.46	1.79
Industrial countri	ies													
Exports	36.04	65.82	57.59	59.28	70.83	18.14	54.26	65.31	36.41	58.58	39.57	63.54	50.24	59.80
Imports 48	48.10	44.82	48.50	60.83	65.56	26.06	45.52	50.39	50.13	58.26	45.35	43.28	48.52	57.56
C. 113	f19 monitorio	Foors												

Source: [12, various issues].

Notes: 1. * represents the share of the country in its intra-regional exports/imports to the concerned members.

2. ...=Negligible.

Maldives which sent 18 per cent of its total exports in 1987 to Sri Lanka. (3) The region's trade has been directed more toward the industrial countries whose share in the region's exports and imports in 1987 stood at 59.8 and 57.6 per cent respectively. India and Pakistan are the major exporters within the region together contributing 73 per cent of the region's export trade. On the other hand, 65 per cent of region's imports have been absorbed by Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh making them the region's major importers. The extremely low share for Maldives shows that it has still not entered into the intra-regional trade. (4) India's major importers are Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh; Pakistan's are Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The chief exporters to Bangladesh and Sri Lanka continue to be India and Pakistan; the chief exporter to Nepal is India.

The product structure of intra-regional trade by broad commodity groups is shown in Table IV. It reveals that the share of "food items" dominates this trade and is followed by "other manufactures," "agricultural raw materials," "machinery and equipment," and "chemical products." Around 70 per cent of intraregional trade in 1985 was accounted for by the first three broad commodity groups; the situation remained more or less the same in 1980. But the composition of intra-regional product trade is not symmetrical. Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka export relatively more "food items" and "agricultural raw materials" and import "chemicals," "machinery and equipment," and "other manufactures" commodities. The reverse is true for both India and Pakistan. Within the region, India's share in the export of "food items" is the highest followed by Nepal; India is also the highest in the export of "machinery and equipment" and "other manufactures" followed by Pakistan. Pakistan is the highest exporter of "agricultural raw materials" and "chemical products" followed by India. On the other hand, Pakistan dominates in the import of "food items" and "agricultural raw materials" and Bangladesh in "machinery and equipment."

The inescapable inferences which emerge from the above analysis are that (1) the region is on the path of industrialization as revealed by the increased share of the industrial sector and manufactured exports to GDP. India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka are relatively more attuned to the process of development when measured in terms of the level and real growth in per capita and total GDP and the manufacturing sector; (2) despite the fact that all the countries are saddled with huge and growing current account deficits vis-à-vis the outside world, there exists enormous scope for mutual trade expansion in the region. This can be done by restructuring and redistributing the region's trade through intra-regional understanding and arrangements for action, internally as well as in relation to the outside world. Intra-regional trade is bound to increase considerably if (1) India and Pakistan (which have continuously maintained their high share in the intra-regional export trade and have had trade surplus within the region) undertake to accept additional responsibility by opening up their markets more liberally to the other members and grant full or partial non-reciprocity; and (2) Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh (the major importers which have absorbed a major share of intraregional imports and have faced continuous intra-regional trade deficits) are assured by the rest of the members, in particular the surplus ones, of fair access to their markets, keeping in view each country's level of development, export capabilities,

COMPOSITION OF INTRA-REGIONAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FOR SAARC MEMBER COUNTRIES BY COMMODITY CATEGORY AND THEIR SHARE IN REGIONAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS BY COMMODITY CATEGORY, 1985 TABLE IV

20 Starte in Intra- in Intra- in Intra- in Intra- in Irade Sition regional Irade Trade Trade 21.42 0.00 0.00 29.08 4.35 12.17
25.54 18.55
6.64 11.54
36.67 29.57
9.37

Source: [22, various issues].

and mutuality of interests. In addition there is the need to (1) harmonize production and investment plans, particularly in the export sectors (taking into account of the actual and potential comparative advantages or disadvantages), (2) gradually reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers, (3) undertake bilateral/multilateral long-term commodity agreements between the deficit and surplus countries of the region and with the outside world, (4) pool financial resources for maintaining buffer stocks in the major commodities on a regional or subregional basis, (5) set up joint projects in the basic and heavy goods sectors at the regional level and the allocation of their production to different areas, and (6) carry out joint marketing policies coupled with payment arrangements. Development in these areas would go a long way toward diversifying the structure and pattern of trade within the region and with the rest of the world.

IT

In current literature, the degree of competitiveness and complementarity in the production and trade structures of member countries within a customs union (CU) has assumed a central place when judging whether the CU will be trade creating or not. Prior to Viner's study in 1950 [25], it was argued that a CU was more beneficial among complementary rather than competitive economies, where complementary referred to different patterns of production and competitiveness to a similar pattern of production [7]. Viner, however, contradicted this view and argued that a CU was more desirable, the less the degree of complementarity-or the greater the degree of rivalry—among the member countries [25]. Subsequent discussion, while pointing out the ambiguities in Viner's definition of complementarity and competitiveness, have concluded that there is not much contradiction between Viner and earlier economists if we redefine complementarity and competitiveness in terms of differences in comparative costs. Rival or competitive economies are those with similar cost ratios, and complementarity economies are those with dissimilar cost ratios between different pairs of products [15] [16]. It is apparent therefore that the wider the difference in cost ratios (high complementarities), the greater the prospects for trade expansion in a CU. In the remainder of this paper, we will use the following indices: "trade intensity," "complementarity," "country bias," and "revealed comparative advantage" to assess the degree of "existing" and "potential" complementarity in order to evaluate the prospects for trade expansion in general and to identify the products in the broad sectors where intra-regional trade could be expanded.

The trade-intensity index (I_{ij}) measures the extent to which one country's share in another country's exports (imports) is larger or small in relation to the former country's share in world trade [6] [13] [26].

$$I_{ij} = \frac{X_{ij}}{X_i} / \frac{M_j}{M_w - M_i},$$

where I_{ij} is the export-intensity index of country i with country j, and X_{ij} , X_i , M_j , M_w , M_i represent exports of country i to country j, total exports of country i, total imports of country j, total world imports, and imports of country i respectively.

TABLE INDICES OF EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE

То		Bang	adesh	In	dia	Malo	lives
From	_	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
Bangladesh	1975			2.1536	11.4932		
	1985	_		3.1513	4.5519	2.6606	
	1987			1.2014	5.1591	2.3930	
India	1965	_					
	1975	10.0986	1.9754	_		15.2666	
	1985	4.2868	3,3469	_		2.5816	
	1987	4.8379	1.2619			2.0577	
Maldives	1975				13.1810		-
	1985		2.5490		0.9973	_	-
	1987	• • •		• • •	0.8026	_	
Nepal	1965			58.0779	87.5137		
	1975			91.3640	111.3870	• • •	
	1985		34.1472	32.2001	57.1402		
	1987	0.5353	24.3762	34.1276	42.5025		• •
Pakistan	1965			3.3107	1.8607		
	1975	16.0243	6.0147	1.9074	0.0173	44.3333	23.500
	1985	17.6131	13.9286	1.4536	0.2677	2.9061	1.2789
	1987	19.3613	18.6419	0.6030	0.3834	1.8522	
Sri Lanka	1965		_	1.3299	8.7625	• • •	
	1975	1.9075	0.6601	0.0955	5.2746	83.8000	427.045
	1985	8.5772	0.1977	0.5214	4.1515	109.2894	176.9303
	1987	4.9017	0.6601	0.7592	7.3899	119.0883	229.088

Source: [12, various issues]. Note: ...=Negligible.

The value of more (or less) than unity of this index indicates that a country is exporting more (or less) to another country than might be expected from the country's share in world trade.

High values of this index during the period 1965–87 (Table V) reveal that the intensity of trade for the countries within the region is very high, except for India-Pakistan, Maldives-Bangladesh, Maldives-India, Maldives-Nepal, Nepal-Bangladesh, Nepal-Maldives, Sri Lanka-India, and Sri Lanka-Nepal in export trade and Bangladesh-Maldives, India-Maldives, Maldives-India, Maldives-Nepal, Nepal-Maldives, Nepal-Sri Lanka, Pakistan-India, and Sri Lanka-Bangladesh in import trade, where the values of the indices are less than unity. The magnitude of bilateral trade orientation is the highest between Maldives-Sri Lanka followed by India-Nepal, Bangladesh-Pakistan, and Pakistan-Sri Lanka. However, the degree of intensity between each of the country within the region has fallen between 1975 and 1985 largely due to the adoption of vigorous inward-looking policies by the members to spearhead the drive for rapid overall development.

The trade-intensity index has been decomposed into two indices, "complementarity" and "country bias," in order to assess the contribution of complementarity

V Intensities: 1965, 1975, 1985, and 1987

Ne	pal	Paki	stan	Sri 1	Lanka	SAARC	Region
Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
			12.4827	9.8064	6.2489	2.2464	11.0533
32.4626	• • •	13.3321	4.6291	0.2065	2.7177	5.5967	4.3539
23.3545	1.0347	10.8312	7.7129	1.5956	57.4600	3.5029	9.6297
83,2368	60.1347	1.5969	2.9631	8.0071	1.3426	5.3000	3.6245
103.3684	98.1956	• • •	2.7050	7.3102		7.0017	3.5600
53.7310	33.7176	0.4364	1.5167	3.2065	0.5606	3.3373	2.4911
39.7713	36.0221	0.3672	0.6520	7.8666	3.1315	4.6058	1.6487
		21.5329	30.4076	399.9014	91.8842	32.7413	14.0753
			2.7892	176.4409	114.7281	11.4155	10.7800
			1.7950	208.0488	122.5529	13.8721	9.6098
						39.2512	56.2249
_	_	27.0174				89.9502	77.1388
	_	4.1841	0.2224	28.8901	• • •	23.1980	40.5703
		2.5115	1.9464	28.2152		24.8601	29.5173
				11.8202	2.4773	3.4881	1.9460
0.7196	29.6086	_	_	31.3270	35.7539	6.7896	4.3653
0.2317	4.4420			15.9250	7.4000	4.4335	1.4226
1.8904	2.6668	_		13.6402	9.2717	3.6520	2.5182
		2.7893	9.6134			1.7065	8.8697
		34.0317	32.0950	_		7.8404	10.1095
0.5028	31.4405	6.9278	12.1889			4.8119	5.3504
0.3617	29.9291	8.9852	12.1216			3.1117	10.1095

and other factors influencing the intensity of trade. Whereas the "complementarity index" measures the extent to which one country's export pattern matches another country's import pattern more closely than it matches that country's import pattern for world imports, the "country bias" index measures the extent to which one country's exports have more or less favorable access to another country's market than might be expected from both country's share in world trade [10] [11] [2]. The "complementarity" and "country bias" indices (C_{ij} and B_{ij}) for country i's export to country j are

$$C_{ij} = \sum_{k} \left(\frac{X_i^k}{X_i} \cdot \frac{M_w - M_i}{M_w^k - M_i^k} \cdot \frac{M_j^k}{M_i} \right)$$

and

$$B_{ij} = X_{ij} \sum_{k} \frac{M_{w}^{k} - M_{i}^{k}}{X_{i}^{k} - M_{i}^{k}},$$

where X_i^k , M_j^k , and M_w^k represent country *i*'s export of commodity *k*, country *j*'s imports of commodity *k*, and world imports of commodity *k* respectively, and the

meaning of other variables are the same as defined in the trade-intensity index. Similar indices can be defined for country i's imports from country i.

The values of the complementarity index (obtained by disaggregating six major commodity groups, viz. food items, agricultural raw materials and mineral ores, fuels, chemical products, machinery and equipment, and "other manufactures" goods and thereafter summing) show that the level of complementarity in the bilateral trade structure of the member countries as well as within the region as a whole is not only low, as most of the values of the index are clustered around unity, but also has not risen substantially during the period 1965-85 (Table VI). In other words, the high intensity of trade between the member countries cannot be attributed to the level of complementarity in their trade structure. One of the plausible explanations for the low and nearly stable level of complementarity is the dramatic increase in trade barriers and protectionism by the members to intra-regional trade. For example, the average ad valorem tariff rate in 1983-84 was more than 71 per cent except for Sri Lanka where it was 41 per cent, and the average tariff-frequency ratio was more than 80 per cent in the countries of the region [9]. Hence, the cause of the very high intensity in the trade pattern between the member countries can be largely explained by "country bias" trading relationships as the values of this index are significantly high (although showing a declining trend when compared to 1965, except for India-Pakistan, Pakistan-Nepal, Sri Lanka-India, Sri Lanka-Nepal in export trade and vice versa in import trade). The magnitude of the "country bias" trading relationship is the highest in Indo-Nepal trade followed by Sri Lanka-Pakistan and Bangladesh-Pakistan in both export and import trade (Table VII). The extremely high country-bias trading relations might have resulted from, inter alia, geographical proximity, bilateral trade agreements, and the availability of market information. On the other hand, the low intensity of trade among some of the countries is clearly due to the low magnitude of the "country bias" index possibly resulting from continuous hostile political relations, several discriminatory trade practices against co-members and an "information" gap about trading and investment opportunities rather than the low level of complementarity.

III

The revealed comparative advantage (RCA) index, which shows the comparative advantage in terms of the share of a particular industry in a country's total exports relative to the industry's share in total world exports [18] [4] [27], has been calculated in order to assess the dimension of comparative advantage among the commodity groups of member countries and to infer the degree of potential complementarity of the countries as well as the degree of potential complementarity of the countries in international trade. The revealed comparative advantage for exports (RCAX) and also for imports (RCAM) can be expressed as

$$RCAX = (X_i^k/X_i) / (X_w^k/X_w),$$

 $RCAM = (M_i^k/M_i) / (M_w^k/M_w),$

COMPLEMENTARITY INDEX: 1965, 1975, AND 1985 TABLE VI

From Export Import Import <th>To</th> <th></th> <th>Bangl</th> <th>Bangladesh</th> <th>India</th> <th>ia</th> <th>Nepal</th> <th>pal</th> <th>Pakistan</th> <th>stan</th> <th>Sri I</th> <th>Sri Lanka</th> <th>SAARC</th> <th>SAARC Region</th>	To		Bangl	Bangladesh	India	ia	Nepal	pal	Pakistan	stan	Sri I	Sri Lanka	SAARC	SAARC Region
1965 — — 0.8241 1.2572 1.4712 1.3822 0.7974 1.1747 1.2160 1.6050 0.8580 1965 — — — — 1.5187 0.9453 0.7974 0.7386 1.2533 1.0462 0.9472 1965 — — — 0.9924 1.4784 0.6735 0.6380 1.5209 0.9472 1985 1.2558 0.8282 — — 0.9924 1.4784 0.6735 0.6380 1.5090 0.9952 1965 — — 0.9191 0.8062 0.9716 0.9178 1.1234 1.5113 0.9371 1.038 1965 — — 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 — 1.4404 1.4039 1.3255 0.9417 1975 — — 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 — — 1.7495 0.7495 0.9271 0.7495 0.7495 0.9271 0.7495 0.7495 </th <th>From</th> <th></th> <th>Export</th> <th>Import</th> <th>Export</th> <th>Import</th> <th>Export</th> <th>Import</th> <th>Export</th> <th>Import</th> <th>Export</th> <th>Import</th> <th>Export</th> <th>Import</th>	From		Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
1965 —	Bangladesh	1985	1	I	0.8241	1.2572	1.4712	1.3822	0.7971	1.1747	1.2160	1.6050	0.8580	1.2750
1975 1.0021 1.4420 1.5316 1.5316 1.5316 1.2977 1.5316 1.5316 1.5316 1.5316 <	India	1965		1			1.5187	0.9453	0.7974	0.7386	1.2533	1.0462	0.9472	0.8759
1965 1.2558 0.8282 — 0.9191 0.8062 0.9716 1.2828 1.2828 0.9325 1.1038 1965 — — 1.0021 1.4420 — 0.9178 1.1234 1.5113 0.9371 0.9813 1975 1.5516 1.2977 — — 0.9178 1.1234 1.5113 0.9371 0.9813 an 1965 1.5516 1.2977 1.0065 1.4404 1.4039 1.3255 0.9417 an 1965 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 1.3492 1.4751 0.7969 1975 0.9263 1.2174 1.6057 1.4783 1.3495 1.4751 1.7016 1.7016 0.9753 1.4395 1.0078 1.7036 0.9746 1.7016 0.7746 1.7016 0.7746 1.7016 <td></td> <td>1975</td> <td>:</td> <td>:</td> <td> .</td> <td>1</td> <td>0.9924</td> <td>1.4784</td> <td>0.6735</td> <td>0.8555</td> <td>0.6380</td> <td>1.5209</td> <td>0.6965</td> <td>0.8364</td>		1975	:	:	.	1	0.9924	1.4784	0.6735	0.8555	0.6380	1.5209	0.6965	0.8364
1965 — 1.0021 1.4420 — 0.9178 1.1234 1.5113 0.9371 0.9813 1975 1.5516 1.2977 — 0.9178 1.1234 1.5113 0.9371 0.9813 1985 1.3814 1.2713 0.8015 1.3854 — — 1.0065 1.4404 1.4039 1.3255 0.9417 an 1965 — 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 — 0.7495 0.9271 0.7908 1975 0.9263 1.2174 1.6057 1.4783 — 0.7495 0.9271 0.7908 nka 1985 1.2984 0.9121 0.9730 1.4395 1.0778 — 1.7636 1.2663 0.9761 nka 1965 — 1.0873 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 - 1.6736 0.9763 nka 1.0712 0.7746 - 1.2678 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658		1985	1.2558	0.8282	1	Ι.	0.9191	0.8062	0.9716	0.9155	1.2828	0.9325	1.1038	0.9003
1975 1.5516 1.2977 — — — 1.5028 1.5618 2.6279 0.8316 1.6768 1985 1.3814 1.2713 0.8015 1.3854 — — 1.0065 1.4404 1.4039 1.3255 0.9417 1965 — 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 — 0.7495 0.9271 0.7908 1975 0.9263 1.2174 1.6057 1.4783 — 1.3492 1.4751 1.0042 1985 1.2984 0.9121 0.9730 1.4395 1.0078 — 1.7636 0.9761 1.0042 1965 — 1.0873 1.1759 0.9753 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 — 1.653 0.9764 1975 1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — 1.6748 1985 1.2054 1.2165 1.2675 1.2676 1.2676 1.2676 1.2676 <td>Nepal</td> <td>1965</td> <td>1</td> <td>1</td> <td>1.0021</td> <td>1.4420</td> <td> </td> <td>l</td> <td>0.9178</td> <td>1.1234</td> <td>1.5113</td> <td>0.9371</td> <td>0.9813</td> <td>1.4704</td>	Nepal	1965	1	1	1.0021	1.4420		l	0.9178	1.1234	1.5113	0.9371	0.9813	1.4704
1985 1.3814 1.2713 0.8015 1.3854 — — 1.0065 1.4404 1.4039 1.3255 0.9417 1965 — — 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 — — 0.7495 0.9271 0.7908 1975 0.9263 1.2174 1.6057 1.4783 — 1.3492 1.4751 1.0042 1985 0.7984 0.9121 0.9730 1.4395 1.0078 — 1.7636 1.2663 0.9761 1965 — — 0.0873 1.4395 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 — 1.0534 1975 1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — 1.6748 1985 1.2054 1.2165 0.9296 1.3225 1.4056 1.2058 1.1942 — 1.6748 1.6748		1975	:	:	1.5516	1.2977	ļ		1.5928	1.5618	2.6279	0.8516	1.6768	1.3658
1965 — — 0.7799 0.7427 1.1888 0.8663 — — 0.7495 0.9271 0.7908 1975 0.9263 1.2174 1.6057 1.4783 — 1.3492 1.4751 1.0042 1985 1.2984 0.9121 0.9730 1.4395 1.0078 — 1.7636 1.2663 0.9761 1965 — 1.0873 1.1759 0.9753 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 — 1.653 1975 1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — 1.6748 1985 1.2054 1.2165 0.9296 1.2675 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658 1.1942 — 1.6748		1985	1.3814	1.2713	0.8015	1.3854	1		1.0065	1.4404	1.4039	1.3255	0.9417	1.3964
1975 0.9263 1.2174 1.6057 1.4783 — 1.3492 1.4751 1.0042 1985 1.2984 0.7984 0.9121 0.9730 1.4395 1.0078 — 1.7636 1.2663 0.9761 1965 — 1.0873 1.1759 0.9753 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 — 1.0524 1975 1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — 1.6748 1985 1.2054 1.2165 0.9296 1.2675 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658 1.1942 — 1.0813	Pakistan	1965	1	1	0.7799	0.7427	1.1888	0.8663			0.7495	0.9271	0.7908	0.7921
1985 1.2984 0.7984 0.9121 0.9730 1.4395 1.0078 — — 1.7636 1.2663 0.9761 1965 — — 1.0873 1.1759 0.9753 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 — 1.0524 1975 1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — 1.6748 1985 1.2054 1.2675 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658 1.1942 — 1.0813		1975	:	:	0.9263	1.2174	1.6057	1.4783	-	I	1.3492	1.4751	1.0042	1.2881
1965 — — 1.0873 1.1759 0.9753 1.4325 0.9641 0.7112 — — 1.0524 1975 1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — — 1.6748 1985 1.2054 1.2165 0.9296 1.2675 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658 1.1942 — 1.0813		1985	1.2984	0.7984	0.9121	0.9730	1.4395	1.0078			1.7636	1.2663	0.9761	0.9904
1.5946 0.9166 0.8774 1.1517 1.7012 0.7746 — — 1.6748 1.2054 1.2165 0.9296 1.2675 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658 1.1942 — — 1.0813	Sri Lanka	1965	1		1.0873	1.1759	0.9753	1.4325	0.9641	0.7112			1.0524	1.0516
1.2054 1.2165 0.9296 1.2675 1.3225 1.4056 1.2658 1.1942 — — 1.0813		1975	:	:	1.5946	0.9166	0.8774	1.1517	1.7012	0.7746	1]	1.6748	0.8666
		1985	1.2054	1.2165	0.9296	1.2675	1.3225	1.4056	1.2658	1.1942	1	l	1.0813	1.2455

Sources: [24, various issues] [22, various issues] [23, various issues]. Note: ..=Not available.

TABLE VII INDEX OF OVERALL COUNTRY BIAS: 1965, 1975, AND 1985

To		Bangladesh	adesh	India	lia	ž	Nepal	Pakistan	stan	Sri I	Sri Lanka	SAARC	SAARC Region
From		Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Export Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import
Bangladesh	1985	l	1	3.8239	3.6207	22.0654	0.0000	16.7257	3.9407	0.1698	1.6933	6.5230	3.4148
India	1965	1			J	54.8079	63.6144	2.0026	4.0118	6.3888	1.2833	5.5954	4.1380
	1975	:	:	I	I	104.1600	66.4202	0.0000	3.1619	11.4580	0.0000	10.0527	4.2563
	1985	3.4136	2.6652	1		48.4605	41.8229	0.4492	1.6567	2.4996	0.6012	3.0235	2.7670
Nepal	1965	1		57.9561	60.6891	-		0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	39.9992	38.2378
	1975	:	:	58.8837	85.8342	1	1	17.0693	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	16.7467	56.4788
	1985	0.0000	23.2089	40.1748	41.2446	!	1	4.1571	0.1544	20.5785	0.0000	24.6246	29.0535
Pakistan	1965			4.2450	2.5073	0.0000	0.0000			15.7708	2.6721	4.4108	2.4546
	1975	:	:	2.0592	0.0142	0.4481	20.0288	1	!	23.2189	24.2383	6.7612	3.3889
	1985	13.5652	17.4456	1.5938	0.2751	0.1609	4.4076	1	1	9.0185	5.8438	4.5421	1.4365
Sri Lanka	1965			1.2231	7.4517	0.0000	0.0000	2.8932	13.5172			1.6215	8.4345
	1975	:	:	0.0599	5.7545	0.0000	0.0000	20.0045	41.4343]	١	4.6814	11.6657
	1985	5.3427	0.1625	0.5609	3.2753	0.3802	22.3680	5.4731	10.2067	1	I	4.4501	4.2958

Sources: Same as for Table VI. Note: ..=Not available.

where X_i^k is the export of the product k by country i, X_i is total exports of country i, X_w^k is the world exports of product k, X_w is world exports, M_i^k is the import of product k by country i, M_i is total imports of country i, M_w^k is world imports of product k, and M_w is world total imports. A value greater (less) than unity for the RCAX and RCAM indicates a strong comparative advantage (disadvantage) for the economy in the export/import of a given commodity.

The calculated values of RCAX indices for the member countries for the years 1965, 1975, and 1985 show that the countries possess comparative advantage in "food items," "agricultural raw materials," and "other manufactures." The magnitude of comparative advantage in "food items" is the highest for Sri Lanka followed by Nepal and India; in "agricultural raw materials" it is highest for Pakistan followed by India and Sri Lanka; and in "other manufactures" it is highest for Bangladesh followed by Pakistan and India. However, all the countries have a strong comparative disadvantage in fuel, chemical products, and in machinery and equipment, but the magnitude of comparative disadvantage is the lowest for India, followed by Pakistan (Table VIII). This implies that member countries, in general, have a comparative advantage in labor-intensive rather than capital-intensive goods. The RCAX over the period 1965-85 shows that there has been an increase in comparative advantage in "food items," except for Sri Lanka and in "other manufactures" for all the countries except for Bangladesh. The RCAX has decreased in "agricultural raw materials" for Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Similarly the degree of comparative disadvantage has decreased in "fuels" and in "machinery and equipment" for Bangladesh. India, and Sri Lanka, and in "chemicals" for India and Sri Lanka. The RCAM has recorded a decline in "food items" for Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka, and in "other manufactures" for Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. It registered an increase for all the countries in "agricultural raw materials," "fuels" (except for Nepal), and in "chemicals" (except for Sri Lanka).

The changing pattern in the RCAX and RCAM is mainly due to the extensive use of government interventionist policies such as export subsidies, currency devaluation, duty drawback, state trading monopolies, exchange restrictions, high tariffs, restrictive quota licensing, and deployment of indirect taxes on imports. These have been employed to reallocate resources in different sectors of the economy and enhance competitiveness at the international level in some industries. These policies are relatively more concentrated in the import-substituting sector than the export sector as the divergence of the RCAMs from unity is less than that of the RCAXs [27] in most of the cases. As a result member countries have resorted to import-substitution policies, for example, in light and other manufactures instead of importing from other relatively more developed members of the region as depicted by decreasing RCAM. Besides this, a significant increase in the RCAX and decrease in RCAM in "food items" for Bangladesh and India during this period indicates the adoption of deliberate policies aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in "consumable items." Thus one can conclude that the policies of import substitution in light and other manufactured goods and self-sufficiency in consumable items through direct government intervention are chiefly responsible for distorting the structure of relative cost and prices and for the misallocation of resources, creating a network of disincentives to efficient production and export

TABLE VIII
REVEALED COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE (RCA) INDICES: 1965, 1975, AND 1985

			TIME DEVE	LOING L		1
er ctures	RCAM	0.5159	0.2937 0.3382 0.3830	2.6845 2.4429 1.0167	0.6966 0.5301 0.3246	1.1665 0.5647 0.7076
Other Manufactures	RCAX	3.9498 3.3963	2.3743 1.9008 2.5272	0.6553 0.6094 2.9398	1.8522 3.0973 3.0115	0.0257 0.0991 1.5505
ory and ment	RCAM	0.3487	1.5841 0.6543 1.1014	0.2812 0.5661 1.0409	1.6388 0.8361 1.6494	0.5192 0.3071 1.0973
Machinery and Equipment	RCAX	0.0086	0.0537 0.2612 0.2003	0.0012 0.0089 0.0000	0.03 <i>57</i> 0.0229 0.0101	0.0008
Chemical Products	RCAM	1.1514	1.2569 0.2988 1.8527	0.7468 1.5106 1.7021	1.5059 1.3200 1.6893	1.6740 1.3943 1.1596
Che	RCAX	0.0805 0.0195	0.0020 0.3827 0.4569	0.0631 0.0158 0.4461	0.1171 0.1640 0.4316	0.0477 0.2690 0.0997
Fuels	RCAM	0.3893	0.5547 1.3603 1.4180	0.9733 0.5521 0.6186	0.3656 0.9056 1.5058	0.8954 0.8604 1.1653
Fu	RCAX	0.0046	0.1248 0.0459 0.3229	0.0021 0.0092 0.0000	0.0986 0.0552 0.0770	0.0000 0.0025 0.5862
ral Raw ls, etc.	RCAM	0.8448	1.1665 1.1330 1.6798	0.5244 0.2752 0.9321	0.8735 0.1608 1.0589	0.3633 0.2233 0.5820
Agricultural Raw Materials, etc.	RCAX	1.8121	0.9261 1.3994 1.0569	1.3403 1.8784 0.5665	2.7335 1.4178 1.8370	0.9740 1.8268 1.0433
Items	RCAM	3.9858	1.2651 2.2898 0.8179	1.2474 1.1976 1.3592	1.1590 1.7573 2.1251	2.3804 3.8307 1.9403
Food Items	RCAX	0.5490	1.8489 2.8707 2.4639	3.3763 4.7285 3.4101	0.5168 1.8806 1.6826	4.7272 4.8524 4.6107
		1975	1965 1975 1985	1965 1975 1985	1965 1975 1985	1965 1975 1985
		Bangladesh 1975	India	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka

Sources: Same as for Table VI.

performance. This in turn has brought about the low level of actual complementarity and intra-regional trade.

The RCAX at three-digit SITC level for the major commodity groups in which the region's countries enjoy comparative advantages and disadvantages in the external markets have also been calculated in order to identify the products in which mutual expansion of trade could be expected with the help of trade liberalization on a "product by product" basis and through bilateral and multilateral negotiations. The major products in which bilateral/multilateral trade can be expanded on the basis of the RCAX are listed in Table IX. It is interesting to note here that large numbers of these commodities, e.g., tea and mate, jute, leather, woven textiles, fabrics, etc. from Bangladesh; tea and mate, spices, tobacco, iron-ore concentrates, iron-steel castings, cotton fabrics, textile articles, perfumery cosmetics, medicinal pharmaceutical products, steam boilers, textile leather machinery, electric distribution equipment, road motor vehicles, cycles, etc. from India; rice, jute, leather, floor covering, dyes n.e.s., tanning products from Nepal; rice, honey and sugar, spices, seeds, cotton, textile yarn, textile articles, fertilizer, textile leather machinery, pumps, etc. from Pakistan; fruits and nuts, tea and mate, natural rubber, vegetable fiber, natural abrasives, rubber articles, essential oil perfumes, etc. from Sri Lanka were exported outside the region in 1985, and the very same products were imported by deficit countries from outside the region during the same year largely because of high tariffs, non-tariff barriers, and other discriminatory practices adopted by member countries to each other's products [22, 1985 edition].

The major conclusion emerging from the foregoing analysis is that the fundamental cause for the existing low level of intra-regional trade is the presence of the low degree of complementarity in the production and trade structures of the countries of the region. This is largely the direct outcome of the imposition of trade and other barriers by the member countries on their intra-regional trade and the following of the import-substitution and self-sufficiency policies in light manufactured goods and consumable items in order to attain self-sustaining growth or self-support as soon as possible. This conclusion implies that the countries of the region can increase mutual trade substantially if they immediately make prodigious and outstanding efforts to (1) expand and explore potential complementarity through gradual market opening, (2) introduce a phased programme to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers on a "product by product" basis and to reduce "other interventionist" measures in the different sectors of their production structure, (3) conclude bilateral and multilateral long-term commodity agreements between the deficit and surplus countries within and outside the region, (4) set up "regional industries" involving two or more countries, (5) introduce government procurement preferences vis-à-vis the outside world (as has been done by ASEAN), and (6) establish regional trade information and promotion centers in order to identify the prospective buyers and their demands in relation to technical standards, quality, design, and payment arrangements. The countries of the region also need to harmonize their production, investment, and export plans at the regional level, keeping in view their actual and potential comparative advantages and disadvantages and the long-term economic interest of the less developed areas of the region.

TABLE IDENTIFICATION OF PRODUCTS FOR BILATERAL/

	IDENTIFICATION (OF PRODUCTS FOR BILATERAL/
Commodity Groups	Bangladesh	India
Food items	Fish (fresh, chilled, frozen); Fish (salted, dried, smoked); Shellfish (fresh, simply preserved); Vegetables (fresh, simply preserved); Tea and mate	Shellfish (fresh, frozen); Rice; Fruits, nuts (fresh, dried); Coffee substitutes; Tea and mate; Feeding stuffs for animal; Spices; Tobacco manufactured
Agricultural raw materials, etc.	Jute	Silk; Cotton; Jute; Stone, sand and gravel; Other crude materials; Iron and steel casting
Other manufactures	Leather; Textile yarns; Textile articles; Other woven textile fabrics; Men's outer wear; Women's outer wear; Undergarments	Leather; Leather, etc. manufactured; Cotton fabrics woven; Other woven textile fabrics; Textile articles; Floor covering; Pearl, precious stone; Trave goods; Women's outer wear Undergarments; Textile clothing; Developed cinema Works of arts
Fuels	Petroleum products	Petroleum products
Chemical products	Alcohol and phenols; Other inorganic chemicals	Inorganic chemicals; Synthetic dye; Dyes n.e.s., tanning product; Essential oil perfumes; Perfumery cosmetics; Pesticides
Machinery and equipment	Engineering equipment; Other machinery for special industries; Metal working machine tools; Mechanical handling equipment; Nonelectrical machine parts; Ship and boats	Steam boilers and auxiliar plants; Internal compress piston engine; Agricultural machinery excluding tractors; Textile leather machinery; Printing bookbinding machine; Food machinery; Other machiner for special industries; Metalworking machine too Metalworking machine too Metalworking n.e.s.; Pump for liquids; Pumps n.e.s., centrifuge; Electrical distributing equipment; Electrical model X-ray household-type equipment; Electrical machinery; Roamotor vehicles; Motor vehicles cycle, etc.; Tractonon-motor vehicles

Sources: [22, various issues] [23, various issues].

IX
MULTILATERAL TRADE LIBERALIZATION

Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Live animals; Butter; Rice; Wheat; Vegetables simply preserved; Spices; Feeding stuffs for animal; Seeds for other fixed oil; Fixed vegetable oil	Fish (salted, dried, smoked); Shellfish (fresh, frozen); Rice; Vegetables (prepared, preserved); Honey and sugar; Spices	Fruits, nuts; Tea and mate; Spices; Fixed vegetable oil
Wood rough; Jute; Stone, sand and gravel; Crude animal materials; Crude vegetable materials	Silk; Cotton; Wool; Crude animal materials; Crude vegetable materials; Pig iron	Natural rubber; Fuel wood; Vegetable fiber; Natural abrasive; Other crude materials; Crude vegetable materials
Leather; Other woven textile fabrics; Floor covering; Special fabrics, textile products; Women's outer wear; Undergarments; Works of arts	Leather; Textile yarns; Cotton fabrics; Textile articles; Floor covering; Cutlery; Women's outer wear; Undergarments; Undergarments knitted; Textile clothing; Headgear non-textile; Medical instrument; Toys	Rubber articles; Textile articles; Pottery; Pearl, precious stone; Men's outer wear; Women's outer wear; Undergarments; Outer wear knitted; Undergarments knitted; Textile clothing access
_	Petroleum products	Petroleum products; Residual petroleum products
Dyes n.e.s., tanning product	Fertilizer	Alcohols and phenols; Essential oil perfumes; Miscellaneous chemical products
	Rotating electric plant; Textile leather machinery; Food machinery; Other machinery for special industries; Heating, cooling equipment; Electric power machinery; Electric distribution equipment; Ship and boats	Metalworking machine tools; Pumps for liquids; Electric power machinery

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