ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES OF A NORTH AMERICA WITHOUT NAFTA OR USMCA

Christine McDaniel, Mercatus Center at George Mason University Sept. 26-27, 2019

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If the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement fails and the US withdraws from NAFTA ...
What would it mean for the United States?*

Without USMCA or NAFTA

Key take aways:

- 1. US exports lose preferential access
- 2. Strain on agriculture
- 3. Possibly freer trade in autos
- 4. Greater uncertainty overall

Without USMCA or NAFTA

US EXPORTS LOSE PREFERENTIAL ACCESS

- 27% of US exports go to Canada and Mexico
- With no USMCA or NAFTA:
- US agriculture would face up to 45% tariffs in Mexico and 15% in Canada
- US goods would face up to 35% tariffs in Mexico and 5% in Canada
- Behind-the-border barriers



STRAIN ON AGRICULTURE

No USMCA, No NAFTA is Made Worse by No Participation in TPP

Under NAFTA and USMCA

No NAFTA, No USMCA

Tariffs Until the Cows Come Home for U.S. Meat



\$737M worth or 20% of U.S. beef exports went to Mexico duty free in 2018 Reverts to 20% tariff for U.S. meat

Competitors from Australia and Canada get reduced or zero tariffs under TPP

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Spilled Milk for U.S. Dairy



\$329M worth or 7% of U.S. dairy exports went to Canada duty • free or near duty free in 2018

Reverts to an 11% tariff or an additional \$2.07 per kg

Competitors from New Zealand get reduced or zero tariffs under TPP

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Lager Head to Head



\$152M worth or 21% of U.S. beer exports went to Mexico duty free in 2018 Reverts to 20% tariff

U.S. beer loses advantage against beer from Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, which also pay 20%

POSSIBLY FREER TRADE IN AUTOS

USMCA

- Stricter rules of origin
- Higher wage requirements on Mexico
- Enforceable labor rules

NAFTA

- Existing rules of origin
- No wage floor
- Weak
 enforcement
 of labor rules

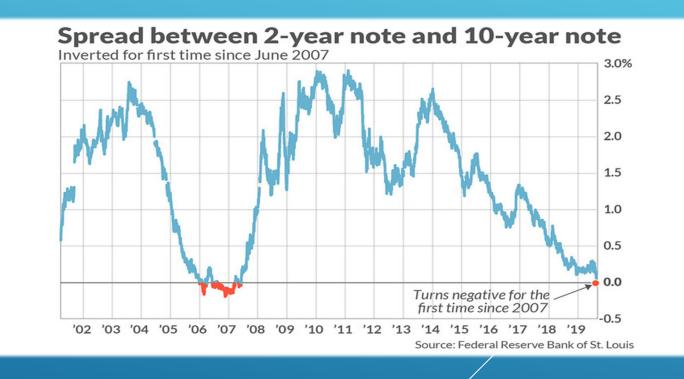
NO DEAL

- No rules of origin
- No wage requirements
- MFN tariffs imposed



POLICY RISK UNDERMINES INVESTMENT & GROWTH

- ► Uncertainty drove the results of USITC study
- Uncertainty is tied to investment downturns
- ▶ Stories from the streets



THE GHOST OF TPP

- ► Ironically, many of our woes in North American trade stem from leaving TPP
 - ▶ US agriculture losing markets
 - ▶ US economic uncertainty is exacerbating global risks
- ► Trade agreements on the table today are more about damage control than market opening
 - ▶ US-Japan
 - **▶** USMCA
 - **▶** US-EU

- ► Will Congress vote on USMCA this fall?
- ► Will President Trump withdraw us from NAFTA?
- ► Election year 2020: The political calculus is not positive

CONGRESS WILL DECIDE

Thank you!

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Economic Implications for the United States of a North America Without NAFTA or USMCA: A Brief Summary of Christine A. McDaniel

President Trump has stated that he intends to withdraw the United States from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) if $Congress\ does\ not\ annrove\ the\ United\ States\ Mexico.$ President Trump has stated that he intends to withdraw the United States from the North AmeriCanada Agreement (NAFTA) if Congress does not approve the United States-Mexicoand the economic effect of this Can Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) if Congress does not approve the United States-Mexico-action is difficult. There is Drofound disagreement in the United States on the extent of executive Canada Agreement (USMCA). Evaluating both the legal possibility and the economic effect of this nower. International trade is profound disagreement in the United States on the extent of executive around the economic effect of this regional. and bilateral action is difficult. There is profound disagreement in the United States on the extent of executive agreements. Withdrawing from NAFTA without ratifving the USMCA would have notential rinnle Power. International trade is governed by a complex web of multilateral, regional, and bilateral effects as other agreements will fill the vacuum created by the end of a regional trading arrange. agreements, Withdrawing from NAFTA without ratifying the USMCA would have potential ripple agreements will fill the vacuum created by the end of a regional trading arrange. While acknowledging that NAFTA remains in force if the USMCA is not ratified, this brief pressure in which the United States no longer has a regional trading arrange. While acknowledging that NAFTA remains in force if the USMCA is not ratified, this brief presment with Canada and Mexico (that is, President Trump successfully withdraws the nation from ents a hypothetical scenario in which the United States no longer has a regional trading arrange the USMCA). This scenario does not consider economy. ment with Canada and Mexico (that is, President Trump successfully withdraws the nation from wide effects, and it is limited to the following areas: market access for trade in goods and agricul-NAFTA and Congress does not approve the USMCA). This scenario does not consider economy.

nare, autos, intellectual property rights, digital trade and e-commerce, investment disputes, and wide effects, and it is limited to the following areas: market access for trade in goods and agriculabor standards.²

labor standards.²

investment disputes, and

Key economic implications for the United States in the absence of a North American trade agree-1. US exports of goods, agriculture, and services would no longer benefit from preferential market access Us exports of goods, agriculture, and services would no longer benefit from preferential described in Canada and Mexico, including duty-free treatment and special market access