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The Slow Unraveling of U.S. Trade Policy in the Age of Trump
Chad P. Bown
Selected Paper prepared for presentation at the International Agricultural Trade Research Consortium's (IATRC's) 2017 Annual Meeting: Globalization Adrift, December 3-5, 2017, Washington, DC.
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# The Slow Unraveling of U.S. Trade Policy in the Age of Trump

Chad P. Bown

**Peterson Institute for International Economics** 

**2017 IATRC Annual Meeting** 

**Globalization Adrift** 

December 2017

Washington, DC

## As of March 2016 these were the kind of papers I was working on...



World Trade Review (2016), 15: 2, 235–257

© Chad P. Bown and Jennifer A. Hillman doi:10.1017/S1474745615000701

American Economic Journal: Economic Policy 2017, 9(4): 64–100 https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.20150145

#### Bird Flu, the OIE, and National Regulation: The WTO's *India-Agricultural Products* Dispute

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The World Bank and CEPR

JENNIFER A. HILLMAN\*\*

Georgetown University Law Center

Journal of Economic Literature 2016, 54(4), 1125–1231 http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/jel.20151192 Trade Agreements and Enforcement: Evidence from WTO Dispute Settlement

By Chad P. Bown and Kara M. Reynolds\*

#### Is the WTO Passé?

KYLE BAGWELL, CHAD P. BOWN, AND ROBERT W. STAIGER\*

World Trade Review (2017), 16: 2, 253–277 © Chad P. Bown And Jennifer A. Hillman doi:10.1017/S1474745616000537 World Trade Review (2017), 16: 2, 371–394 © Chad P. Bown And Rachel Brewster doi:10.1017/S1474745616000586

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Georgetown University Law Center

### **US-COOL** Retaliation: The WTO's Article 22.6 Arbitration

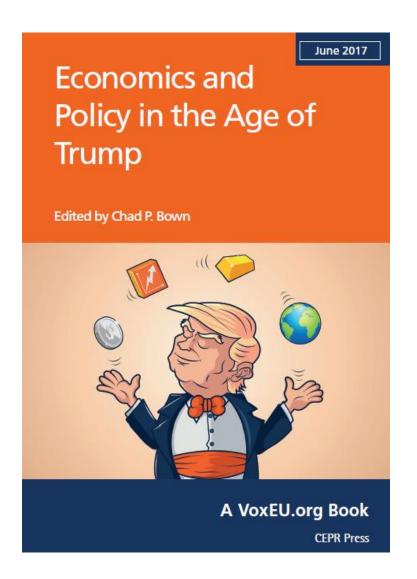
CHAD P. BOWN\*

Peterson Institute for International Economics & CEPR
RACHEL BREWSTER\*\*

Duke Law School

### **But since April 2016...**







# The Slow Unraveling of U.S. Trade Policy in the Age of Trump

- 1. President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals
- 2. President Trump's approach to the WTO
- 3. President Trump's unconventional approach to trade remedies
- 4. President Trump's uncertain approach to China



## The Origins of *Trade Talks*

by Chad P. Bown (PIIE)

on the weekly economics of trade policy podcast I co-host with Soumaya Keynes (*The Economist*)



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@ChadBown

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Special Episode. Trump's Unfair Trade Action against China

- 1. NAFTAnomics: The Economics of Three Big Fights
- 2. Trump Threatens the South Korea-US Trade Deal
- 3. Nerves of **Steel**: Waiting for Trump's Trade War
- 4. Holding the WTO Hostage, Trump Style
- 5. Solar Tariffs, Clean Energy (and Trump)
- 6. Uncertainty and Trade Deals—Not Good
- 7. Tariffs, Subsidies and Not-So-Friendly Skies
- 8. NAFTA Time Out Unsurprisingly Unconventional
- 9. Happy 70th GATTiversary The Origins of Multilateral Trade
- 10. What if the UK Crashed into a No-Deal Brexit?
- 11. The Complicated Impact of Trade...on Developing Countries
- 12. How to Save a (Pacific) Trade Deal
- 13. Export Superstars and Billionaires: When Do Policymakers Need to Worry?

14. Trade Talks Tough: Sanctions on North Korea



with N. Limão

with D. Irwin, P. Mavroidis & A. Sykes

with S. Dhingra

with N. Pavcnik

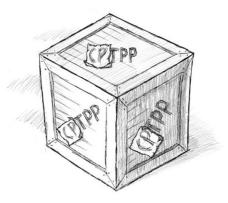
with C. Freund

with M. Noland

# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals: Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)









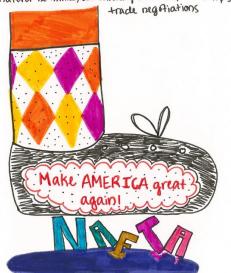
# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals: NAFTA



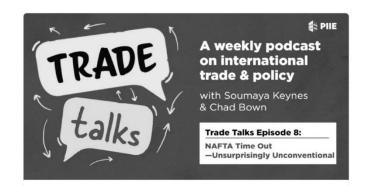


Dealing with Donald Donald Trump's trade bluster

whatever be thinks, dealmaking won't help Mr. Tromp's









# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals: KORUS



Mar 16+12017

### KORUS of dissapproval

The south korea-US trade aggreement turns 5 though not many are celebrating its biAhday







# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals



- 1. Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) withdrawal
- 2. Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (KORUS-FTA) threat
- 3. North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) renegotiation

#### Trump's "unconventional" proposals

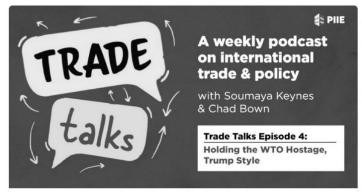
- 1. Autos content: 62.5% -> 85% North American content; 0->50% US content
- 2. 5-year sunset proposal introducing (not eliminating) uncertainty
- 3. Elimination of legally binding dispute settlement
  - Challenging antidumping & countervailing duties (Chapter 19)
  - State-to-state trade disputes (Chapter 20)
  - Investor-state dispute settlement (Chapter 11)
- 4. Buy America provisions in government procurement (government contracts)



# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals: WTO











# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade deals: WTO











Professors Douglas Irwin (Dartmouth College), Petros Mavroidis (Columbia Law School), and Alan Sykes (Stanford Law School) join Soumaya Keynes & Chad Bown on *Trade Talks* to discuss their book, *The Genesis of the GATT*.



# President Trump's uncertain approach to the WTO



**Buenos Aires ministerial? (December 2017)** 

Instigating new Crises in Geneva ...

- Appellate Body member appointment holdup
- WTO dispute settlement engagement
- Criticism of prior WTO dispute settlement rulings
  - "zeroing" disputes to US antidumping
  - safeguards disputes
- "Reciprocal" tariffs, MFN...



# President Trump's unconventional approach to trade remedies: Steel & Aluminum national security threat cases





Trade policy How Chinese overcapacity hits American works and workers The risk is that Donald Trump has the wrong



Trade Policy
The Trump administration turns up the
Neat on trade
Hopes that the protectionist candidate would mellow in
Office are fading



### President Trump's unconventional approach to trade

remedies: Solar, Bombardier Softwood Lumber...



















#### Section 232

Import threat to national security – steel and aluminum

#### "Traditional" Unfair Trade Laws

- Antidumping and countervailing duties softwood lumber and Bombardier jets
- Self-initiated investigations started with aluminum sheet

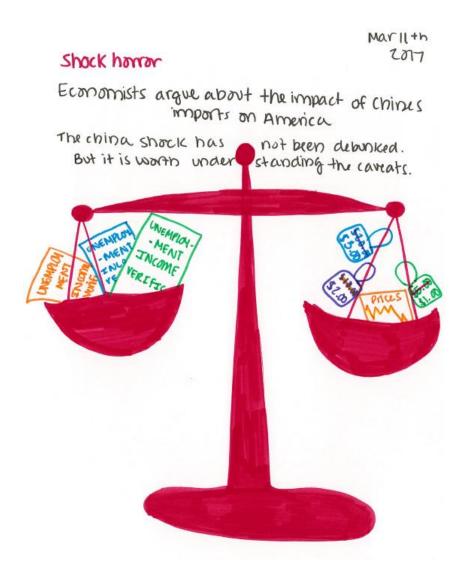
#### **Section 201**

Global safeguards – solar panels and washing machines



# President Trump's unconventional approach to China





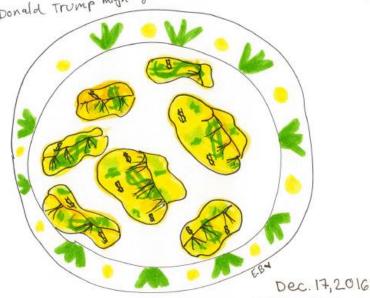


### President Trump's unconventional approach to China

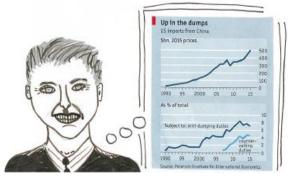


Chinese dumpings
An early salvo in a trade war between America and chine?

Donald Trump might get a trade war without even trying









# President Trump's uncertain approach to China



#### Non-market economy (NME) status

December 11, 2016 – 15 year anniversary of China's WTO accession

### Mar-a-Lago and the 100 day talks

Outcome/deliverables – ummm...

### **Section 301** – unfair trade – investigation

- Joint-ventures, forced technology-transfer and intellectual property theft
- But conflict/threat with WTO



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