

解读美国五大贸易法案的 制定和实施

Understanding the Formulation and Application of Five U.S. Trade Acts

李莉文



解读美国五大贸易法案的 制定和实施

Understanding the Formulation and Application of Five U.S. Trade Acts

李莉文 著

外语教学与研究出版社 FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS 北京 BEIJING

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

解读美国五大贸易法案的制定和实施 = Understanding the Formulation and Application of Five U.S. Trade Acts: 英文/李莉文著. — 北京: 外语教学与研究出版社, 2009.5

ISBN 978-7-5600-8607-1

T. 解··· II. 李··· III. 贸易法—研究—美国—英文 IV. D971.222:9

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2009) 第 070033 号

你有你"优"——点击你的外语学习方案

www.2u4u.com.cn

阅读、视听、测试、交流 购书享积分,积分换好书



出版人: 于春迟

责任编辑:安阳阳

封面设计: 覃一彪

出版发行: 外语教学与研究出版社

杜 址: 北京市西三环北路 19 号 (100089)

M 址: http://www.fltrp.com

印 刷:北京外国语大学印刷厂

开 本: 850×1168 1/32

印 张: 10.75

版 次: 2009年5月第1版 2009年5月第1次印刷

书 号: ISBN 978-7-5600-8607-1

定 价: 35.90元

* * *

如有印刷、装订质量问题出版社负责调换

制售盗版必究 举报查实奖励

版权保护办公室举报电话: (010)88817519

物料号: 186070001

Acknowledgments

I feel grateful to those who have contributed to this book. Professor Mei Renyi deserves considerable credit for his encouragement, assistance, and guidance throughout the writing process. I greatly appreciate not only his expertise but also his kindness, good humor, and tolerance during my work on this book. His insights and advice are always valuable, and he has been very generous in offering his time to me. His kindness and patience made the year much less frightening and more productive than it otherwise would have been.

I also feel indebted to Professor Peng Long, Professor Wan Meng, Professor Jerry Friedland for their helpful discussions with me during my preparation of this book. My dear colleagues Li Qikeng and Fu Meirong inspired me to develop new ideas, and opened themselves to my questions. They have been encouraging and helpful.

Finally, I would like to thank my family members and friends for their emotional support throughout my work. Special thanks go to my husband for his steadfast support for my research endeavors.

内容摘要

通过对美国五大贸易法案——《1934年互惠贸易协定法》、 《1962年扩大贸易法》、《1974年贸易法》、《1988年综合贸易与 竞争法》、《2002 年贸易法》——的集中分析,本书旨在解读美 国贸易法的制定和实施。

本书对美国自 1934 年以来出台的贸易法进行了综合研究, 既探讨了美国贸易法的历史发展,又突出其制定过程和主要成 果,其错综复杂的立法过程也是美国贸易政策纷繁复杂特点的体 现。本书还考察了美国贸易法制定时的国际国内的政治和经济 因素、总结了行政部门和立法部门的互动模式以及此互动模式对 贸易法实施所带来的影响。本书以案例分析为主要研究方法,以 "贸易决策过程模式"为主要分析工具,同时也采用了历史分析 和文本分析的手段进行研究。

本书阐明美国贸易法为美国贸易政策提供了法律依据。贸易 决策者不断需要法律所赋予的更多的权力和指引以便应对日益加 重的责任。美国贸易法的中心思想是阻止外国"不公正"的竞争 对美国经济产生的负面影响。然而、综观美国贸易法实施的历史 可以看出: 贸易法的运用主要是以牺牲别国利益为代价, 谋求本 国利益,为其外交战略而服务。此外,美国对自由贸易体系的追 求永远受到政策妥协的羁绊。虽然立法部门对贸易法案制定的考 虑与行政部门有所不同,但他们的最终目标是一致的,即提高美国的竞争力和维护其霸权地位。最后,美国工业化的突飞猛进得益于其贸易壁垒。虽然美国声称开放市场、自由竞争,但实际上它已发展成为重商主义者,竭力保护本国受进口竞争影响的工业。

本书的创新之处在于两点,其一,很少有人对美国贸易法做 过纵向研究,详细考察贸易法案的起源、制定、实施,及其所经 历的变化和原因,其二,本研究着眼于不同时期美国贸易法案的 使用情况,让读者更好地认识其有效使用的决定性因素。

关键词:美国贸易法,贸易政策,贸易政治,外交战略

Abstract

This book aims to show why U.S. trade laws are formulated and how effective they are by focusing on five major pieces of trade legislation, namely, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the Trade Act of 1974, the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, and the Trade Act of 2002.

This book is intended to be a comprehensive historical study of U.S. trade laws since 1934. It not only traces the development of major trade laws but also focuses on the policy-making process and its substantive outcome, treating the legislation as a tangible manifestation of complex themes in U.S. trade policy. Both political and economic factors, international and domestic, are examined and summarized. So are the patterns of the interplay between the executive and legislative branches and the ways in which those patterns of interaction affect the operation of trade laws. This research employs case study as the main methodology coupled with historical analysis and textual analysis, and the trade policy decision-making models as the primary analytical tool.

This book shows that trade laws provide a legal basis for U.S. trade policy. Trade policymakers constantly need additional legal

authority and guidance to manage their enlarged responsibilities. The central purpose of U.S. trade laws is to prevent "unfair" foreign competition from weakening the vitality of American economy. However, the historical application of trade laws reveals that the United States has been using its trade laws to advance its national interest and promote foreign policy objectives at the cost of other countries. In addition, the U.S. pursuit of a liberal trading system is perpetually saddled with policy compromises. The legislative branch and the executive branch may differ in policy consideration when it comes to trade legislation, but they share the same goal of enhancing U.S. competitiveness and maintaining its hegemonic position. Finally, it turned out that the United States accomplished its greatest industrial growth historically behind protectionist barriers. While claiming to have opened up its trade to free competition, the United States has proved to be a mercantilist trader who protects its industries from imports.

This book makes a contribution to the study of U.S. trade laws and policy in the following two aspects. First, there are few longitudinal studies of U.S. trade laws which have closely examined the origin, passage, and application of trade statutes, describing changes over time and explaining the rationale behind the changes. Second, this study focuses on the application of trade laws to develop an understanding of the determinants of effectiveness of trade statues.

Key Words: U.S. trade laws, trade policy, trade politics, foreign policy goals

Acronyms

AAA Agricultural Adjustment Act

ADs Antidumping Duties (trade remedy laws)

AFBF American Farm Bureau Federation

AFL-CIO American Federation of Labor and Congress of

Industrial Organizations

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

ASP American Selling Price

CAP Common Agricultural Policy (EU)

CEA Council of Economic Advisers

COCOM Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export

Controls

CVDs Countervailing Duties (trade remedy laws)

EC European Communities

EEC European Economic Community

EFTA European Free Trade Association

EU European Union

FTA Free Trade Agreement

FTAA Free Trade Area of the Americas

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GSP Generalized System of Preferences

H-O Heckscher-Ohlin (trade model)

IPR Intellectual Property Rights

ITC International Trade Commission

LTA Long-Term Arrangement (Regarding International

Trade in Cotton Textiles)

MFA Multifiber Arrangement

MFN Most Favored Nation

MOSS Market-Oriented Sector-Selective (trade talks)

NAFTA North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGOs Nongovernmental Organizations

NICs Newly Industrializing Countries

NRA National Recovery Act

NSC National Security Council

NTBs Nontariff Trade Barriers

NTER National Trade Estimate Report (on foreign trade

barriers)

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development

Orderly Marketing Agreement OMA

Office of Management and Budget OMB

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries **OPEC**

Overseas Private Investment Corporation OPIC

Political Action Committees **PACs**

Permanent Normal Trade Relations (for China) PNTR

Preferential Trade Agreement PTA

RTAA Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (1934)

Structural Impediments Initiative (trade talks) SII

Short-Term Arrangement (Regarding International STA

Trade in Cotton Textiles)

Special Trade Representative STR

Trade Adjustment Assistance TAA

TDA Trade and Development Agency

Trade Promotion Authority TPA

U.S. International Trade Commission USITC

United States Tariff Commission USTC

United States Trade Representative USTR

WTO World Trade Organization

List of Tables

Table 1	The Federal Government: A System of Checks and Balances
Table 2	How a Bill Becomes Trade Legislation
Table 3	Average Tariff Rates, 1821-1857
Table 4	Regional Patterns of Support for Tariff Legislation of 1824 and 1828
	House Vote
Table 5	Regional Patterns of Support for Tariff Legislation of 1824 and 1828
	Senate Vote
Table 6	Average Tariff Rates in the United States (1870-1980)
Table 7	Senate Votes on Trade Legislation, 1922-1934 (by Region)
Table 8	Liberal and Protectionist Votes in the Industrial States. 1934 RTAA
Table 9	Reciprocal Trade Agreements, 1934-1939
Table 10	Regional Voting in the Senate on the Bush Amendment to Restore th
	Peril Point
Table 11	Benefits to Workers Under Adjustment Assistance Program
Table 12	Section 201 Case Summary, 1975-2001
Table 13	Provisions of the Trade Act of 1974
Table 14	Section 301 Cases, 1975-1986
Table 15	Section 301: Cases by Countries and Regions, 1975-1990
Table 16	Section 301 Table of Cases Concerning Section 301 (1975-1986)
Table 17	Section 301, Super 301, and Special 301
Table 18	Special 301 Priority Foreign Country/Region (1989-2005)

Table 19 China's Status Under Special 301 Review
Table 20 U.S. Free Trade Agreements

List of Figures

Figure 1 Number of Section 201 Cases, 1975-2004

Figure 2 Inflation Rate: 1914-2002

Contents

Acronyms	XII
List of Tables	XV
List of Figures	XVI
Introduction	1
1. The Scope of Study	2
2. Significance of the Research	3
3. Literature Review	5
4. Thesis Contribution	17
5. Methodology and Sources	17
6. Organization	
Chapter 1 Theories on International Trade	23
1. Mercantilism	23
2. Free Trade	26
2.1 Classical Trade Theory	27
2.2 Neoclassical Trade Theory	33
3. Protectionism	
3.1 The Infant-Industry Argument	
3.2 The Fair Trade Argument	

4. Political Considerations of International Trade	46
4.1 Building a Liberal Trading System	47
4.2 Backsliding from Liberal Trade Principles	47
4.3 Trade as a Foreign Policy Tool	48
Chapter 2 The Formulation and Execution o	of American
Trade Policy	54
1. The Executive Branch	55
1.1 The President	56
1.2 The Executive Office	57
1.3 The Departments	59
1.4 The Agencies	62
1.5 Interagency Coordinating Groups	
2. The Legislative Branch	65
2.1 The Structure	65
2.2 Legislative Process	68
2.3 Committees	69
2.4 Authority and Power	71
3. The Private Sector	73
3.1 Types of Organizations	73
3.2 Activities	76
Chapter 3 Trade Policy Prior to 1934	79
1. Trade Policy Before the Civil War (1789-186	60) 80
2. Trade Policy Between 1861 and 1890	87

3. Trade Policy Between 1891 and 1930	92
4. The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930	98
5. Conclusion	101
Chapter 4 The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934.	105
1. International Setting	106
1.1 Trade Barriers in the 1930s	108
1.2 The Effects of the Trade Barriers	111
1.3 Breakdown of International Efforts	112
2. Domestic Context	115
3. The Administration's Proposal	118
4. Congressional Handling of the RTAA	121
4.1 Congressional Debate	121
4.2 Realignment of Congressional Trade Coalitions	128
5. Implementing the RTAA	137
6. Conclusion	140
Chapter 5 The Trade Expansion Act of 1962	146
1. International Context	148
2. Domestic Context: the Influence of Protectionism	152
3. The Administration's Proposal and Persuasive Campaign	157
4. Congressional Handling of the Administration's Proposal	161
4.1 Passage of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962	165
4.2 Innovative Features of the New Legislation	168
5. Application of Escape Clause	169

5.1 The Origin of the American Escape Clause	70
5.2 The Development of Escape Clause from 1951 to 19731	71
5.3 Section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974	75
5.4 The Application of Section 201 (1975-2004)1	79
6. Conclusion	85
Chapter 6 The Trade Act of 1974	94
1. International Context	95
1.1 The Rise of Japan	95
1.2 The "Oil Shock" of 1973	96
2. Domestic Context 1	98
2.1 Stagflation1	98
2.2 The Rising Tide of New Protectionism2	:00
3. The Administration's Proposal2	:03
4. Congressional Handling of the Administration's Proposal 2	:05
4.1 House Action on the Bill	:05
4.2 Senate Action on the Bill	80
5. Application of Section 3012	13
5.1 History of Section 301	13
5.2 The Objectives of Section 301	14
5.3 The Substantive Elements of Section 301	215
5.4 International Law and Section 3012	16
5.5 The Application of Section 301 (1975-1986)2	17
6. Conclusion	224