

Notes

Chapter 1

1. N.a., "The New Trade War," *Economist*, 4 December 1999, 25–26; www.ictsd.org/wto_daily/index.htm, David E. Sanger and Joseph Kahn, "A Chaotic Intersection of Tear Gas and Trade Talks," *New York Times*, 1 December 1999, A14; and Mercury News Wire Services, "Notebook," *San Jose Mercury News*, 30 November 1999.

2. N.a., "The Battle in Seattle," *Economist*, 26 November 1999; and Bruce Ramsey, "Morality vs. Right to Choose in Trade Debate," *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, 24 November 1999.

3. Susan Ariel Aaronson, "The Word on the Street," www.intellectualcapital.com/issues/issue316/item7094.asp.

4. Excerpts from press conference by President William Jefferson Clinton, 8 December 1999; and excerpts from press briefing by Joe Lockhart, 6 December 1999, both on WTO Third Ministerial Conference Web site, www.wto.org.

5. Statement by Michael Moore at www.wto.org/wto/new/press160.htm.

6. Editorial, "WTO: Disaster in Seattle," and Guy de Jonquieres and Frances Williams, "Seattle: A Goal Beyond Reach," both in *Financial Times*, 6 December 1999.

7. A. V. Ganesa, former commerce secretary of India, "WTO Protesters Didn't Speak for Me," *Washington Post*, 5 December 1999; Anne Swardson, "A Rorschach Test on Trade," *Washington Post*, 3 December 1999, A32; John Burgess and Rene Sanchez, "Clinton's Remarks on Sanctions Open Rift," *Washington Post*, 3 December 1999; and Helene Cooper, "Poor Countries Are Demonstrators' Strongest Critics," *Wall Street Journal*, 2 December 1999.

In the United States, many business leaders and some Republican members of Congress do not think trade policies should address social issues such as food safety or labor standards. I. M. Destler, *American Trade Politics: System Under Stress* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1995), 285–86; and Geza Feketekeuty with Bruce Stokes, *Trade Strategies for a New Era: Ensuring U.S. Leadership in a Global Economy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), 259–98.

8. On the Boston Tea Party, see Terrence H Witkowski, "Colonial Consumers in Revolt: Buyer Values and Behavior During the Nonimportation Movement, 1764–1776," *Journal of Consumer Research* 16 (September 1989): 219–20; on the slave trade protests, see Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 41, esp. n. 3.

9. “Time for Another Round,” *Economist*, 3 October 1998; “China: WTO Gathering Marred by Globalization Protests,” *China Daily*, 8 July 1998; “Supplement: What Limits to Free Trade?” *Le Monde*, 25 May 1998; and “WTO Prepares Key Events Amid Street Protests, Asian Troubles,” *Agence France Presse International*, 15 May 1998.
10. Guy de Jonquieres, “Rules for the Regulators,” *Financial Times*, 2 March 1998, 19.
11. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 41–47; and Percy W Bidwell, *The Invisible Tariff: A Study of the Control of Imports into the United States* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1939), 106–7, 109–11.
12. President’s Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President 1993* (Washington: GPO, 1993), on reducing services, 109–12; on deregulation, 24, 170–73; on trade, 311, 315, 318.
13. Steve Charnovitz, “Environmental and Labour Standards in Trade,” *World Economy* (May 1992): 335–55; John Judis, “Campaign Issues: Trade,” *Columbia Journalism Review* (November/December 1992): 38–39; and David Vogel, *Trading Up: Consumer and Environmental Regulation in a Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 20.
14. David W Pearce, ed., *The MIT Dictionary of Modern Economics*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 425.
15. Patrick J Buchanan, *The Great Betrayal: How American Sovereignty and Social Justice Are Being Sacrificed to the Gods of the Global Economy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 107, 264–69, 313; and Ralph Nader, “Introduction,” in Ralph Nader et al., *The Case Against Free Trade* (San Francisco: Earth Island, 1993), 1–12.
16. Save Our Sovereignty, “Opposition to World Trade Organization Grows Across Political Spectrum,” press release, 13 June 1994. Save Our Sovereignty was a coalition of economic nationalists and conservative activists run out of the U.S. Business and Industrial Council, 122 C St. NW, #815, Washington, DC 20001.
17. On GATT, see Susan Ariel Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 147–66. On NAFTA, see John J. Audley, *Green Politics and Global Trade* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1997), 155–63. On Schlafly, see www.eagleforum.org/column, for 29 February 1996 and 31 October 1996.
18. On Jerry Brown and concerns of the left, see Edmund G. Brown Jr., “Free Trade is not Free,” in *The Case Against Free Trade*, 65–69. Edmund G. Brown is Jerry Brown.
19. On these strange bedfellows, see editorial, *Wall Street Journal*, 9 September 1993, A20. On Milliken, see Buchanan, *The Great Betrayal*, 94–97.
20. An early influential example is E. E. Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressure and the Tariff: A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics as Shown in the 1929–1930 Revision of the Tariff* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1935). A more recent example is Daniel Verdier, *Democracy and International Trade: Britain, France, and the United States, 1860–1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
21. Interview with Colin Hines, Green Party, 23 September 1998; and Sir James Goldsmith, “Global Free Trade and GATT,” excerpt from *Le Piège*, 1994.
22. Nancy Dunne, “Consumer Protest at World Trade Plan,” *Financial Times*, 11 December 1992, 5; Tim Lang and Colin Hines, *The New Protectionism: Protecting the Future Against Free Trade* (New York: New Press, 1993), 49; and Dani Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1997), 1–7.
23. “India Rejects EU. Plan for Fresh WTO Talks on Trade,” *Agence France Presse*, 11 September 1998; “Indian Farmers Attack WTO Import Rules,” Reuters, 15 August 1998; and “A Time for Another Round,” *Economist*, 3 October 1998, 3.

24. Bruce Campbell, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, interview, 16 September 1998 and Steven Shrybman, Canadian Environmental Law Institute, interview, 22 August 1998.

25. On Australia, Kate Gilmore, Amnesty International; Judy Henderson, Oxfam International; Phyllis Campbell, Greenpeace; and Liam Phelen, Aidwatch, all interviews, 16 June 1997 in Sydney, Australia.

26. Lang and Hines, *The New Protectionism*; and Colin Hines, interview, 23 September 1998.

27. One of the first cross-border organizing efforts against the GATT was at the GATT ministerial session in Brussels, Belgium, in December 1988; see Mark Ritchie, “Cross-Border Organizing,” in *The Case Against the Global Economy and for a Turn Toward the Local*, ed. Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1996), 494–500; notes from Lori Wallach, Global Trade Watch to Susan Aaronson on draft book, March 1999; and R.C. Longworth, “Activists on Internet Reshaping Rules for Global Economy,” *Chicago Tribune*, 5 July 1999.

28. Lori Wallach, director of Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch, first used this term to describe her work on trade in the United States and overseas (Lori Wallach, interview, 2 July 1998). Wallach believes the term was created by Wallach’s Indian colleague, Vandana Shiva, who is director of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy in Dehradun, India.

29. Vogel, *Trading Up*, 3.

30. *Ibid.*, 5, 8.

31. Douglas A Irwin, *Against the Tide: An Intellectual History of Free Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 6.

32. *Ibid.*, 4–5; and Mario Broussard and Steven Pearlstein, “Reality Check: Great Divide, Economists Vs. the Public,” *Washington Post*, 13–15 October 1996, A1, A6.

33. Broussard and Pearlstein, “Reality Check,” A6. Also see Paul Krugman, *Pop Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

34. United States Trade Representative, *A Preface to Trade* (Washington: GPO, 1982), 149.

35. Jagdish Bhagwati, *Free Trade, “Fairness” and the New Protectionism: Reflections on an Agenda for the World Trade Organisation* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1995) and Edward John Ray, *U.S. Protectionism and World Debt Crisis* (New York: Quorum, 1989), 13–27; and Nancy Dunne, “Alarm Over Protection with a New Bite in ’97,” *Financial Times*, 23 February 1997.

36. For historical evidence that the public sees trade as a dialectic, see polls from 1930–95, Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 249–50, and analysis, 169–71, 175–76. For more recent polls, see Jackie Calmes, “Despite Buoyant Economic Times, American Don’t Buy Free Trade,” *Wall Street Journal*, 10 December 1998 and EPIC/MRA poll for Women in International Trade, May 1999, at www.embassy.org/wiit/survey.htm.

37. Zedillo is quoted in Mortimer B. Zuckerman, “Editorial: A Bit of Straight Talk,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 3 July 2000, 60. Mexicans may have gained a more transparent political system with the 2000 election of Vicente Fox. Views of many of the protesters, in William Greider, “The Battle Beyond Seattle,” *The Nation*, 27 December 1999. According to the noted trade economist Jagdish Bhagwati, “fairness” in the American sense relates to the process by which “competition for economic success takes place.” Americans are focused on procedure; Europeans on results. See Jagdish Bhagwati, “The Demands to Reduce Domestic Diversity Among Trading Nations,” in *Fair Trade and*

Harmonization: Prerequisites for Free Trade? ed. Jagdish Bhagwati and Robert E. Hudec (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 18, 32.

38. Judith Goldstein, *Ideas, Interests, and American Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 1–22.

39. The United States also uses retaliatory protection to induce trade liberalization. See Press releases on USTR Web site, www.wto.gov. Press Releases 35, 58, 60, and 41, USTR Announces Results of Special 301 Annual Review.

40. Deirdre McGrath, “Writing Different Lyrics to the Same Old Tune: The New (and Improved) 1997 Amendments to the Marine Mammal Protection Act,” *Minnesota Journal of Global Trade* 7: (Spring 1999) 431, 437, 452.

41. The definition of mercantilism is from Ruppert Pennant-Rea and Bill Emmott, *Pocket Economist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 146.

42. Alfred E. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market: U.S. Foreign Trade Policy Since 1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 29; and Alan Tonelson, “US Nationalists versus Free-Trade Theorists,” *Singapore Business Times*, 5 March 1996.

43. Three good overviews of the history of protection are Eckes, *Opening America’s Markets*; Tom E. Terrill, *The Tariff, Politics, and American Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973); and John M. Dobson, *Two Centuries of Tariffs* (Washington: GPO, 1976).

44. Goldstein, *Ideas, Interests*, 163–77; and Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 169–71, 175–76.

45. Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President 1998* (Washington: GPO, 1998), 216–17. Trade is a much smaller component of the U.S. economy than in most countries.

46. John Immerwahr, Jean Johnson, and Adam Kernan Schloss, *Cross-Talk: The Public, the Experts and Competitiveness: A Research Report from the Business Higher Education Forum and the Public Agenda Foundation* (Washington: Public Agenda, 1991).

47. C. Michael Aho and Jonathan David Aronson, *Trade Talks: America Better Listen* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1985), 27.

48. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 57–60, 134–36, 169–71.

49. Immerwahr et al., *Cross-Talk*.

50. Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1993*, 27–30.

51. Murray Weidenbaum, *Business, Government and the Public* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 23; and Mark Green and Norman Waitzman, *Business War on the Law: An Analysis of the Benefits of Federal Health/Safety Enforcement* (Washington: Corporate Accountability Research Group, 1979), 1–2.

52. David Vogel, “The ‘New’ Social Regulation,” in *Regulation in Perspective: Historical Essays*, ed. Thomas K. McCraw (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1981), 180–85.

53. Weidenbaum, *Business, Government*, 39–41.

54. Vogel, “The ‘New’ Social Regulation,” 180–85.

55. “Politics Brief, Ex Uno plures,” *Economist*, 21 August 1999, 44–45.

56. Martha Derthick and Paul J Quirk, *The Politics of Deregulation* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1985), 1.

57. Mansel G. Blackford and K. Austin Kerr, *Business Enterprise in American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 330–31, 374–83.

58. Weidenbaum, *Business, Government*, 19–31.

59. Derthick and Quirk, *The Politics of Deregulation*, 58; and Blackford and Kerr, *Business Enterprise*, 330–31, 374–83.

60. Norman J. Vig and Michael E. Kraft, *Environmental Policy in the 1980s: Reagan's New Agenda* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1984), 21 and Na, *The American Economy: Government's Role, Citizen's Choice* (Alexandria, VA: Close Up, 1991), 18.

61. Vig and Kraft, *Environmental Policy*, 3–26; Samuel P Hays, *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 491–526.

62. Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* 7.

63. Derthick and Quirk, *The Politics of Deregulation*, 9–10; and Michael Pertschuk, *Revolt Against Regulation: The Rise and Pause of the Consumer Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 5–45.

64. Pertschuk, *The Revolt*, 5–6.

65. Pietro S. Nivola, “American Social Regulation Meets the Global Economy,” in *Comparative Disadvantages: Social Regulations and the Global Economy*, ed. Pietro S. Nivola (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997), 16–97; Green and Waitzman, *Business War*; see ads in appendix A; and David Vogel, “The ‘New’ Social Regulation,” 178.

66. Nivola, “American Social Regulation,” 16–97.

67. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon, 1944).

68. William B. Kelly, Jr., ed., *Studies in United States Commercial Policy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 54–68.

69. World Trade Organization, “10 Benefits of the WTO Trading System” (Geneva: WTO, 1999), 1, 5, 8–12, 15; and Patrick Lane, “Time for Another Round,” *Economist*, 3, 4.

70. For current information on the WTO and its members, see www.wto.org.

71. Francis Masson and H. Edward English, *Invisible Trade Barriers Between Canada and the United States* (Washington: National Planning Association and Private Planning Association of Canada, 1963), 2, 3.

72. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff* 3–4; and Hoekman, “Trade Laws,” 34.

73. John H. Jackson, *World Trading System: Law and Policy of International Economic Relations*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 75, 153–55.

74. Edward John Ray, *U.S. Protectionism and the World Debt Crisis* (New York: Quorum, 1989), 23.

75. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 111–15.

76. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 3–6.

77. Robert E. Hudec, *Enforcing International Trade Law: The Evolution of the Modern GATT Legal System* (Salem, NH: Butterworth Legal, 1993), 45–46, 203; and Robert E. Hudec, *The GATT Legal System and World Trade Diplomacy* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 63, 355, 356, n. 17.

78. U.S. Tariff Commission, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program*, 2nd report, April 1948–March 1949, 19–21, 20, n. 4.

79. S. Concurrent Resolution 100, 89th Cong., 2d sess. (1966) in Michael J. Glennon et al., *United States Foreign Relations Law: Documents and Sources International Economic Regulation*, Vol. 4 (London: Oceana, 1984), 4–10.

80. According to USTR, a “codes of conduct” approach was adopted because it allowed negotiators to deal with the various impediments to trade without dealing with the rationale for such impediments; USTR, *A Preface*, 6.

81. William R. Cline, ed., *Trade Policy in the 1980s* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1983), 69–71, 723, 735, 752, 771; Aho and Aronson, *Trade Talks*,

28–29; and Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Future of American Trade Policy, *The Free Trade Debate* (New York: Priority Press, 1989), 82.

82. USTR, *1987 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers* (Washington: GPO, 1987), 4; Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President 1993* (Washington: GPO, 1993), 323.

83. GATT Secretariat, “Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations,” 15 December 1993, Annex IV, 91.

84. Lori Wallach, Director, Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch, interview, 14 March 1995; and Mark Ritchie, President, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, interview, 17 April 1996.

85. Henry J. Tasca, *The Reciprocal Trade Policy of the United States: A Study in Trade Philosophy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938), 17–25.

86. Hudec, *Enforcing International Trade Law*, 45–46; and Robert M. Hudec, *The GATT Legal System* 356, n. 3 and n. 17; and Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 134.

87. Glennon et al., *United States Foreign Relations Law*, 45–49.

88. Lori Wallach and Tom Hilliard, “The Consumer and Environmental Case Against Fast-Track,” *Public Citizen’s Congress Watch* (May 1991): 7.

89. Patrick Lane, “Time for Another Round,” 8–9, 22–28; GATT, *Analytical Index of the GATT* (Geneva: WTO, 1995), 771–87; and Hudec, *Enforcing International Trade Law*, 273–586.

90. Robert Collier and Glen Martin, “US. Laws Diluted by Trade Pacts Rulings Stir Criticism Across Political Spectrum,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 July 1999.

91. Deirdre McGrath, “Writing Different Lyrics,” 433–36.

92. *Ibid.*, 434–37, n. 35, 439.

93. *Ibid.*, 439, 440, n. 55.

94. Interview with Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, 2 July 1998.

95. McGrath, “Writing Different Lyrics,” 451, n. 133, n. 134, 452, n. 141.

96. McGrath, 456, n. 163–68.

97. James Harvey Young, *Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 33–65.

98. Daniel C. Esty, *Greening the GATT: Trade, Environment and the Future* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1994), 1–27.

99. *Ibid.*, 46–53.

100. Interview with Lori Wallach, Global Trade Watch, 2 July 1998.

101. Nader, “Introduction,” 1–12.

102. Buchanan, *The Great Betrayal*, 284–85, 313.

103. Audley, *Green Politics*, 27–40.

104. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 143–44; William Branigin, “Wal-Mart Assailed on Foreign-Made Clothes,” *Washington Post*, 30 July 1998; and Madelaine Drohan, “How the Net Killed the MAI: Grassroots Groups Used Their Own Globalization to Derail Deal,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 29 April 1998.

105. As an example, Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch tends to lead the opposition to trade agreements from the left, according to Linda Gordon Kuzmack, foundation officer, Public Citizen Foundation; letter to author, 9 January 1997, Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch 1996–1997 received funds from the Ford Foundation; Foundation for Ecology and Development; Patagonia Foundation; the C.S. Fund; the National Association of Public Interest Lawyers; Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy; and the Preamble Collaborative (the Bauman Family Foundation). The Community Nutrition

Institute, which is a leading food safety group, received funds from the Bauman Family Foundation; C. S. Fund; Pew; Ruth Mott; Jessie Smith Noyes; and the German Marshall Fund. Jake Caldwell, letter to author, 17 February 1998. Earth Justice Legal Defense Fund (formally Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund), which wrote many of the briefs and helped direct the legal strategy affecting trade and environmental issues, received funds from over forty foundations, including the Altman; C. S. Fund; George Gund Foundation; John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation; Charles Stewart Mott Foundation; John Merck Fund; Surdna Foundation; and the Turner Foundation. However, like Public Citizen, most of its funds came from individual contributions. Ford, MacArthur, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation and the Mott Foundation (internationalist foundations) tend to be among the most common sources for these groups. This book was also funded by the Ford and German Marshall Funds.

The leading economic nationalist think tank is the United States Business and Industrial Council. Alan Tonelson, a nationally recognized trade scholar, was kind enough to send me the 1997 annual report, which noted the financial support of the following major corporations and foundations: Anschutz Foundation; Alfred DuPont Foundation; St. Joe Foundation; True Foundation; Armstrong Foundation; and Stranahan Foundation. Corporate funders included Broyhill Investments; Cincinnati Companies; Chrysler Corporation; and Milliken and Company. Some reporters (including John Judis of *The New Republic*) argued that Milliken also funds much of the intellectual arguments for economic nationalism and even funds Public Citizen; John Judis, interview 21 May 1998. The lobbyist for that company, John (Jock) Nash, refused to tell me what groups they fund. As the company is privately held, he is not legally required to make this information public; Jock Nash, Milliken and Company, interview, 22 May 1998. However, Lori Wallach argues that Public Citizen takes no corporate or government funds. Its lobbying work is supported by membership fees from its 150,000 members; Lori Wallach, comments on Aaronson book draft, March 1999. For an interesting, albeit incorrect assessment of the funders of the trade agreement critics, see www.truthabouttrade.org.

106. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 134–44; Audley, *Green Politics*, 135–63; and Vogel, *Trading Up*, 196–217.

107. Congressman Richard A. Gephardt, “Linking Trade with Worker Rights and the Environment,” Economic Perspectives, March 1998 at www.asia.gov/journals/ites/0398/ij33/ejgpep.htm.

108. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 5.

109. “United States Challenges WTO to Build on Foundations to Meet 21st Century Needs,” press release at www.ustr.gov; and “Barshefsky, Ruggiero Seek Boost in Transparency of WTO Process,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 17 April 1998, 8; and E. J. Dionne Jr., “Globalism With a Human Face,” *Washington Post*, 29 May 1998, A27.

110. Drohan, “How the Net Killed the MAI,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 29 April 1998.

111. To see USTR’s Web site, go to www.ustr.gov. The site was recently revamped, but it is not as user-friendly as other government sites on trade. The EU, as example, has a list server on trade—it comes to its visitors, rather than insisting that they come to it.

Chapter 2

1. Franklin’s letter to M. Leroy in 1789 is available at Bartlett’s on the Web: www.columbia.edu/acis/bartleby/bartlett/245.html.

2. Thomas K. McCraw, “Mercantilism and the Market,” in *The Politics of Industrial Policy*, ed. Claude E. Barfield and William A. Schambra (Washington: American En-

terprise Institute, 1986), 34–35. Today, policymakers have a panoply of tools from tax incentives to subsidies that they can tailor to encourage the growth of a particular sector.

3. In the nineteenth century, government's role in stimulating economic growth was minimal. See Robert M. Lively, "The American System: A Review Article," *Business History Review* 19 (March 1995): 81–96.

4. Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 72–73, quotation; also see 75–77.

5. Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, xi–xxi, 278–89; Alan Tonelson, "Globalization: The Great American Non-Debate," *Current History* 96, no. 613 (November 1996): 353–59; and Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 169.

6. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 2.

7. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 98–113, esp. fnn. 1, 6, on 216–17. Also see Raymond A. Bauer, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis A. Dexter, *American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade* (New York: Atherton, 1963), 86–91; and Susan Aaronson, "The Truth About Trade: A Historical Rebuttal of Protectionism," *New Democrat* (September/October 1997): 12–14.

8. Terrence H. Witkowski, "Colonial Consumers in Revolt: Buyer Values and Behavior During the Nonimportation Movement, 1764–1776," *Journal of Consumer Research* 16 (September 1989): 219.

9. These acts included the Sugar and Currency Acts of 1764, the Stamp Act (repealed in 1766), the Declaratory Act, and the Coercive or Intolerable Acts of 1775. These acts greatly helped the colonists understand that their economic interests were different from their counterparts in Great Britain.

10. Interestingly, the nonimportation movement lasted until 1776. The movement attempted to use patriotism to get buyers to avoid buying British-made goods and tried to link patriotism and trade policies. Witkowski, "Colonial Consumers in Revolt," 220; and Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (New York: Beacon, 1999).

11. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York: Dover, 1979), 2–3, fn. 2.

12. *Ibid.*, 53–62.

13. *Ibid.*; 63–65 discusses the response in the pamphlets of the day, 65–69 delineates the response of state conventions.

14. Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790–1860* (New York: Norton, 1966), 22–23; and John M. Dobson, *Two Centuries of Tariffs: The Background and Emergence of the United States International Trade Commission* (Washington: GPO, 1976), 8–9.

15. Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 71; and James A. Field Jr., "All Economists, All Diplomats," in *Economics and World Power: An Assessment of American Diplomacy Since 1789*, ed. William H. Becker and Samuel F. Wells Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 31.

16. Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 31.

17. Field, "All Economists, All Diplomats," 7.

18. Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 71; and Field, "All Economists, All Diplomats," 31.

19. Young governments often rely on indirect taxation because they lack the administrative resources and/or legitimacy to extract taxes directly from the citizenry. Cynthia A. Hody, *The Politics of Trade: American Political Development and Foreign Economic Policy* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1996), 40–41; Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 8; and Field, "All Economists, All Diplomats," 12–13.

20. Hamilton is quoted in Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 16.

21. Irwin, *Against the Tide*, 122.

22. Kelly, *United States. Commercial Policy*, 25.
23. Robert A. Pastor, *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1929–1976* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 73–74; and Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 8. The classic study on tariffs is by the first chairman of the Tariff Commission, Frank M. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York: Putnam, 1931).
24. Clay quoted in Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 25.
25. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 18–19.
26. Foner, *Free Soil*, 20.
27. The U.S. government occasionally acted to open foreign markets in support of special trade interests, but such actions were “exceptional and cautious.” Kinley J. Brauer, “The Diplomacy of American Expansionism,” in *Economics and World Power*, ed. Becker and Wells, 113–14.
28. Kelly, *United States. Commercial Policy*, 3. The “American government apparatus was not developed in ways that allowed policy makers to pursue state interests.” John G. Ikenberry, “Conclusion: An Institutional Approach to American Foreign Economic Policy,” in *The State and American Foreign Economic Policy*, ed. John G. Ikenberry, David A. Lake, and Michael Mastanduno (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 232.
29. North, *Economic Growth*, 67–71.
30. Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 66.
31. The abolitionist movement began in Great Britain. In 1787, British abolitionists launched a public campaign against the slave trade. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 41, esp. fn 3. The debate in the United States is well described in Du Bois, 94–130.
32. Brauer, “The Diplomacy of American Expansion,” 71; and Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 42, fnn. 6–9.
33. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 2–3, fn. 2.
34. *Ibid.*, 152–55, 174.
35. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 42.
36. Charles Chatfield, “Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Associations to 1945,” in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, ed. Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 21.
37. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 44–47, fnn. 21, 22, 30.
38. Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 13.
39. Charles P. Kindleberger, “The Rise of Free Trade in Western Europe,” in *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*, ed. Jeffrey A. Frieden and David A. Lake (New York: St. Martins, 1991), 86–88.
40. Polanyi, *Great Transformation*, 3–19, 178–81, 191–202; and Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890–1916: The Market, the Law and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13–20.
41. Foner, *Free Soil*, 43–35.
42. Foner, *Free Soil*, 21–33, quotation, 21.
43. On views of some workers, see Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 180; and Susan Previant Lee and Peter Passell, *A New Economic View of American History* (New York: Norton, 1979), 103–4, 214, 220–33, 321.
44. Mill workers in Great Britain also did not see a link between their work conditions and those of the slaves that picked the cotton. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 41, 77, fn. 171.

45. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 192–93, 288.
46. Paul Wolman, *Most Favored Nation: The Republican Revisionists and U.S. Tariff Policy, 1897–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 1; quotation, 3; and Hody, *Politics of Trade*, 41.
47. Congressman Springer was quoted in Tom E. Terrill, *The Tariff, Politics, and American Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 66–67.
48. Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 180.
49. David M. Pletcher, “Growth and Diplomatic Adjustment,” in *Economics and World Power*, ed. Becker and Wells, 123; and Hody, *Politics of Trade*, 41, 61.
50. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 70–71; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967), 111–32, 232–39; and Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982), 161–81.
51. Organized labor was divided and remained divided on trade. Leaders and members alike recognized that many workers produced goods and services that were exported. However, they called for domestic policies to assist workers hurt by trade. Charles William Vear, “Organized Labor and the Tariff” (Ph.D. diss., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, October 1955).
52. Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 69.
53. Wolman, *Most Favored Nation*, xix–xxi; quotation on xix. On the populists, see Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise*.
54. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 41, 48, 52–53. Interestingly, Terrill shows that there were plenty of Southern protectionists in the 1880s and 1890s (122–23).
55. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market*, 42.
56. Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 20.
57. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market*, 56.
58. *Ibid.*, 33.
59. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 56–60, 99.
60. Pletcher, “Growth and Diplomatic Adjustment,” 133–34.
61. Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?*, 7–8; Jeffrey G. Williamson, “Globalization and Inequality Then and Now: The Late 19th and Late 20th Centuries Compared,” NBER Working Paper 5491 (March 1996): 8–9, 14–15, 19; and Emma Rothschild, “Globalization and the Return of History,” *Foreign Policy* 115 (summer 1999): 106–16.
62. Hody, *Politics of Trade*, 54–55.
63. Paul Bairoch and Richard Kozul-Wright, “Globalization Myths: Some Historical Reflections on Integration, Industrialization and Growth in the World Economy,” UNCTAD, no. 113 (March 1996): 7–9. According to economic historians Paul Bairoch and Richard Kozul-Wright, rising protection was the common trend in the developed world (including nations as diverse as Japan and Sweden).
64. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 203–4; and John L. Gignilliat, “Pigs, Politics and Protection: The European Boycott of American Pork, 1879–1891,” *Agricultural History* 35, no. 1. (January 1961): 3.
65. Peter Alexis Gourevitch, “International Trade, Domestic Coalitions and Liberty,” in *International Political Economy*, ed. Frieden and Lake, 97–100. According to Peter Gourevitch, “international political rivalries imposed concern for a domestic food supply.”
66. Gourevitch, “International Trade,” 100–101.

67. Bairoch and Kozul-Wright, “Globalization Myths,” 7–9; and Peter H. Lindert, “The Rise of Social Spending, 1880–1930,” *Explorations in Economic History* 31, no. 1 (January 1994): 1–37.
68. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 105–7.
69. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 111–15.
70. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 111–15.
71. Steve Charnovitz, “Environmental and Labour Standards in Trade,” *World Economy* 15, no. 3 (May 1992): 337–39.
72. Keck and Sikkink, eds., *Activists Beyond Borders*, 39–66, 122.
73. Louis L. Snyder, “The American-German Pork Dispute, 1879–1891,” *Journal of Modern History* 17, no. 1 (March 1945): 18–19, 25; and Gignilliat, “Pigs, Politics,” 3.
74. The law was extremely weak; microscopic exams were on already boxed pork products, and such exams were not compulsory. Snyder, “The American-German Pork Dispute,” 24–28; and Vogel, *Trading Up*, 20.
75. Gignilliat, “Pigs, Politics,” 7.
76. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 178–79; Snyder, “The German-American Pork Dispute,” 26–28; and Gignilliat, “Pigs, Politics,” 5, 8.
77. Snyder, “The German-American Pork Dispute,” 26–27.
78. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 81.
79. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market*, 70–74, 75–85 on 1890–1914.
80. Terrill, *Tariff, Politics*, 89.
81. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market*, 74–84, quotation on 84.
82. Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 83–89; and Wolman, *Most Favored Nation*, xi.
83. To both the United States and Britain, “questions of tariff rates were purely domestic issues.” Kelly, *United States Commercial Policy* 24, 27, 29, 69; and Hody, *Politics of Trade*, 40.
84. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform*, 114.
85. Michael A. Bernstein, *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Economic Change in America, 1929–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 218.
86. Bernstein, *Great Depression*, 10; and Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 292–93.
87. Melvyn P. Leffler, “Expansionist Impulses and Domestic Constraints,” in *Economics and World Power*, ed. Becker and Wells, 227–28, 231.
88. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 208–15, quotation on 215.
89. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 106–7, 109–11. Bidwell quotes the *New York Times*, February 17, 1939, on the view that because they were dictatorships, Germany and the Soviet Union used forced labor. Interestingly, the United States had abrogated the Russo-American Treaty of 1832 because of the pogroms and czarist prison camps. See Naomi W. Cohen, “The Abrogation of the Russo-American Treaty of 1832,” *Jewish Social Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 1963): 3–41.
90. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 208–15, quotation on 215.
91. See E. E. Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929–1930 Revision of the Tariff* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1935), 141–43.
92. Harry C. Hawkins and Janet L. Norwood, “The Legislative Basis of U.S. Commercial Policy,” in *United States Commercial Policy*, ed. Kelly, 85.
93. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 21, 31.

94. Dr. Strong's testimony on amending the Plant Quarantine Act was on March 17, 1936, quoted in Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 251–52.
95. Stephen Haggard, "Institutional Foundations of Hegemony," in *State and American Foreign Economic Policy*, ed. Ikenberry et al., 93–94; Kelly, "Antecedents," in *United States Commercial Policy*, ed. Kelly, 73–75; and Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 21.
96. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 21–22, 186.
97. Kelly, "Antecedents," 24–25.
98. Kelly, "Antecedents," 80–83; and Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 145–67.
99. Robert M. Hathaway, "Economic Diplomacy in Time of Crisis," in *Economics and World Power*, ed. Becker and Wells, 296–99.
100. *Ibid.*, 326–29.
101. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 30–33.
102. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 25–35.
103. Tariff Commission for Committee on Ways and Means, *Report on the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization* (Washington: Tariff Commission, 1949), 4; on employment and economic activity, 14; on labor standards, 60–61.
104. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 68.
105. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 87–89, fnn. 23–36; and Steve Charnovitz and John Wickham, "Non-Governmental Organizations and the Original International Trade Regime," *Journal of World Trade* 29, no. 5 (October 1995): 113–22.
106. Esty, *Greening the GATT*, 47; and Steve Charnovitz, "The Moral Exception in Trade Policy," *Virginia Journal of International Law* 38, no. 4 (summer 1998): 689–94.
107. I take this language from Charnovitz, "Environmental and Labour Standards in Trade," 341, 348.
108. *Ibid.*, 338–39.
109. Charnovitz and Wickham, "NGOs and the Original International Trade Regime," 121–22.
110. Article 7 of the ITO Charter stated, "Members recognize that measures relating to employment must take fully into account the rights of workers. . . . The Members recognize that unfair labour conditions, particularly in production for export, create difficulties in international trade." The ITO was supposed to cooperate with the ILO. Office of the Special Trade Representatives for Trade Negotiations (after 1980, the U.S. Trade Representative), "Labor Standards and International Trade," TSC D-122/64, Rev.1, 12, 9 August 1964, attachment C, in box 4, RG 364.1. I am grateful to Tab Lewis, archivist at the National Archives for his help with these records.
111. Office of the Special Trade Representative, "Labor Standards and International Trade," TSC D-122/64, box 4, RG-364.1.
112. Trade Executive Committee (TEC), "International Fair Labor Standards," 15 April 1968, Box 4TEC D-4/68, appendix I, box 4, RG 364.1.
113. "Labor Standards and International Trade"; "International Fair Labor Standards"; "Minutes: Trade Executive Committee Meeting," 1 April 1968, box 4, RG 364.1. In 1968, the United States decided not to push closer cooperation between the GATT and the ILO on labor standards. George L. P. Weaver, assistant secretary for international affairs, Labor Department, to William H. Roth, 23 April 1993, in box 4, RG 364.1.
114. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 82, 134; and Michael J. Glennon, Thomas M. Franck, and Robert C. Cassidy Jr., *U.S. Foreign Relations Law: International Economic*

Regulation, vol. 4 (London: Oceana, 1984), 3. On GATT disclaimer, see Robert E. Hudec, *The GATT Legal System and World Trade Diplomacy* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 356, n. 3. The disclaimer was included in the 1953, 1954, 1955, 1958, and 1974 extensions of the RTAA.

115. B. A. Jones of the *New York Times* was quoted in Robert E. Baldwin, *Non-tariff Distortions of International Trade* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1970), 2, fn. 3.

116. Kelly, “Antecedents,” 58–59. Tariffs were reduced from about 59 percent on average in 1932 to 7 percent in the early 1970s. Edward John Ray, “Changing Patterns of Protectionism: The Fall in Tariffs and the Rise in Non-Tariff Barriers,” in *International Political Economy*, ed. Frieden and Lake, 342, quotation on 350.

117. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 169–71, 176.

118. William L. Batt (industrialist and head of the Committee for the ITO), in Rubber Manufacturers Association, *Pros and Cons of the ITO*, 10 January 1950, 89–90.

119. Robert A. Pollard and Samuel F. Wells Jr., “Era of American Economic Hegemony,” in *Economics and World Power*, ed. Becker and Wells, 385–387; quotation on 387.

120. John Gerard Ruggie, “Trade, Protectionism and the Future of Welfare Capitalism,” *Journal of International Affairs* 48, no. 1 (summer 1994): 4–5.

121. In 1948, Congress also required that the Tariff Commission report the peril points, the lowest rate of duties that could be fixed without threatening serious injury to American producers. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 70, 111–12.

122. House Committee on Ways and Means, *Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Hearings on H.R. 1211: A Bill to Extend the Authority of the President Under Section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as Amended and for Other Purposes*, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 24 January–1 February 1949, 282, 305–6, 315–16, 344–45, 411–12; and Senate Committee on Finance, *Hearings on H.R. 1211, An Act to Extend the Authority of the President under Section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as Amended and for Other Purposes*, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 17 February–8 March 1949, 8, 11, 217, 436, 645.

123. Senate Committee on Finance, *Hearings on H.R. 1211*, 180–81; 869–75; House Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R., 1211*, 369, 375.

124. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market*, 148. For a recent example, see remarks of Mr. Underwood and Mr. Engel, *Congressional Record*, 29 December 1994, H11495.

125. Eckes, *Opening America’s Market*, 170–77, quotations on 176–77.

126. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 121–22.

127. Jacob Viner, “Conflicts of Principle in Drafting a Trade Charter,” *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 2 (January 1947): 613.

Chapter 3

1. Ralph Nader, *Unsafe at Any Speed* (New York: Grossman, 1965).

2. Rogene A. Buchholz, William D. Evans, and Robert A. Wagley, *Management Response to Public Issues: Concepts and Cases in Strategy Formulation* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 10–11; Murray L. Weidenbaum, *Business, Government, and the Public* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 402–403. Also see Nader’s affiliated Web sites: www.ref.usc.edu/~tbelt/web/nader/nader.html, www.autosafety.org, and www.mojones.com/election_96/nade.html.

3. Michael Pertschuk, *Revolt Against Regulation: The Rise and Pause of the Consumer Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); and Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

4. Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* 7. In some cases, the United States was in the forefront of such regulations. In other areas, other nations such as Sweden or Germany were ahead.

5. Evans, *The Kennedy Round*, 299–300; and comments of American Importers Association, Inc., in Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, *The Future of U.S. Foreign Trade Policy*, 90th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1967), 423.

6. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 2–3, 7–8, 15; and Evans, *The Kennedy Round*, 87–112. Robert E. Baldwin, former chief economist at the Office of the Special Trade Representative, defined NTBs as “any measure (public or private) that causes internationally traded goods and services, or resources devoted to the production of these goods and services, to be allocated in such a way as to reduce potential real world income.” Robert E. Baldwin, *Nontariff Distortions of International Trade* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1970).

7. On U.S. receptivity to new ideas in culture see Ian Whitcomb, “Confessions of a British Invader,” *American Heritage* 48, no. 2 (December 1997): 68–86; and Allen J. Matusow, “Rise and Fall of a Counterculture,” in *A History of Our Time: Readings on Postwar America*, ed. William H. Chafe and Harvard Sitkoff (New York: Oxford, 1991), 378–99. Statistics on gross domestic product and real wages come from the President’s Commission on Industrial Competitiveness, *Global Competition: The New Reality*, vol. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1985), 8–11, see charts 1–3 and table 1. A good example of these attitudes is in David Halberstam, *The Reckoning* (New York: Morrow, 1986), 726–28; and Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *The American Challenge* (New York: 1968), 3, 10, 11.

8. Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1997* (Washington: GPO, 1997), table B-101, “U.S. International Transactions, 1946–1996,” 414; and President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, 14–15, 17.

9. These activists built on the ideas and work of individuals in the 1930s–1960s such as Louis Mumford, Dorothy Day, and Rachel Carson. Chafe and Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time*, 341–43; and Joseph Youngerman, “The Passing of Passions,” both in *Yale Alumni Magazine* 61, no. 8 (summer 1998), 21.

10. Spiro Agnew’s speech, “Impudence in the Streets,” address at Pennsylvania Republican Dinner, 30 October 1969, in Chafe and Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time*, 397.

11. Nader on the Diane Rehm show on WAMU/National Public Radio. The transcript was on ic.net/~harvey/greens/rn-npr.txt. For a good understanding of the debate over consumer safety, see John Schwartz, “Debate From the ’60s Echoes Today: Some See Courage, Others Luck in the FDA’s Original Actions on Thalidomide,” *Washington Post*, 17 July 1998, A15.

12. See Mansel G. Blackford and K. Austin Kerr, *Business Enterprise in American History*, 3d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 325–32; and Weidenbaum, *Business, Government*, 39–42. On Nader’s influence in the environmental and public health organization, see Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 460–61, 577, fn. 27.

13. Hays, *Beauty, Health*, 32–35.

14. Hays details these changes in *Beauty, Health*, 33–35, 512. Also see Paul Wapner, *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

15. Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, *The Future*, 220–21.

16. Figures from Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President 1999* (Washington: GPO, 1999), Table B-103, 444. For a good overview of America's economic problems in this period, see Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy (hereafter Williams Commission), *United States International Economic Policy in an Interdependent World* (Washington: GPO, 1971), 4–6 and David P. Calleo, "Since 1961: American Power in a New World Economy," in Becker and Wells, *Economics and World Power*, 390–434, esp. 402.

17. For views of trade from the left, see Karin Ashley, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," reprinted statement of the Weatherman Manifesto, in Chafe and Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Times*, 352. For the views of Congress, see Evans, *The Kennedy Round in American Trade Policy*, 1, 303–7.

18. Ray, "Changing Patterns," 349.

19. Francis Masson and H. Edward English, *Invisible Trade Barriers Between Canada and the United States* (Washington: National Planning Association and Private Planning Association of Canada, 1963), 2, 3.

20. Bidwell, *Invisible Tariff*, 2, 15–17.

21. Masson and English, *Invisible Trade Barriers*, 4.

22. See "U.S. Proposals for Consideration by the GATT Subcommittee on NTBs and Other Special Problems." This is the title of memos dated 5 October 1963, TEC D-19/63, and 23 October 1963, both in box 2, RG 364. Also see Memo to William T. Gossett, Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, 1 March 1963, in box 2, RG 364.

23. This system, called the American Selling Price, was a tariff, but because it was based on domestic prices and not on the price of the exporting producer, foreign producers saw it as a NTB. Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 198–99.

24. S. Concurrent Resolution 100, 89th Cong., 2d sess. (1966), listed in Michael J. Glennon et al., *United States Foreign Relations Law: Documents and Sources International Economic Regulation*, vol. 4 (London: Oceana, 1984), 4–10. The official document is Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, *Antidumping Act of 1921 and the International Antidumping Code: Consistent or Not? A Critique by the Staff*, 90th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington: GPO, 1968).

25. Kent Higgon Hughes, *Trade, Taxes and Transnationals: International Economic Decision Making in Congress* (New York: Praeger, 1979), 1–2.

26. Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, *The Future*, 302.

27. Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, *The Future*, 1.

28. *Ibid.*, quantitative restrictions, 303–45; Mr. Hemmendinger's report, 345–57.

29. *Ibid.*, 99. Joseph A. Greenwald was a deputy assistant secretary of state in 1967. Also see views of William Diebold, Council on Foreign Relations, 220; Richard N. Cooper, professor of economics, Yale University, 225; and David Rockefeller, President, Chase Manhattan Bank, 291. Diebold saw the solution to the proliferation of NTBs in dispute settlement rather than negotiations. Lawrence C. McQuade, acting assistant secretary of commerce for domestic and International Business on how the United States handled its NTBs, 67, 98.

30. *Ibid.*, 220–21.

31. *Ibid.*, 136.

32. *Ibid.*, 99.

33. *Ibid.*, 224–25. Baldwin was professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin.

34. Committee for Economic Development, *Non-Tariff Distortions of Trade* (Washington: CED, 1969), 28–29. This study was prepared in association with the European committee for Economic and Social Progress, the Political and Economic Planning (Britain); Japan Committee for Economic Development; the Committee for Economic Development of Australia; and the Industrial Council for Social and Economic Studies (Sweden).

35. This history of the surveys of NTBs is from the Williams Commission, *United States International*, 683, 718. Draft Memo W. B. Kelly Jr., 9 May 1969, p. 3, D-4/69 in box 5, RG 364.

36. Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 201–2.

37. Allen J. Matusow, *Nixon's Economy: Booms, Busts, Dollars and Votes* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 4, 7.

38. For a good history of how labor rights evolved as human rights, see International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund, *Trade's Hidden Costs: Worker Rights in a Changing World Economy* (Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 1988), 41–48.

39. In 1961, the Joint Economic Committee studied the question of using trade to help encourage political liberalization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In February 1965, the Committee on Foreign Relations sponsored hearings on East-West trade. Some unions, civic groups, and farm groups seemed supportive. Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, *Hearings on East West Trade*, 89th Cong., 2d sess., 24–26 February 1965; on history, 2–3; on trade as a political vehicle, 8; on views of labor, 9, 214–15, 248–51; on civic groups, 253; on farms, 253.

40. Paula Stern, *Water's Edge: Domestic Politics and the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979), xviii–xix, 4–11.

41. Stern, *Water's Edge*, xviii–xix, 4–11, 39, 62, 69, 191. On the first successful linkage of Jewish pressure to abrogate a commercial treaty, see Naomi W. Cohen, “The Abrogation of the Russo-American Treaty of 1832,” *Jewish Social Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 1963): 3–41.

42. Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1999* (Washington: GPO, 1999), table B-103, “U.S. International Transactions, 1946–1998,” 444. Imports began to increase significantly in 1965; and Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1998* (Washington: GPO, 1999), 216.

43. Thomas J. Zeiler, *American Trade and Power in the 1960s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 54–55, 64–65; Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 199–201; and Steve Dryden, *Trade Warriors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 45.

44. Anne Krueger, *American Trade Policy: A Tragedy in the Making* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute Press, 1995), 2.

45. See comments of Senator Barry Goldwater in 1964, in Dryden, *Trade Warriors*, 83.

46. Dryden, *Trade Warriors*, 81.

47. Eckes, *Opening America's Market*, 192.

48. Robert E. Baldwin, “Nontariff Distortions of International Trade,” in Williams Commission, *United States International*, Compendium of Papers: Vol. I, 641.

49. Dryden, *Trade Warriors*, 84.

50. Calleo, “American Power in a New World Economy,” 402.

51. Williams Commission, *U.S. International*, Compendium, 620–21, 681, list on 683–700. History of review of NTBs, 683, 718. Nixon understood that because of the constitutional separation of powers between the federal government and the lack of an adequate role for the federal government in product standardization, he could not act.

52. *The Trade Act of 1969*, H.R. 14870, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1969 and *The Trade Act of 1970*, H.R. 18970, 91st Cong., 2d sess., 1970.
53. Williams Commission, *United States International*, Compendium, iii, list of members on v–vi. There were no members from civic, human rights, or environmental groups. The commission heard from Congress, foreign governments, trade associations and business, and academics, and foreign officials, ix–x.
54. Williams Commission, *United States International*, 2–3.
55. Williams Commission, *United States International*, 720–21.
56. Williams Commission, *United States International*, 682–83, 717.
57. *Ibid.*, 682–99; 716–19.
58. Williams Commission, *United States International* 12–15, 138–139.
59. I take this clever term from Pietro S. Nivola, ed., *Comparative Disadvantages? Social Regulations and the Global Economy* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997).
60. Williams Commission, *United States International*, Compendium, 65. Commission members did not include minimum wages as a core labor standard because they believed such wages should be determined by local economic conditions, not international rules.
61. Matusow, *Nixon's Economy*, 117, 306–8; Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report 1997*, table B-101, on 414; and Calleo, “American Power,” 419–21.
62. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 2–3.
63. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 30–31. Interview with Kent Hughes, February 13, 1998. Hughes left Congress to head the Council on Competitiveness.
64. Vear, “Organized Labor and the Tariff,” 3–5.
65. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 21–23.
66. Some Americans have long labeled our trading partners as unfair, but this seemed to become more common after the 1970s. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 32–33.
67. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 161.
68. Matusow, *Nixon's Economy*, 219, 221; and Calleo, “American Power in a New World Economy,” 425–28.
69. Matusow, *Nixon's Economy*, 217–18.
70. For a good overview of food policy as foreign economic policy (and on this issue), see I. M. Destler, *Making Foreign Economic Policy* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1980), 19–35.
71. Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767, The Trade Reform Act of 1973*, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., part 1, 9 May 15–June 1973, 5. United States Trade Representative Bill Eberle in Congressional testimony on this authority, 346, 351; Statement of Frederick W. Hickman, assistant secretary for Tax Policy, Treasury Department, 498–99.
72. Jonathan Schell, “Watergate,” in Chafe and Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time*, 419–38.
73. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 12–13, fn. 12.
74. Destler, *Making Foreign*, 165.
75. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, Congressman Collier, 392–93.
76. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 352–53. Ambassador Pearce's comments on 395. Also see summary of government officials comments on the basic authority, 5175–76. Administration officials were well aware of the congressional implications of negotiating NTBs. See W. B. Kelly Jr., 9 May 1969, 3–10, in D-4/69, Box 5 in RG 364.
77. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 327–31, 5176–77.
78. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 713; summary of Congressional views on granting such authority, 5176–77; remarks of Congressman Frelinghuysen, 5054–55;

discussion with Congressman Burke, 5058–5061. Also see statement of Congressman Thomas M. Rees, 5109.

79. Groups expressing concern included the American Importers Association, the United Auto Workers, and the Committee for National Trade Policy (a coalition of business supporters of trade). Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 765 (testimony of American Importers Association); UAW concern, 851, 875; and Committee for a National Trade Policy, 792.

80. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, remarks of Chairman Ullman, 446–48.

81. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, Congressman Corman to Secretary Dent, 588, 326–31.

82. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 756–59.

83. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 763.

84. *Ibid.*, 4281.

85. Ways and Means, *Hearing on H.R. 6767*, 557–58.

86. *Ibid.*, 1181; Congressman Wagner, 655.

87. Mr. Jones, however, dismissed U.S. health and safety standards as protectionist. *Ibid.*, 2813–15; and on wine grapes, 3046.

88. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, Congressman Duncan, 641–42; UAW testimony, 873–74; International Leather Goods . . . , 4779, 5301; Union of Dolls, Toys . . . , 4789–01; also see remarks of Lazare Teper, research director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Congressman Claude Pepper, 4955.

89. *Ibid.*, 1416; Catholic Conference, 1531. Interestingly the UAW only wanted temporary quotas for cars. This union was an internationalist union with many Canadian members as well as members from the export-oriented aircraft industry. Thus, it stayed supportive of trade longer than, for example, the AFL-CIO.

90. *Ibid.*, 3879–81.

91. *Ibid.*, 1210, 1215.

92. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 849.

93. The League of Women Voters urged that the interests of consumers be given serious consideration when national trade policy is discussed. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 370, 461, 2997 and 5305; comments of Robert B. Schwenger (a former trade negotiator) 4468–89; V. J. Adduci, president, Electronic Industries Association, 3268; Mr. Graubard, 1092; National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 2954. For a good summary of opinion of witnesses see on the authority, 5177–93. On attitudes toward NTB negotiations, see 5193–5204.

94. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, view of Emergency Committee for Foreign Trade, 660, 668.

95. Glennon et al., *United States Foreign Relations Law*, 40–45.

96. Ways and Means, *Brief Summary of H.R. 10710: The "Trade Reform Act of 1973," A Report to the House on October 10, 1973* (Washington: GPO, 1973), 55.

97. Hughes, *Trade, Taxes*, 164–65.

98. Glennon et al., *United State Foreign Relations Law*, 45–49; and Memorandum to the Honorable Herman E. Talmadge from Finance Committee Staff, June 5, 1974, 64–65.

99. Press release, "Finance Committee Continues Action on Trade Reform Bill," Section 102, 1.c in Glennon et al., *United States Foreign Relations Law*, 91.

100. Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, *Hearings on H.R. 10710: An Act to Promote the Development of an Open Nondiscriminatory and Fair World Economic System to Stim-*

ulate the Economic Growth of the United States and for Other Purposes (Washington: GPO, 1974); on Glass Workers, 2349; on steel, 1093.

101. *Ibid.*, Senator Hartke, 1099–1101.

102. Committee on Finance, *Hearings on H.R. 10710*, 1330–31; can't move to new high-tech jobs, 1899; can't all be astronauts, 1923.

103. *Ibid.*, 2878.

104. *Ibid.*, 2356–57.

105. *Ibid.*, Whitney, 2013–14; Cyanamid, 2348–49.

106. *Ibid.*, Mr. Collins, 1692–93.

107. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, Donald M. Kendall, chair of Pepsico, 690.

108. Stern, *Water's Edge*, 32, 133, 177–79; and Destler, *Making Foreign* 189–90, fn. 63. Other vociferous supporters on the House side included the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, National Conference on Soviet Jewry, B'nai Brith, and the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; see Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, 5304–7; for Congressional support, see 4955–5013, 5145.

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment, Section 401 of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (PL 93–618), governs trade with nonmarket economies. It was designed to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights.

109. Committee on Finance, *Hearings on H.R. 10710*, Stanley Lubman, 2585; link most favored nation (MFN) privileges to environment 2649–59. “Most favored nation” privileges are normal trade privileges. They apply to all of America’s trading partners, except terrorist/communist nations.

110. See Senate Finance Committee, “Congressional Votes on International Trade Bills,” provided by Debbie Lamb, Chief Minority Trade Counsel; in possession of author, 1998. The House voted 319–80 to include the entire Jackson-Vanik amendment in the trade bill, which then passed the House by 272–140.

111. ITC, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program, 37th Report*, 76.

Chapter 4

1. Bob Secter and James Risen, “Postwar Admiration of U.S. Fading in Japan, Jobless Americans Slow to Blame Tokyo,” *Los Angeles Times*, 26 April 1987, 1; Editorial, “Japan-Bashers, On the March,” *New York Times* 4 April 1984, 30. McNeil-Lehrer News Hour transcript of 7 April 1992.

2. John M. Culbertson, “Free Trade Harms the U.S.,” in *Trade: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. William Dudley (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1991), 60–61. Culbertson was a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. This wonderful book is a compilation of the debates in the 1980s and early 1990s. Summary of views, 13–14, Representatives James H. Quillen, and nationalist William H. Gill, 69. For more moderate or left views about trade, see former Representative Don Bonker, “The U.S. Is the Victim of Unfair Trade Practices,” and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, “The U.S. Should Retaliate Against Unfair Trade Partners,” in *ibid.*, 71–77, 102–5. Also see Gerald W. Sazama, “Free Trade vs. Protectionism” *Christianity and Crisis*, 4 April 1988.

3. According to the national director of the Japanese-American Citizens League, Dennis Hayashi, “Products associated with Japan, and by association, Japanese people . . . are becoming the enemy.” McNeil Lehrer transcript of 7 April 1992. In 1989, a joint CBS News/CNN report found some 46 percent of 1,601 voters polled by telephone thought Japan posed a serious threat to the United States position in international trade.

Taiwan and West Germany were next at 12 percent. Accession 0016511, 8 April 1989, Public Opinion Online.

4. Joan E. Twigg, *The Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations: A Case Study in Building Domestic Support for Diplomacy* (Lanham, MD: University Press, 1987), 3.

5. AFL-CIO, “The Trade Deficit Creates Massive Unemployment,” in *Trade: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. Dudley, 188–195. During this period, unemployment ranged from 6.3 percent in 1980 to a high of 10.4 percent in 1982 to less than 5 percent in 1988, rising again in 1992 to 7.3 percent. Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President 1993* (Washington: GPO, 1993), 43; and Bennet Harrison and Barry Bluestone, *The Great U-Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarizing of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 21–52.

6. See fn.2, Culbertson, “Free Trade,” 60–61 for quotation.

7. Mary Beth Norton et al., *A People and a Nation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 978–79.

8. Polling data throughout the 1970s and 1980s revealed that Americans were increasingly pessimistic about their economic future. See George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1972–1977* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1978), 81, 621. On the 1980s, see John Immerwahr et al., *Cross-Talk*.

9. Director General of GATT, *The Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations* (Geneva: GATT, 1979), 1.

10. Director General of the GATT, *The Tokyo Round*, 29, 64–68. In Europe, regulatory bodies are not as powerful or as respected. Michael Spector, “Europe, Bucking Trend in U.S. Blocks Genetically Altered Food,” *New York Times*, 20 July 1998, A1.

11. Glennon et al., *U.S. Foreign Relations Law*, 160–61, n. 2. According to a study of the procedures and legal documentation by Glennon et al., the only information made available to the public during the negotiations was contained in Ways and Means Committee prints that did not get widely circulated. Members of Congress did occasionally speak with the advisory committees, but there was no direct public debate during the negotiations about these codes.

12. The records of the Tokyo Round Negotiations have not yet been fully declassified and made available to researchers. On lack of environmental interest and quote from Standards Code, see Vogel, *Trading Up*, 99.

13. Committee on Finance, “Press Release,” 2 May 1979 in Glennon et al., *U.S. Foreign Relations Law*, 160–61, fn.2; and Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, 8 May 1979, “Finance Committee Recommendations for Legislation,” in Glennon et al., *U.S. Foreign Relations Law*, 478–79. The trade scholar I. M. Destler concluded that the NTB negotiations “proved remarkably smooth, a tribute to the innovative procedures provided for in section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974.” See Destler, *Making Foreign Economic Policy*, 203.

14. Steve Dryden, *Trade Warriors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 246–47.

15. Memorandum to Senator Russell B. Long, Chair, Senate Committee on Finance from Trade Staff, 11 April 1978; and Charles A. Vanik, Chair, Subcommittee on Trade to Members of the Committee on Ways and Means, 10 May 1978, in Glennon et al., *U.S. Foreign Relations Law*, 166–67, 170–72, 182; Tom Graham to Richard Rivers of the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, 26 June 1978, 180–83.

16. Subcommittee on International Trade, Senate Committee on Finance, *Hearings on S. 1376: A Bill to Improve and Implement the Trade Agreements Negotiated under the Trade Act of 1974, and for Other Purposes* (Washington: GPO, 1979), 10–11 July 1979, 579, 583 (Roberts). Also see 541–44.

17. *Ibid.*, 604–5.

18. *Ibid.*, 588–89.
19. *Ibid.*, 186–90; 619–20.
20. *Hearings on S. 1376*, 633–35.
21. Destler, *Making Foreign Economic Policy*, 203.
22. United States International Trade Commission, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program*, 37th report (Washington: GPO, 1986), 76.
23. *Ibid.*, 77.
24. United States Trade Representative, *1987 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers* (Washington: GPO, 1987), 343–44 and 4. Also see GAO, “Current Issues in U.S. Participation in the Multilateral Trading System,” GAO/NSIAD-85-118, 4, 29.
25. Lawrence Lindsey, *The Growth Experiment: How the New Tax Policy Is Transforming the U.S. Economy* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 6–7.
26. David P. Calleo, “American Power in a New World Economy,” in *Economics and World Power*, ed. Becker and Wells, 440–43.
27. However, some argue, I think persuasively, that Americans saved by investing in their homes.
28. Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, 1035–36.
29. In 1995, when asked what caused the trade deficit, 46 percent blamed problems of our own making (high wages, restrictive U.S. government policies, inefficient management and labor practices), and 36 percent attributed the deficit to actions of other countries (lower wages, artificial barriers that kept our exports out, other unfair trading practices) making it difficult for the United States to compete internationally. Gallup Organization poll of 1,350 adults for Potomac Associates, funding provided by the Henry Luce Foundation, Accession Number 0148343 on Public Opinion Online.
30. Pat Choate and J. K. Linger, *The High Flex Society* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 4–5; quotation, 6.
31. Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, 909–13.
32. John Williamson, “Introduction,” in *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?* ed. John Williamson (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1990), 1–3, 14–15; and John Williamson, ed. *The Political Economy of Policy Reform* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1994), 3–7, 527–95. On the increase in imports after the Tokyo Round, see statistics on the trade deficit in table 103, U.S. international transactions, 1946–1998, Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1999* (Washington: GPO, 1999), 444.
33. Patrick J. Buchanan, foreword to John P. Cregan, *America Asleep: The Free Trade Syndrome and the Global Economic Challenge* (Washington: United States Industrial Council Education Foundation, 1991), xi.
34. John P. Cregan, “The Free Trade Syndrome and America’s Economic Disarmament,” in Cregan, *America Asleep*, 28–31.
35. Cregan, “Free Trade Syndrome,” 31. To Cregan, “a government role does not mean or imply a major new federal intervention in the domestic economy.” However, Pat Buchanan thought because the government imposes wage and hour laws and tough environmental standards, the government should also provide protection. See Pat Buchanan, foreword to Cregan, *America Asleep*, xi. Also see William Gill, *Trade Wars Against America* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 281.
36. Alfred E. Eckes, “A Republican Trade Policy: Reviving the Grand Old Paradigm,” in Cregan, *America Asleep*, 86–87.
37. Anthony Harrigan, “U.S. Trade Policy: A Tragedy of Errors,” in Cregan, *America Asleep*, 169, 179.

38. These books included Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925–1975* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); and Karel Von Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (London: Macmillan, 1989). For an insightful, albeit smug, critique of these books, see Brink Lindsey and Aaron Lukas, “Revisiting the ‘Revisionists’: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Economic Model,” *CATO Trade Policy Analysis*, 3 July 1998, no. 3.
39. Clyde V. Prestowitz Jr., *Trading Places: How We Allowed Japan to Take the Lead* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). Also see, Ronald Dore, *Taking Japan Seriously: A Confucian Perspective on Leading Economic Issues* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Thomas K. McCraw, ed., *America vs. Japan* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1986); James C. Abegglen and George Stalk Jr., *Kaisha: The Japanese Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).
40. James Fallows, *More Like Us: Making America Great Again* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 5, II, 208–10.
41. Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation and Social Rigidities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
42. Choate and Linger, *The High-Flex Society*, 63–64.
43. Council on Competitiveness, *Roadmap for Results: Trade Policy, Technology, and American Competitiveness* (Washington: Council on Competitiveness, 1993), 1.
44. Jadish Bhagwati, *The World Trading System at Risk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 46.
45. Kevin Phillips, *Arrogant Capital: Washington, Wall Street and the Frustration of American Politics* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994); Robert B. Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism* (New York: Vintage, 1992); and Alan Tonelson, “Beyond Left and Right,” *National Interest* 10, no. 34 (winter 1993/1994).
46. Alan Tonelson, “Beating Back Predatory Trade,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1994): 60–61; and Alan Tonelson, interview, 6 August 1998.
47. James Brander and Barbara Spencer, “Export Subsidies and International Market Share Rivalry,” *Journal of International Economics* 18, no. 1–2 (February 1985): 85–100.
48. Paul R. Krugman, ed., *Strategic Trade Policy and the New International Economics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986).
49. Laura D’Andrea Tyson, *Who’s Bashing Whom: Trade Conflict in High Technology Industries* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1992), 3–4, 116.
50. On the uproar over strategic trade, see Eyal Press, “The Free Trade Faith: Can We Trust the Economists?” *Lingua Franca* (January 1998): 34–35. For a good sense of Krugman’s repudiation of his earlier views, see Paul Krugman, *Pop Internationalism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996) and *Peddling Prosperity: Economic Sense and Nonsense in the Age of Diminished Expectations* (New York: Norton, 1994).
51. Committee on Finance, United States Senate, *Report: Omnibus Trade Act of 1987*, 100th Cong., 1st sess., 12 June 1987, 268–69.
52. William R. Cline, ed., *Trade Policy in the 1980s* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1983), 7–8. Carter had provided reference pricing for steel to determine if the Japanese were dumping steel.
53. Susan Schwab, *Trade-Offs: Negotiating the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1994), 54–56; and I. M. Destler, John S. Odell, and Kimberly Ann Elliot, *Anti-Protection: Changing Forces in United States Trade Politics* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1987), 28–31, 35–59.

54. Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1999*, 444. For trade deficit as a percentage of GDP, see Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1996* (Washington: GPO, 1996), chart 8–3, 252.

55. *Ibid.*, 84–87.

56. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 76, 80–83, nn. 23, 24.

57. John H. Jackson, “GATT and the Tokyo Round Agreements,” in *Trade Policy in the 1980s*, 184–85.

58. Office of the United States Trade Representative, *1987 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1987), 1–2, 344. The report summarized Reagan administration concerns about the Standards Code. “Several Standards Code provisions could be improved to enhance its functioning and make it more advantageous to U.S. exporters. In particular, code coverage of approval procedures, ‘processes and production methods’ test data and dispute settlement could be strengthened. The code does not simplify the procedures used to approve products. Nor does it set rules for accepting test data generated in one signatory nation by regulatory authorities in another.”

59. Destler, *Making Foreign Economic Policy*, 203.

60. Brock was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* on 5 January 1982, cited in Bergsten and Cline, “Overview,” 60; and Cline, “Introduction and Summary,” both in Cline, ed., *Trade Policy in the 1980s*, 8–9.

61. Bergsten and Cline, “Overview,” 87; C. Fred Bergsten and John Williamson, “Exchange Rates and Trade Policy,” 113–15; and William R. Cline, “Reciprocity: A New Approach to World Trade Policy?” all in William R. Cline, *Trade Policy in the 1980s*, 121. Also Ray Ahearn, Congressional Research Service, interview, 29 July 1998.

62. According to Cline, critics of the new reciprocity saw it as thinly disguised protectionism, but sponsors saw it as an alternative to protection because it was designed to address exports rather than increase barriers to imports. Cline, “Reciprocity,” 121–22.

63. Cline, “Reciprocity,” 153–56.

64. John H. Jackson, “GATT and the Tokyo Round Agreements,” in *Trade Policy*, ed. Cline, 162.

65. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 88.

66. Roper poll in August 1983, Accession no. 0123277 from Public Opinion Online. In a similar poll in August 1981, Japan again was number one at 42 percent. See Accession no. 0120879 by Roper of some two thousand adults in August 1981. Also see Yankelovich, Clancy, Shulman Poll, 6 April 1987, in author’s files.

67. Daniel Yankelovich, “Foreign Policy After the Election,” *Foreign Affairs* (fall 1992): 2–12.

68. Public Agenda Foundation, “Cross-Talk,” 18–19; and Rosita Thomas, “Public Opinion on Trade,” *CRS Review* (February/ March 1992): 17. Thomas cites a *New York Times*/CBS News poll of June 1991 and a CBS News/Tokyo Broadcasting News poll of May 1988. Also see Michele Galen and Mark N. Vamous, “Portrait of an Anxious Public,” *Business Week*, 13 March 1995, 80.

69. United States International Trade Commission, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program*, 37th report (Washington: GPO, 1986), 9–15, esp. 11.

70. On public opinion on trade, see *L.A. Times* telephone poll 2 February 1984 of 1,021 registered voters, by Yankelovich, Skelly, and White, Accession no. 0080028, Public Opinion Online. In 1984, voters were asked how important trade was to their decision to support a particular candidate; 53 percent ranked trade as a lot of influence. In

1983, 42 percent ranked trade as very influential. Accession no. 0136335; 1,000 registered voters polled in December 1983 by Time Yankelevich.

71. According to Kent Hughes, who went on to lead the Council on Competitiveness, Reagan was no great supporter of competitiveness. He did not want the government intervention he thought it implied. Kent Hughes, interview, 3 August 1998.

72. For example, President Nixon asked the International Trade Commission to examine the impact of imports on the competitiveness of various U.S. sectors. Draft letter, R. M. Nixon to Glenn W. Sutton, 30 June 1970, box 4/ M/6/70; RG 364.1

73. Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.R. 6767*, Congressman Casey, “[For] competitiveness in steel, textile, manufacture . . . [w]e will have to look more to high technology,” 536. Also interview, Hughes.

74. Subcommittee on International Trade, Senate Committee on Finance *Hearings on S. 1356, The Trade Agreements Act of 1979*, 10–11 July 1979, 155.

75. In this period, some scholars of business brought competitiveness to the fore. Among the most influential was Michael Porter of the Harvard Business School. See President’s Commission on Industrial Competitiveness, *Global Competition: The New Reality*, vol. II (Washington: GPO, 1985), 6, 8, 9.

76. This is my observation. Economist Paul Krugman thought this focus was misguided. Paul Krugman, “Competitiveness: A Dangerous Obsession,” *Foreign Affairs* 73 (March/April 1994): 28–30.

77. Executive Order 12428, 28 June 1983, in President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, vol II, 245 and Statement by the President, 4 August 1983, 248.

78. President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, 6, 8, 9.

79. President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, 6–8.

80. Think tanks’ or study groups’ studies on these issues include: The Business Higher Education Forum, *America’s Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response* (1983) and The Heritage Foundation, *A Blueprint for Jobs and Industrial Growth* (1983). Academic studies include Robert Z. Lawrence, *Can America Compete?* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1984) and Bruce R. Scott and George C. Lodge, eds., *U.S. Competitiveness in the World Economy* (Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press, 1985). Business group studies include: The Business Roundtable, “Strategy for a Vital U.S. Economy” (1984); Labor-Industry Coalition for International Trade, “International Trade, Industrial Policies, an Future of American Industry” (1983); National Association of Manufacturers, “Agenda for Regaining America’s Initiative” (1983). Congressional studies include: Congressional Budget Office, “The Productivity Problem: Alternatives for Action” (1981) and House Republican Research Committee, “An Agenda for Regaining America’s Initiative” (1983). Labor studies include: AFL-CIO, Industrial Union Department, “Deindustrialization and a Two-Tier Society” (1984). See President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, 52–53. Sixty percent of these reports noted that government regulations hinder competitiveness.

81. President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, list of commission members, vii–viii; tasks, x–xii.

82. *Ibid.*, 27.

83. *Ibid.*, 182.

84. *Ibid.*, 259–60.

85. President’s Commission, *Global Competition*, 279. It quoted studies by the Advisory Committee on Industrial Innovation, U.S. Department of Commerce *Final Report* (1979) and H. G. Grabowski and J. M. Vernon, *The Impact of Regulation on Industrial In-*

novation, (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1979). Also see Business-Higher Education Forum, *A Statement on Federal Regulatory Reform*, February 1981, 14.

86. President's Commission, *Global Competition*, 280, n. 6, 294. The commission cited one source for this consensus: American Council on Education, Business-Higher Education Forum, *A Statement on Federal Regulatory Reform*, February 1981.

87. President's Commission, *Global Competition*, 281–83.

88. *Ibid.*, 285–86. The commission cited studies by the consulting groups Arthur D. Little (1978) and ICF (1980), the Chemical Manufacturers Association and the Chemical Specialties Manufacturing Association, 294–95. It noted that R&D budgets are directed at environmental and health activity instead of actual innovation, 285.

89. *Ibid.*, 286–87, 289.

90. *Ibid.*, 291–93.

91. See Council on Competitiveness, Policy Statement, “Restoring America’s Trade Position,” April 1987, 12. It listed guiding principles including principle 9: “Regulatory policies should be changed to reflect the new global markets within which U.S. firms operate.” Also see the Business Roundtable, “American Excellence in a World Economy: Summary of the Report,” *The Business Roundtable*, 15 June 1987, 8–10. “Public Laws and policies should . . . reflecting the realities of global competition, and avoid mandating benefits and actions that increase business costs. . . . Foreign competitors often do not face the same obstacles. A major objective in the Uruguay Round should be the elimination of non-tariff barrier agreements made outside the GATT framework. . . . [The United States should have as a negotiating goals] improved standards.”

92. Susan Ariel Aaronson, “Competitiveness Study for LTV Corporation,” 20 May 1987, 18–19. I did this study as a consultant to LTV.

93. *Ibid.*, 26.

94. Aaronson, *Are There Trade-offs?* 48; and Maude Barlow and Bruce Campbell, *Take Back the Nation 2* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1991), 9.

95. House of Representatives, *Report: Trade and International Economic Policy Reform Act of 1987* Report 100–40, part 5, 100 Cong., 2d sess., 6 April 1987, 70.

96. For a short time in the 1980s, competitiveness seemed also to become a rubric for totally revamping governance. Some Americans joked that competitiveness became an excuse for changing a wide range of policies that were totally unrelated to trade such as entitlement reform (entitlements include government programs such as social security or welfare). Interview with Nancy Dunne, correspondent, *Financial Times*, 3 August 1998.

97. *The Spotlight* is on the Web at www.spotlight.org/html/order.

98. Norman J. Vig, “The President and the Environment,” in *Environmental Policy in the 1980s*, ed. Vig and Kraft, 88–89. This process was designed to slow agency rule making. On the explosion of public interest and consumer lobbyists in opposition to Reagan administration policies, see Destler et al., *Antiprotection*, 28–29, fnn. 8–9.

99. Lynton K. Caldwell, “The World Environment,” in *Environmental Policy in the 1980s*, ed. Vig and Kraft, 319–21, 323–24. Reagan rescinded Carter’s Exec. Order 12264 on 17 February 1981, shortly after taking office.

100. Maurice Strong of the United Nations remarked that in a reverse of history, the nation that had led global environment cooperation now “suspected that global environmental proposals were surreptitious attempts to thwart the growth of the American economy.” See Caldwell, “The World Environment,” 332, 335, fn. 32.

101. Herman Daly and John Cobb Jr., “International Free Trade Exploits Poor Nations,” in *Trade: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. Dudley, 42. Cobb is professor emeritus at

Claremont School of Theology; Daly is an economist formally with the World Bank, now at the University of Maryland.

102. These groups helped force the multilateral development banks to weigh environmental issues in their debt plans. They began to get clout on Capitol Hill in the 1990s. See letter, Senator Robert W. Kasten to Carla A. Hills, 31 July 1990, in author's possession. On views of the left toward the Bretton Woods Institutions, see Herman E. Daly, "From Adjustment to Sustainable Development: The Obstacle of Free Trade," in Nader et al., *The Case Against Free Trade* 121–32. Also see Walden Bello, "Structural Adjustment Programs: 'Success' for Whom?" 285–96; and Carlos Heredia and Mary Purcell, "Structural Adjustment and the Polarization of Mexican Society," 273–84, both in Mander and Goldsmith, eds., *The Case Against the Global Economy*.

103. Michael Lind, *The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution* (New York: Free Press, 1995); Christopher Lasch, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (New York: Norton, 1994); Michael Lind, "Spheres of Affluence," *American Prospect* (winter 1994): 91–99; and Joel Kotkin, "Nativists on the Left," *Wall Street Journal*, 25 July 1995, A12.

104. Ralph Nader, "GATT Could Get Us," *The National Forum*, 16–22 July 1990.

105. Robert Schaeffer, "Environmental Concerns Should Restrict Trade," in *Trade: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. Dudley, 155–61.

106. Wendell Berry, "A Bad Big Idea," 229–30; Margaret Atwood, 92–97; and Jorge Castañeda, 78–91; in *The Case Against Free Trade*; Walter Russell Mead, "Bushism Found," *Harpers* 285 (September 1992): 37–45; Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 136–40, 227.

107. See interview with Kate Gilmore, Amnesty International Australia, 16 June 1997; interview with Mark Ritchie, President, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), 17 April 1996; interview with James Cameron, FIELD(England), 24 September 1998; and interview with Kevin Watkins, Oxfam, England, 24 September 1998.

108. Patrick D. Chisholm, "Chalk Up One for Protectionists," *Wall Street Journal*, 22 November 1995, A10.

Chapter 5

1. According to Marc Gold and David Leyton Brown of Canada's York University, "The history of Canada-U.S. relations has been a succession of cautious moves toward free trade followed by the retreat from the brink." Marc Gold and David Leyton-Brown, eds., *Trade-Offs on Free Trade: The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement* (Toronto: Carswell, 1988), ix; and Dobson, *Two Centuries*, 71–72.

2. Judith H. Bello and Gilbert R. Winham, "The Canada-USA Free Trade Agreement," in *Negotiating and Implementing a North American Free Trade Agreement*, ed. Leonard Waverman (Toronto: Fraser Institute, 1992), 55–57; and Steven Shrybman, Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA), interview, 21 August 1998. On fears of U.S. protectionism, see Andrew Jackson and Bob Baldwin, "Lessons of Free Trade: A View from Canadian Labour," n.d., 13.

3. The Job Loss Register compiled by the Canadian Labour Congress in 1989 and 1990 documented "literally hundreds of examples of U.S. and Canadian companies shifting all or part of their manufacturing operations to the U.S." They also documented greater Canadian investment in the United States than U.S. investment in Canada. "Fast Facts, Let's Make Canada Work for People, Trade Ties with the United States," Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 3, 5, 7. Also see submission by the Canadian Labour Congress on the North American Free Trade Agreement to the Sub-Committee on In-

ternational Trade of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, Canadian Parliament, 26 January 1993, 3. Copy in possession of the author.

4. According to Andrew Jackson and Bob Baldwin, Canadian Labor Federation economists, “Most Canadians have taken pride in the fact that we have had a more generous welfare state and better developed set of public services than in the U.S. and thus a more equal and decent society.” Jackson and Baldwin, “Lessons of Free Trade,” 3, 7.

5. Steven Shrybman, “Selling Canada’s Environment Short: The Environmental Case Against the Trade Deal,” 1988, 16; and Vogel, *Trading Up*, 219.

6. Canada has a more decentralized approach to environmental regulation than the U.S. federalized approach, while its provinces have greater discretion than the U.S. states. See Marc Landy and Loren Cass, “U.S. Environmental Regulation in a Competitive World,” in *Comparative Disadvantages? Social Regulations and the Global Economy*, ed. Pietro S. Nivola (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997), 237.

7. Bello and Winham, “The Canada-USA Free Trade Agreement,” 1, 53–59; and Donna Dasko, “Canadian Public Opinion: Sources of Support and Dissent,” in *The Free Trade Papers*, ed. Duncan Cameron (Toronto: Lorimer, 1986), 27–28.

8. See www.canadians.org for a description of the Council of Canadians. The council remains influential some ten years later because it also works to safeguard Canada’s social programs and advance “alternatives to corporate-style free trade.” It works closely with Public Citizen in the United States.

9. According to a very thorough study of Canadian views of trade, this comic book became the movement’s most successful educative piece. The booklet was designed as a counterweight to the government’s \$30 million campaign to promote the trade agreement. It educated the public and was accessible to people below university reading levels. Some 2.2 million copies were distributed. Jeffrey M. Ayres, *Defying Conventional Wisdom: Political Movements and Popular Contention against North American Free Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 94–95. Also see Murray G. Smith, “Dealing with Nontariff Barriers,” in *Negotiating and Implementing a North American Free Trade Agreement*, ed. Leonard Waverman, 138–39.

10. Maude Barlow and Heather Jane Robertson, “Homogenization of Education,” in *The Case Against the Global Economy*, ed. Mander and Goldsmith, 60–70.

11. See, for example, George Hoberg, “Sleeping with an Elephant: The American Influence on Canadian Environmental Regulation,” *Journal of Public Policy* 1, no. 2 (January/March 1991): 107–32, esp. 108; Peter A. Cumming, “Impact of the FTA in Public Policy,” 426, 433; and Donald Smiley, “A Note on Canadian-American Free Trade and Canadian Policy Autonomy,” 442–45; both in *Trade-Offs*, ed. Gold et al. On how the FTA will lead to challenging the Canadian social compact, see Malcolm Lester, “Free Trade and Canadian Book Publishing,” in *Trade-Offs*, 368.

12. Marjorie Cohen, “Women and Free Trade,” in *The Free Trade Papers*, ed. Cameron, 144–45.

13. Alan M. Rugman, “Multinationals and the Free Trade Agreement,” 4–12, and Richard G. Lipsey, “The Free Trade Agreement in Context,” in *Trade-Offs*, 67, 74.

14. Jackson and Baldwin, “Lessons of Free Trade,” 13.

15. Tony Clarke, “Mechanisms of Corporate Rule,” in *The Case Against the Global Economy*, ed. Mander and Goldsmith, 298–300, 307–8. On seeing GATT and NAFTA as two of a kind, see Steven Shrybman, CELA, interview, 22 August 1998; Daniel Schwannen, Senior Policy Analyst, C. D. Howe Institute, interview, 9 June 1997; Bruce Campbell, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, interview, 16 September 1998; and Steven Shrybman, “International Trade and the Environment,” October 1989.

16. Margaret Atwood, “Blind Faith and Free Trade,” in *The Case Against Free Trade*, ed. Ralph Nader et al., 92–96, originally published in *The Ottawa Citizen*.
17. Craig Macinnes, “Trade Deal Will Render Canada a Colony of U.S., Nader Warns,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 15 November 1988.
18. The Progressive Conservatives won 43 percent of the vote while the Liberals won 32 percent of the vote and the NDP got 20 percent. Although the opposition Liberals and NDP won a total 52 percent of the vote, this did not translate into a majority anti-trade agreement vote. Ayres, *Defying Conventional Wisdom*, 114–15.
19. Bruce Campbell, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, interview, 16 September 1998; and U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means and Subcommittee on Trade, *North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Supplemental Agreements to the NAFTA*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 14–23 September 1993, 256.
20. The FTA became U.S. law as PL 100–449, on 28 September 1988. Vote count from Debbie Lamb, Senate Finance Committee. Also see Vogel, *Trading Up*, 219–21.
21. Steven Shrybman, counsel to CELA, interview, 22 August, 1998, and Mark Ritchie, IATP, interview, 23 March 1998.
22. Esty, *Greening the GATT*, 10, 183–84; and Mark Ritchie, IATP, interview 23 March 1998.
23. Bruce Michael Bagley, “U.S. Policy Toward Mexico,” in *Mexico and the United States: Managing the Relationship*, ed. Riordan Roett (Boulder: Westview, 1988), 224.
24. Committee on Finance, “Press Release,” 2 May 1979 in Glennon et al., *Making Foreign Policies*, 478–79.
25. Bagley, “U.S. Policy,” 224.
26. Jeffrey J. Schott and Gary Clyde Hufbauer, “NAFTA: Questions of Form and Substance,” in *Negotiating and Implementing*, ed. Leonard Waverman, 61–63, 65.
27. The European Union had grown to include Portugal and Spain, but their living standards were much higher than Mexico’s. However, their entry in the European Union was also controversial.
28. Robert A. Pastor, “NAFTA as the Center of an Integration Process: The Non-trade Issues,” in *Assessing the Impact: North American Free Trade*, ed. Nora Lustig, Barry P. Bosworth, and Robert Z. Lawrence (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1992), 177. On the first trilateral coalitions, see Ayres, *Defying Conventional Wisdom*, 124.
29. President George Bush, *Report to the Congress on the Extension of Fast Track Procedures, Pursuant to Section 1103 (b) of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988*, 1 March 1991, 16–24; and President George Bush, *Response of the Administration to Issues Raised in Connection with the Negotiation of a North American Free Trade Agreement*, 1 May 1991. Also see Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 99–103.
30. Lori Wallach and Tom Hilliard, “The Consumer and Environmental Case Against Fast Track,” Public Citizen’s Congress Watch, May 1991, 1.
31. William A. Orme Jr., *Briefing Book: Continental Shift: Free Trade and the New North America* (Washington: Washington Post, 1993), 55–63; and Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 99–103.
32. Orme, *Continental Shift*, 70–71.
33. Development Group for Alternative Policies (GAP), *Look Before You Leap: What You Should Know About a North American Free Trade Agreement* (Washington: Development GAP, 1991), 1. This group is an international not-for-profit development policy and resource organization.
34. *Ibid.*, 1.

35. James D. Robinson II and Kay R. Whitmore, letter to Ambassador Carla Hills, 8 October 1991. Robinson, CEO of American Express, was the chair of the ACTPN; and Whitmore, CEO of Eastman Kodak, was the chair of the NAFTA Task Force.

36. President's Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations (ACTPN), "Negotiating Objectives for a North American Free Trade Agreement," October 1991, 1–3, 5, 10–11, 15, 17.

37. Jack Sheinkman and Rudy Oswald, "Dissent from the ACTPN Report on Negotiating Objectives for a North American Free Trade Agreement," 2 October 1991.

38. The International Forum on Globalization Web page notes that Nader has repeatedly been rated in national polls as "the most respected person in America." www.peacenet.org/Teach-in/naderbio.

39. Lazarus, *Genteel Populists*, 151–52, and Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 77, 111, 174.

40. Lazarus, *Genteel Populists*, 151–52.

41. To understand changes in the consumer movement over time, see Yiannis Gabriel and Tim Lang, *The Unmanageable Consumer: Contemporary Consumption and Its Fragmentations* (London: Sage, 1995), 159–65.

42. *Ibid.*, 159–62.

43. Lori Wallach, Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, "Trade Implications of Congressional Action on U.S. Dolphin Protection Laws," testimony before the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, Subcommittee on Oceans and Fisheries, 30 April 1996, 2, in possession of the author.

44. Lori Wallach's notes accompanying Aaronson book draft, March 1999; interview with Lori Wallach, 2 July 1998; interview with Segundo Mercado Llorens, the United Food and Commercial Workers, 8 November 1997.

45. Wallach, "Trade Implications," 7.

46. Interviews with Lori Wallach, 2 July 1998 and 17 March 1995.

47. Lori Wallach's notes accompanying Aaronson book draft, March 1999; and interview with Lori Wallach 2 July 1998.

48. Orme, *Continental Shift*, 113–14. However, twenty-three of the twenty-eight companies told GAO that direct payroll costs had led them to move south.

49. *Ibid.*, 118–24.

50. Mark Ritchie, IATP, interview, 17 April 1996; and John Cavanagh, Sarah Anderson, and Karen Hansen Kuhn, "Tri-national Organizing for Just and Sustainable Trade and Development, Some Lessons and Insights," unpublished paper in possession of author, 2. Cavanagh and Anderson are affiliated with the Institute for Policy Studies, Hansen Kuhn is with the Development Gap.

51. "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade: Opening Up the Debate," A Public Forum on Agricultural, Environmental, and Labor Issues, 15 January 1991. The groups initiating the forum included the AFL-CIO, Child Labor Coalition, the Development GAP, Fair Trade Campaign, Institute for Policy Studies, National Consumers League, National Family Farm Coalition, and the United Methodist Board of Church and Society. Also Karen Hansen Kuhn, the Development GAP, interview, 3 August 1998.

52. International Forum, "Public Opinion and the Free Trade Negotiations—Citizen's Alternatives," Zacatecas, Mexico, 25–27 October 1991. The signatories were the Action Canada Network; the Mobilization for Development Trade, Labor and the Environment (USA); and the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade.

53. Mobilization on Development, Trade, Labor and the Environment (MODTLE), “Development and Trade Strategies for North America,” October 1991; and Hansen Kuhn, interview.

54. *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no.1 (Feb. 1992): 3 and *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 3, no.3 (July 1993): 2.

55. Brent Blackwelder, president, Friends of the Earth, interview, 3 September 1998; and Lori Wallach, interview, 2 July 1998. Also see Lori Wallach notes on Aaronson draft, March 1999; and *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 1 (February 1992): 3.

56. *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 1 (February 1992) and Nancy Dunne, “Pact Opponents Claim ‘Secret’ Negotiations,” *Financial Times*, 5 February 1992. Lori Wallach, interview, 2 July 1998.

57. Interview with Brent Blackwelder, 3 September 1998.

58. Lori Wallach notes on Aaronson draft text, March 1999.

59. Lori Wallach’s notes accompanying Aaronson book draft, March 1999; interview with Lori Wallach 2 July 1998; and interview with Karen Hansen Kuhn, Development Gap, 31 August 1998.

60. Lori Wallach notes on Aaronson draft text, March 1999.

61. Lynden Peter, “Congressman Chides NAFTA with New Trade Proposal,” *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 3 (July 1992): 7; Nancy Dunne, *Financial Times* interview, 30 September 1998; Ray Ahearn, Congressional Research Service, interview, 31 July 1998; and Bill Cooper, Congressional Research Service, interview, 31 July 1998.

62. Ken Traynor, “Common Frontiers,” *Briarpatch* (September 1991): 45–46.

63. Orme, *Continental Shift*, 105–11; and Pastor, “NAFTA as the Center of an Integration Process,” 180.

64. Keith Bradsher, “President and Congress Square Off on North American Trade Accord,” *New York Times*, 9 August 1992; *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 4 (October 1992): 1–2.

65. Thirteen environmental organizations published a report in June 1992 with recommendations on NAFTA. *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 3 (July 1992): 6.

66. Keith Bradsher, “President and Congress Square Off on North American Trade Accord,” *New York Times*, 9 August 1992; and *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 4 (October 1992): 1–2.

67. “U.S. Citizen Groups Call for Recasting of North American Agreement in Broader, More Democratic Talks,” in *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 4 (October 1992): 3–5. The signatories included development, religious and farm groups, union groups, papers, policy organizations, unions, and an occupational safety and health center.

68. Steven Shrybman, Canadian Environmental Law Association, interview, 22 August 1998; and Mark Ritchie, interview, 23 March 1998. On Campbell’s view, see *NAFTATHOUGHTS* 2, no. 1 (February 1992): 5.

69. Destler, *Renewing Fast-Track*, 7–8; and Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 224.

70. Audley, *Green Politics and Global Trade*, 76.

71. Audley, *Green Politics*, 70–71.

72. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 220–21. Recent presidents had also not chosen experienced trade negotiators. Mr. Kantor refused to be interviewed for this book in 1997. Ellen Frost, interview, 30 September 1998. Dr. Frost served as Counselor to Ambassador Kantor during the first Clinton administration; she was responsible for policy development.

73. House Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Trade, *North American Free Trade Agreements: NAFTA and Supplemental Agreements to the NAFTA*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 14–23 August 1993, 348–68; and Audley, *Green Politics*, 89–91.

74. Ways and Means, *North American Free Trade*, 368.
75. They concluded that the side agreements did not specify a common set of minimum worker standards, establish an independent investigation or adjudication procedure, or establish true sanctions for firms that mistreated their workers. Bob White, Canadian Labor Congress, “NAFTA Side-Deal Changes Nothing for Workers,” 25 August 1993, and Bruce Campbell, Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives, interview, 11 September 1998.
76. Bruce Campbell, Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives, interview, 11 September 1998.
77. Centro Interamericano de Investigaciones, A.C. and Mexican Institute of Social Studies, “Public Opinion in Mexico City,” October 1992; and Robert Pastor, “NAFTA as the Center of an Integration Process,” 190–99.
78. Jose Cordoba, “Mexico,” in *The Political Economy of Policy Reform*, ed. John Williamson (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1994), 264; polling data on 265.
79. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 224–28; Audley, *Green Politics*, 72–74; Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 140–41; and Lori Wallach comments on Aaronson draft, March 1999.
80. Interview with Lori Wallach, 2 July 1998; and Cavanagh, Anderson, and Hansen Kuhn, “Tri-national Organizing,” 21.
81. Richard Morin, “What Americans Think: Americans Speak Their Minds About Ross Perot,” *Washington Post National Edition*, 8–14 June 1992, 37; Gallup Poll News Service, “Week in Review: Perot Ties Bush in Gallup Poll,” 24 May 1992; Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press, “Campaign ’92: Bush/Clinton/Perot: An Analysis of the Standings,” 8 May 1992; Walter Shapiro, “President Perot?,” *Time*, 25 May 1992, 27–43; and Tom Shales, “Perot’s Paradox: He’s Slippery, but Not Slick,” *Washington Post*, 9 June 1992, E1, E9; and “Issues: Filling in the Blanks,” *Newsweek*, 15 June 1992. An example of Perot’s contradiction: on the economy Perot complained that “television wants everything complicated short. . . . [but] all of these things are so simple.” He criticized the notion that money is the answer to education, but “if you have to spend more, spend more.”
82. Tom Mathews, “President Perot?,” *Newsweek*, 15 June 1992, 18.
83. Henry Muller and Richard Woodbury, “Working Folks Say. . .” *Time*, 25 May 1992, 36–43; and Thomas B. Edsall, “Disaffected White Male Viewed as Most Likely Backer of Perot,” *Washington Post*, 3 June 1992, A15.
84. Keith Bradsher, “Free Trade Pact Is Still a Mystery to Many in the United States,” *New York Times*, 12 July 1993, A1.
85. “Anxious Swing Voters,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 8 June 1992, 22–26; Shales, “Perot’s Paradox,” and Mark Clements, “What Worries Voters Most,” *Parade*, 3 May 1992, 4–6. *Parade* found that some 88 percent of voters surveyed said they were worried about maintaining their income or having enough cash.
86. Lee Walczak, “The New Populism,” *Business Week*, 13 March 1995, 73–80.
87. Tonelson, “Beyond Left and Right,” 17.
88. Ross Perot (with Pat Choate), *Save Your Job, Save Our Country: Why NAFTA Must Be Stopped—Now!* (New York: Hyperion for United We Stand America, 1993).
89. USTR, “Correcting the Record,” 2 September 1993.
90. Audley, *Green Politics and Global Trade*, 101.
91. As an example of environmentalist discomfort with Perot, see remarks of Carl Pope, president, Sierra Club, in Ways and Means, “NAFTA and Supplemental Agree-

ments,” 376. Mr. Pope said, “I do not agree with Mr. Perot on everything. I stand by our statements, not Mr. Perot’s statements.” Also see Audley, *Green Politics*, 101, 109, 111, fnn. 14, 15. Public Citizen wanted to brief Perot, but he did not accept their offer. According to Audley, Friends of the Earth issued a press release saying that Perot did not act as their spokesperson. Also see Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 141–42; and Destler, *American Trade*, 98–101, 222–28.

92. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 141–42; and Walczak, “New Populism,” 73.

93. See, for example, on the right, *The American Protectionist, A Monthly Newsletter Magazine about the Authentic American Economic System*, January 1996, 3–7; on the left, see Mander and Goldsmith, *The Case Against the Global Economy*.

94. Senate Committee on Finance, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 15–28 September 1998. On numbers (create or destroy jobs) 4, 5, 18, 25, 31, 54, 56, 70–71, 149, 164–165, 223, 334. On the numbers of supporters vs. opponents, Ambassador Mickey Kantor noted every living ex-president, 41 of 50 governors, 284 economists, and six environmental groups representing 7.5 million Americans or 80% of the membership of U.S. environmental organizations, support NAFTA. Compare to remarks of Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, who noted that some 300 state and local groups oppose NAFTA, comprising some 8 million citizens, 137.

95. Thomas R. Donahue, secretary/treasurer, AFL, statement before Ways and Means, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, 511.

96. Curt Rohland, president, National Family Farm Coalition, Senate Finance, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, 137; also see 138–44.

97. Senate Finance, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, 138–44.

98. Senate Finance, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, on support of former UAW President Douglas Fraser, 105; on labor standards declining and job anxiety, see 59, 76, 131; on wages declining, 100–101; and testimony of Thomas R. Donahue, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO, 83–101.

99. House Committee on Agriculture, *Review of Issues Related to the North American Free-Trade Agreement—NAFTA*, 8 April–30 September 1992, quote of EPA Administrator William Reilly, quoted in Linda J. Fisher, assistant administrator, EPA, 495. Reilly described NAFTA as the “greenest trade agreement ever negotiated.” Were they broken promises? In the Senate Finance Committee Hearing, Senator Donald Riegle asked Labor Secretary Reich what the difference was between the Bush administration’s Memorandum of Understanding on Labor versus the Labor Side Agreement noted by the Clinton administration. The Bush Memorandum, signed on 3 May 1991, set out a list of cooperative activities between the United States and Mexico. The Clinton side agreement made all activities trilateral, created an institutional structure to ensure that the three nations cooperate, communicate, and “scrutinize the enforcement of each other’s labor laws.” The agreement also established a process to discuss and dispute labor law and “for the first time opens Mexican labor law procedures and enforcement up to public scrutiny.” Senate Finance, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, 249–50.

100. Ways and Means, *North American Free Trade*, 253–56.

101. Congressman Bill Thomas in a discussion with Carl Pope of Sierra Club, Andrea Durbin of Friends of the Earth, and Lori Wallach of Public Citizen in Ways and Means, *NAFTA and Supplemental Agreements*, 376–77.

102. Ways and Means, *North American Free-Trade*, 320, 346, 357, 534.

103. Senate Finance, *NAFTA and Related Side Agreements*, 115–16.

104. House Ways and Means, *NAFTA and Supplemental Agreements*, 369.

105. Pharis J. Harvey, “Labour Has Few Rights in Mexico,” *Briarpatch* (September 1991): 25; and Pharis J. Harvey, Prepared Statement, Ways and Means Committee, 20 February 1991.

106. Ways and Means, *NAFTA and Supplemental Agreements*, 376–79.

107. Ways and Means, *NAFTA and Supplemental Agreements*, 527–37; Donahue quote, 536.

108. *Ibid.*, Pope, 376, Wallach, 377; Congressman Bill Thomas interpretation of their views, 381–82.

109. *Ibid.*, 377–78, 381–82.

110. According to congressional testimony of Mr. Peter F. Guerrero, associate director, environmental protection issues, General Accounting Office, “In some cases U.S. standards were higher, in other cases Codex standards were higher. We don’t always have the most stringent standards.” House Agriculture Committee, *Review of Issues Related to the North American Free-Trade Agreement—NAFTA*, 174.

111. In a study of NAFTA, John Audley found that 308 of 434 members who voted on the NAFTA implementing legislation issued comments on their votes. He found that not one of the opponents of NAFTA mentioned the environment as part of their justification for opposing NAFTA, but supporters cited NAFTA’s environmental provisions as a reason for supporting it. Audley, *Green Politics*, 96, 110, fnn. 1–5.

Chapter 6

1. Ritchie had received a leaked copy of the proposals. Executive Office of the President, “United States Proposals for Multilateral Trade Negotiations on Agriculture,” 6 July 1987. He believed they were leaked by Senator Jesse Helms. Interview with Mark Ritchie, 18 October 1998.

2. Several individuals in the United States and from overseas identified Mark Ritchie as the individual who first sounded the alarm about the potential impact of the GATT on national systems of regulation. Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, interview, 17 March and 21 March 1995; Steve Charnovitz, now of the law firm Wilmer Cutler, then research director, Competitiveness Policy Council, interview, 2 August 1994; Steven Shrybman, Canadian Environmental Law Association, interview, 22 August 1998; Kevin Watkins, Oxfam (England), interview, 24 September 1998.

3. International Trade Commission (ITC), *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program, 38th Report* (Washington: GPO, 1987), 1-2-1-7; ITC, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program, 39th Report* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1988), 2-4-2-5; and Jeffrey J. Scott, *The Uruguay Round: An Assessment* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1995), 4–5.

4. Mark Ritchie, “Trading Away Our Environment,” May 1990, 2.

5. E-mail from Mark Ritchie to Susan Aaronson, 24 August 1998.

6. Another individual who early on became concerned about the relationship of trade and the environment was Konrad von Moltke, a professor at Dartmouth College. Interview with David Schorr, World Wildlife Fund, 1 December 1998.

7. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, chapters 9–10.

8. Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* 5, 53, 65.

9. Ritchie became a member of President Clinton’s Trade and Environment Policy Advisory Committee. Thus, one could say he became a “mover and shaker.”

10. Also see Mark Ritchie, “Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement: The U.S. Perspective,” *Review of European Community and International Environmental Law* 1, no. 1 (1992): 48. Writing about Ritchie, one observer noted, “Trade, per se, was simply not

on the activist non-profit or progressive philanthropic screen.” In documents prepared nominating Ritchie for a MacArthur Genius award, the anonymous nominator wrote, he “brought the trade issue to a boil.” “Anonymous Nominator’s Excerpt: Mark Ritchie,” in possession of the author.

11. “IATP contributes research and analysis on the economic, environmental, and cultural impacts of contemporary trade policy and practices. . . . IATP has made it a priority to effectively use fax, telephone, and computer technologies to gather information, inform, coordinate, and mobilize.” Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), *Annual Report: 1996–1997*, 3–4.

12. Interview with Mark Ritchie, 17 April 1996; Mark Ritchie, “Globalizing the Farm Crisis: A Dangerous World Food Situation Demands Education/Action,” *Christian Social Action* 3 (1998): 22–26; and Mark Ritchie, “Democratizing the Trade-Policy Making Process: The Lessons of NAFTA and Their Implications for the GATT,” *Cornell International Law Journal* 27, no. 3 (1994): 749–53.

13. ITC, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program 38th Report*, 1–5, 2–19–2–20; and Paarlberg, *Leadership Abroad*, 67–69, quotation on 69.

14. Interview with Kevin Brosch, Office of the General Counsel, Department of Agriculture, 2 September 1998. Brosch was a lead negotiator on agriculture during the Uruguay Round.

15. Ritchie, “New Perspectives on Ecologically Compatible Agriculture”; and Brosch, interview, 2 September 1998.

16. Devin Burghalter of Prairie Fire, interview, 13 July 1998. Prairie Fire was a religious and political support groups for small farmers in the Midwest.

17. Paarlberg, *Leadership Abroad*, 67.

18. Interview with Mark Ritchie, 17 April 1996; Mark Ritchie, “Trading Away Our Environment,” IATP, May 1990, 2.

19. For example, in 1972, an assistant secretary of agriculture once justified a decision to restrict the flow of imported tomatoes into the United States not to ensure the tomatoes were safe to eat, but rather “the primary purpose of the act . . . is to protect the purchasing power of U.S. farmers.” Lazurus, *Genteel Populists*, 101, 130–31; Ritchie, interview, 17 April 1996; and Donna U. Vogt, “Food Safety: Recommendations for Changes in the Organization of Federal Food Safety Responsibilities, 1949–1997,” Congressional Research Service (CRS) 98-400, 21 April 1998, 7, 36, 44.

20. Vogt, “Food Safety,” 7, 36, 44; and Community Nutrition Institute (CNI), “GATT Proposal May Weaken U.S. Right to Set Standards,” 30 August 1990, 4.

21. Harrison Wellford, *Sowing the Wind: A Report from Ralph Nader’s Center for Study of Responsive Law on Food Safety and the Chemical Harvest* (New York: Grossman, 1972).

22. The Safe Food Coalition was composed of members from the American Public Health Association, Center for Science in the Public Interest, Consumer Federation of America, Consumers Union, AFL-CIO, National Consumers League, Public Citizen, and the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Vogt, “Food Safety,” 36, 44.

23. A series of polls throughout the 1980s noted that some 89.8 percent of those surveyed agreed (or strongly agreed) that keeping food safe should be a high government priority. Carol S. Kramer, “Food Safety: Consumer Preferences, Policy Options, Research Needs,” in *Consumer Demands in the Marketplace: Public Policies Related to Food Safety Quality and Human Health*, ed. Katherine L. Clancy (Washington: Resources for the Future, 1988), 148 (poll cited, also see 150–61 for additional polls). The European nations had different food safety priorities and concerns. For example, compared with

U.S. consumers, Europeans were more concerned about hormones than pesticides; but food safety was also an important priority to Europeans in the 1980s. See David O’Beirne, “Issues in the European Community,” also in *Consumer Demands*, 171–85.

24. Henk Lof, “GATT, Agriculture and Environment: Towards a Positive Approach,” Centre for Agriculture and Environment, Utrecht, November 1990, Comments of Mark Ritchie, 9. Copy in possession of the author.

25. Mark Ritchie, “The Environmental Implications of the GATT Negotiations,” RONGEAD Infos (autumn 1989): 12.

26. Interview with Mark Ritchie, 13 October 1998, and comments to author, 30 December 1998.

27. Ritchie was named one of the *Utne Reader’s* 100 visionaries in 1995. “Ritchie is GATT and NAFTA’s worst nightmare. . . . He has spent the past 20 years working on the economic, social, and environmental issues facing family farms and small towns worldwide.” John Spade and the editors of *Utne Reader*, “100 Visionaries Who Could Change Your Life,” *Utne Reader* (January/February 1995): 73.

28. In many of these nations, sterilized water was not available. Fuel or electricity to sterilize the water was also expensive or unavailable. The formula (coupled with the bottles) was very expensive to citizens in developing nations. Thus, parents might be tempted to dilute the formula, which would lower its nutritional value.

29. George A. Lopez, Jackie G. Smith, and Ron Pagnucco, “The Global Tide,” *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (July/August 1995): 33–35. The Nestlé case became a case study in corporate social responsibility. Rogene A. Buchholz, William D. Evans, and Robert A. Wagley, *Management Response to Public Issues: Concepts and Cases in Strategy Formulation* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989), 149–62; and Rafael D. Pagan Jr., “Corporate Strategies for Effective Crisis Management: Corporate Decision Making and Corporate Public Policy Development,” in *Business and Society: Dimensions of Conflict and Cooperation*, ed. S. Prakash Sethi and Cecilia M. Falbe (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987), 432–49.

30. Mark Ritchie, “Introduction,” in *1991 IATP Annual Report*, 3.

31. Tim Lang, professor, Centre for Food Policy, Thames Valley University, interview, 25 September 1998; Colin Hines, independent author and Green Party strategist, interview, 23 September 1998; and Kevin Watkins, Oxfam, interview, 24 September 1998. On organizing by farmers, see IATP, “The De-coupled Approach to Agriculture,” September 1998, 28.

32. International Summit of Agricultural Producers Concerned with GATT, “Strengthening the Agricultural Trade Disciplines of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade,” 2 December 1987.

33. Paarlberg, *Leadership Abroad*, 67; Mark Ritchie, IATP, interview, 13 October 1998; David Schorr, World Wildlife Fund, interview, 1 December 1998; and Nancy Dunne, *Financial Times*, interview, 18 November 1996.

34. Interviews with Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, 2 July 1998; Ambassador Tran Van Thinh, 16 October 1998; interview with Myrian Van Stichele, Stichting Onderzoek Multinationale Ondernemingen (SOMO; Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations), 29 May 1999; and Ricardo Melendez, Director, International Center for Trade and Sustainable Development, 27 May 1999.

35. Interviews with Amy Porges, Office of the General Counsel, USTR, series of interviews, May–December 1997; Laura Kneale Anderson, USTR, 4 August 1998; and Nancy Dunne, 18 November 1996.

36. Mychal Wilmes, “Europeans Need to Win Battle Over the Elimination of Farm Subsidies,” *Agri-News*, 17 March 1998; and interview with Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, 2 July 1998.

37. Lane Palmer, “U.S. Farm Groups Heat Up the Trade War,” *Farm Journal*, mid-March 1988, 32; Dan Miller, “Viewpoints: When Talking Works,” *Iowa Farmer Today*, 5 March 1988.

38. The institute became a hub for a “network of farm, consumer, environmental, citizen, church, labor, and development organizations in the United States and abroad.” In publicizing and fund-raising for the institute, Ritchie made contact with a wide range of foundations, churches, and media groups. By 1991, the institute had a budget of almost half a million dollars and a full-time staff of nine analysts. IATP, *1991 Annual Report*, 3, 6.

39. IATP, “Consumer Dangers in GATT,” and “GATT Mid-Term Agreement,” 14 April 1989; IATP, “The De-Coupled Approach to Agriculture,” September 1988; IATP, “The Environmental Implications of the GATT Negotiations,” 1989(?); Mark Ritchie, “Global Agricultural Trade Negotiations and Their Potential Impact on Minnesota,” *Journal of the Minnesota Academy of Science* 54 (November 1989): 4–8. On views of farmers, see Mark A. Edelman, “Extension News: Iowa State,” 23 December 1987, which reported that some 66 percent of 1,920 Iowa farmers polled supported developing domestic markets for farm products and de-emphasizing trade as a solution to low prices.

40. Rodney E. Leonard founded the Community Nutrition Institute in 1969. CNI focus on providing policy analysis, information, and education to consumers and government officials on a sustainable food supply, consumer protection, and sound federal diet and health policies.

41. IATP, “Consumer Dangers in GATT,” n.d., 1.

42. Marta Cleaveland, “Ag Organizations to Form Coalition,” *Times News* (Idaho), 19 April 1989; and “1988 Resolution Opposing GATT Agricultural Agreement,” both in files of Mark Ritchie. The resolution was signed by farm groups from the states of North Dakota, Minnesota, and Montana. Also Devin Burghalter, interview, 13 July 1998; Lori Wallach, interview, 2 July 1998.

43. USTR, “Submission of the United States on Comprehensive Long-Term Agricultural Reform, Final U.S. Proposal, October 1989,” 1, 3–6.

44. On Codex, see CRS, Donna U. Vogt, “Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures Pertaining to Food in International Trade Negotiations,” CRS-6, 11 September 1992.

45. Carol S. Kramer, “Implications of the Hormone Controversy for International Food Safety Standards,” *Resources* (fall 1991): 12–14; and Vogt, “Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures,” CRS-6, 11 September 1992.

46. The United States and the Cairns Group (major agricultural exporters such as Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Hungary, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, and Uruguay) sought specific reduction of domestic support and export subsidies. The European Community, Japan, and other countries sought to focus reduction commitments on domestic support programs, but they would not specific policy specific commitments. ITC, *Operation of the Trade Agreements Program: 42nd Report 1990*, 13. Also see Ray MacSharry, European Community to Vermont House Representative Andrew Christiansen, 22 December 1989; and Acting USTR Jules Katz to Honorable Andrew Christiansen, 19 November 1989, from files of Mark Ritchie.

47. On the U.S. proposal to convert all NTBs into tariffs, see Farmers Union, “U.S. Seeking ‘Tariffication’ at GATT Talks,” *Milk Matters*, 31 July 1989; National Farmers Union, “World Farm Leaders Oppose Decoupling, Want Supply-Management,” 13 June

1989, and GATT, “Discussion Paper on Tariffication Submitted by the United States,” MTN.GNG/NG5/W/97, 10 July 1989.

48. “Unofficial Report of Remarks by Daniel Amstutz, Undersecretary of Agriculture,” 13 October 1988; and “A Framework for Agricultural Reform Submitted by the United States,” 7 November 1988, in files of Mark Ritchie, IATP. Also see IATP, “The De-coupled Approach to Agriculture,” September 1988, 21–22. The undersecretary of agriculture is also the chief agricultural trade negotiator.

49. See, for example, Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), “Bush Trade Proposal Threatens U.S. Pesticide Regulation,” 24 May 1990; Greenpeace Action, “Harmonization of Global Pesticide Standards Proposed Under GATT: Threat to Safety of US Food Supply”; IATP, “GATT SCAN: Special Edition on Harmonization,” 6 May 1990; and Ritchie, “Trading Away Rights.” Dona Vogt of CRS refuted these allegations by noting that the U.S. government representatives were charged with representing the United States and not interest groups. She also found that some consumer groups, including CNI, Public Voice, and Consumers Union, had opportunities to attend Codex meetings. Vogt, “Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures,” CRS-7.

50. GATT Secretariat, “Common Language Developed from Country Proposals on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Regulations and Barriers,” Revision 1, 29 May 1990; and “Submission of the European Communities on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Regulations and Measures,” December 1989. The European Community fully supported the objective of harmonization but had a different strategy to achieve it.

51. Jonathan Harsch, “Washington Farm Scene,” 13 May 1988, 6; and Pam Baldwin “Idaho Farm Future at Stake in Geneva,” *Idaho Statesman*, 9 June 1989.

52. In 1981, some infant foods based on Italian veal containing synthetic hormones caused abnormal swelling of the mammary glands of young boys. David O’Beirne, “Issues in the European Community,” in *Consumer Demands in the Marketplace*, ed. Clancy, 183.

53. Marcia Zarley Taylor, *Farm Journal*, May 1989, 10; and Leo Van Beek, “Yeutter Asks for International BGH Policy,” *Agri-View*, 30 September 1989.

54. According to a U.S. government press release, “While the E.C. has joined other countries in calling for greater uniformity . . . of national health regulations, it appears less willing than other GATT members to agree that an effective dispute settlement process is needed for when a country fails to comply with this harmonization.” U.S. Mission Daily Bulletin, “Governments Use Health Regulations to Limit Imports,” 17 January 1989, given to me by Gretchen Stanton of the WTO staff. Also Gretchen H. Stanton, WTO, interview, 7 October 1998. She was the lead GATT staffer on S&P standards negotiations.

55. Ironically, the European Alliance for Safe Meat found that some 64 percent of Europeans polled have no problem with growth promotants as long as the resulting meat is certified safe for human consumption. See “Pro Farmer,” 21 May 1990; and “Global Harmonization,” 1; both in the files of Mark Ritchie, IATP. This example supports the official view that the Europeans were using health and safety standards strictly for trade protection, as in the 1870s (chapter 2). On Yeutter and Hightower, see James Ridgeway, “Who Was That Masked Man Anyway?” *Voice* 29 February 1989, 18; Texas Department of Agriculture, “Press Release: Texas Ships First Load of Hormone Free Beef to Europe,” 31 July 1989; and Jess Blair, “Hightower Put in Hot Seat Over Beef Hormone Issue,” *Feedstuffs*, 24 April 1989.

56. “Global Harmonization,” in files of Mark Ritchie; and Gretchen Stanton, WTO, fax to Susan Aaronson, 13 October 1998, on S&P standards protests.

57. CNI, “GATT Proposal,” *Nutrition Week*, 30 August 1990, 5. In May 1990, some EPA staff wrote an internal memo arguing that some standards are not based on sound science but on policy judgments, and thus, sound science should not be the only criteria for assessing legitimacy of domestic regulation. In a press briefing on May 4, 1990, Anne Lindsay, an EPA official, said that some 16 percent of the pesticide tolerance standards set by Codex are weaker than current U.S. tolerances. See “U.S. Agricultural Practices Change Predicted If CODEX MRLs Adopted,” *Pesticide and Toxic Chemical News*, 9 May 1990, 1. On Louis Sullivan’s view, see *Food Chemical News*, 16 April 1990, 45–46.

58. Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, House Committee on Energy and Commerce, “Hard To Swallow: FDA Enforcement Program for Imported Food” (Washington: GPO, 1989), 1. In 1989, GAO also did a study. It noted that the United States imported about 9 percent of its food supply in 1987 and inspected some 9 percent of those imports. GAO, “Imported Foods: Opportunities to Improve FDA’s Inspection Program,” GAO/HRD 89–88, April 1989, 2.

59. Eric Christiansen, NRDC, on behalf of Stewart Hudson, National Wildlife Federation; Alex Hittle, Friends of the Earth; Mark Ritchie, Fair Trade Campaign; Mark Floegel, Greenpeace; Craig Merrilees, National Toxics Campaign Fund; and Rod Leonard, Community Nutrition Institute, letter to USTR Carla Hills, 11 June 1990.

60. The Scheuer resolution was H.R. 336, 101st Cong., 2d sess., 1990. The resolution also urged Congress to find ways to better integrate environmental and economic decision-making. Hobart Rowan, “Are Food Imports Safe?” *Washington Post*, 31 May 1990, A23; and Ritchie, “Trading Away,” 11.

61. Rowan, “Are Food Imports Safe?” A23; Bob Lewis, “Bob Lewis’s Farmlatter,” 31 May 1990; and Ritchie, “Trading Away,” 16. The Swift resolution was H.R. 371, 29 March 1990. The Swift resolution was announced at a press conference sponsored by the Ad Hoc Working Group on Trade and Environmentally Sustainable Development.

62. Greenpeace Action, “Harmonization of Global Pesticide Standards Proposed Under GATT: Threat to Safety of U.S. Food Supply” and NRDC, “Bush Trade Proposal Threatens U.S. Pesticide Regulation,” 24 May 1990; GAO, “International Food Safety: Comparison of U.S. and Codex Pesticide Standards,” GAO/PEMD–91–22, August 1991; and Ad Hoc Working Group on Trade and Environmentally Sustainable Development, letter to Members of Congress, 21 May 1990.

63. Phil Lansing, director, Idaho Rural Council, letter to Keith Higgenson, director, Water Resources, State of Idaho, 15 June 1990; and Leonard W. Condon, deputy assistant, U.S. Trade Representative for Agricultural Affairs, letter to Phil Lansing, director, Idaho Rural Council, 9 July 1990; both from files of Mark Ritchie. Also see Farmers Union Milk Marketing Cooperative, “FUMMC Urges Congress to Insist on Adequate Food Safety Standards Under GATT,” 15 May 1990.

64. Carla Hills, USTR, transcript, National Press Club ballroom speech, 24 May 1990.

65. Dan Esty, Yale Law School, interview, 18 November 1998. Mr. Esty was a special assistant to EPA administrator William Reilly during the Bush administration and later served in senior positions.

66. Eric Christiansen, NRDC, on behalf of the Community Nutrition Institute and National Wildlife Federation, letter to Sharon Bylenga, Department of Agriculture, 23 August 1990, from files of Jake Caldwell and Ron Leonard, CNI.

67. GATT Negotiating Group on Agriculture: Working Group on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Regulations and Barriers, *Draft Text on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures*. MTN.GNG/NG5/WGSP/7; Geneva, Switzerland, 20 November 1990. The areas of dis-

agreement were marked by brackets. Also see Fair Trade Campaign, “GATT Focus,” 10 July 1990.

68. Natalie Avery, “Fears Over Food Quality Standards,” *Pesticide News* 20 (June 1993): 3; Rod Leonard, CNI, interview, 9 December 1997; Professor Tim Lang, interview, 24 September 1998; and Natalie Avery, Martine Drake, and Tim Lang, *Cracking the Codex: An Analysis of Who Sets World Food Standards* (London: National Food Alliance, 1993).

69. N.a., “GATT Could Jeopardise Food Self-Reliance,” *Crosscurrents* 8, 28 August 1991, 7; and Dutch Alliance for Sustainable Development, “Towards Sustainability, a Dutch NGO Perspective,” Utrecht, July 1991. Draft in possession of author. Jane Ayers, “Martin Khor: Fighting to Save Rain Forests and the World Environment,” *ISEE Newsletter*, May 1991, 8.

70. Commission of the European Communities, “Report on United States Trade Barriers and Unfair Practices 1991: Problems of Doing Business in the U.S.,” 15 March 1991, 7.

71. N.a., “Memorandum: Restriction of State Powers in International Trade Agreements,” 24 June 1991, 1–6; and N.a., “Global Harmonization of Food Safety Standards: A Threat to Consumers, Farmers and the Environment,” 1991, both in files of Mark Ritchie, IATP.

72. N.a., “Environmental Proposition Opposed,” *Merced Sun Star* (California), 24 August 1990; Senator Dianne Feinstein, statement, 16 July 1990.

73. The position of the IOCU was reported in *Codex Coordinating Committee Report*, obtained by Rod Leonard of CNI, dated December 1991; copy in file of author, from files of Mark Ritchie of the IATP.

74. N.a., “Bush Administration Opens Backdoor to Gut Health, Safety Standards Via Trade Pacts,” *Public Citizen*, October 1992, 14–16.

75. Centre for Agriculture and Environment, “GATT, Agriculture, and Environment,” 1; and Henk Lof, “GATT, Agriculture and Environment: Towards a Positive Approach, Report on a Conference on September 14–15, 1990, Utrecht, Netherlands, November 1990.

76. Some progress had been made regarding nontariff barriers, but the EC and the United States could not find a common framework to reduce subsidies as well as trade barriers. They did achieve some movement on S&P, but they had not agreed whether nations had a right to their own regulatory approval procedures. ITC, *Trade Agreements Program 42nd Report, 1990*, 1–5, 14–15.

77. The draft final act was GATT Secretariat, MTN.TNC/W/35/Rev.1. In its request for fast-track authority, the administration noted that the draft final act was not attached to the president’s report on its request for fast-track due to its considerable length. Thus, few people, even members of Congress, saw it until it was leaked. A limited number of copies were available at the Office of Public Affairs, USTR. President George Bush, “Report to the Congress,” Attachment D.

78. Interview with Rod Leonard, 9 December 1997.

79. Rod Leonard and Eric Christiansen, “Basic Environmental Principles for Trade Agreements,” proposal to NRDC, NWF, FOE, Audubon, EDF, Sierra Club, and Greenpeace, 19 June 1991.

80. Eric Christiansen, CNI, letter to James D. Grueff, group leader, U.S. Department of Agriculture, on behalf of Rodney E. Leonard, CNI and Alex Hittle, Friends of the Earth, 23 May 1991. The letter was copied to Senators Bentsen, Wirth, Gore, Leahy, and Lautenberg.

81. CNI, “New Trade Rules to Replace Health, Safety Standards in Federal Law,” *Nutrition Week*, 3 May 1990, 4.
82. Interview with Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, 9 April 1999.
83. Wallach said she became an opponent of GATT when she found the doors closed to her—although I found evidence that GATT staff did meet with her. Lori Wallach, interview, 2 July 1998; Gretchen Stanton, interview, 7 October, 1998 and Gretchen Stanton, WTO letter to Susan Aaronson, 13 October 1998. Also see Postman and Mapes, “WTO in Seattle: Why WTO United So Many Foes,” *Seattle Times*, 6 December 1999.
84. Ralph Nader, 13th World Congress of the International Organization of Consumers Unions, remarks, 8 July 1991.
85. The report was called “GATT, Trade and the Environment,” GATT/1529, derestricted 2/2/1992.” See IT, *The Year in Trade*, 21, 27.
86. Lang and Hines, *New Protectionism*, 11, 53.
87. Interviews with Mark Ritchie, IATP, 13 October 1998; Justin Ward, NRDC, 18 November 1998; Karen Hansen Kuhn, the Development GAP, interview, 2 August 1998; Steven Shrybman, Canadian Environmental Law Institute, 22 August 1998; and Stewart Hudson, formerly World Wildlife Fund, 22 October 1998.
88. Interview with Colin Hines, 23 September 1998; interview with Kevin Watkins, Oxfam, 24 September 1998; and interview with Myriam Vander Stichele, SOMO, 29 May 1999.
89. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 218–11; and Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President 1993* (Washington: GPO, 1993), 317; on oilseeds, 318–19. Mark Ritchie, IATP, interview, 13 October 1998. On protests, see Justin R. Ward, “Environmental Strategies for Agricultural Trade,” in *Trade and the Environment: Law, Economics, and Policy*, ed. Durwood Zaelke, Robert Housman, and Paul Orbach (Washington: Earth Island Law, 1993), 247.
90. “Towards Sustainability: A Dutch NGO Perspective,” Position paper on behalf of NAPED, first draft, Utrecht, July 1991, 34.
91. Gretchen Stanton, letter to Susan Aaronson, 13 October 1998; Gretchen Stanton, WTO, interview, 7 October 1998; Lori Wallach, letter to Gretchen Stanton, 16 November 1992; and Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, interview, 2 July 1998. The tuna dolphin report came out on 3 September 1991. On India meeting see, Terry Allen, “In GATT They Trust,” *Covert Action* 40 (spring 1992): 60–65.
92. Section 1101 of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, (14) Worker Rights states: the principal negotiating objectives of the United States regarding worker rights are to promote response for worker rights; to secure a review of the relationship of worker rights to GATT articles, objectives, and related instruments; and “to adopt, as a principle of the GATT, that the denial of worker rights should not be a means for a country or its industries to gain competitive advantage in international trade.” Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House, *Overview and Compilation of U.S. Trade Statutes 1997 edition*, 853, 855.
93. Charnovitz, “Environmental and Labour Standards,” 335–56; Congressman Donald Pease, “A View from a Former Congressman,” 53, quoting USTR Bill Brock; and Mickey Kantor, “The Perspective of the U.S. Trade Representative,” 16; both in U.S. Department of Labor, *International Labor Standards and Global Economic Integration: Proceedings of a Symposium* (Washington: GPO, 1994).
94. The letter urging representatives to reject the Dunkel draft included seventeen environmental groups; five consumer groups; nine labor groups; five citizens groups;

six farm groups; and three religious groups. Many of these same groups had expressed concerns about NAFTA. See Citizen Trade Watch Campaign, “Consumer and Environmental Briefing Packet on the December 20, 1991 Uruguay Round GATT ‘Final Act Text,’” spring 1992.

95. Lang and Hines, *New Protectionism*, 48–49; Nancy Dunne, “Consumer Protest at World Trade Plan,” *Financial Times* 11 December 1992, 5; Colin Hines, interview, 23 September 1998; N.a., “Citizens’ Groups Raise Concerns About GATT,” *NAF-TATHOUGHTS* 4, no. 1 (April 1994): 9; Kevin Watkins, Oxfam, interview, 24 September 1998; “France’s Right: An Utter Mess,” *Economist*, 19 August 1998; and James Goldsmith, “Global Free Trade and GATT,” 1994.

96. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 219–21; Schott, *The Uruguay Round*, 6–7; and Hines and Lang, *New Protectionism*, 47.

97. GATT Secretariat, “Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations,” 15 December 1993. The information on the WTO is in Annex IV, 91.

98. Committee on Ways and Means, *Overview and Compilation of U.S. Trade Statutes*, 855, Sections 131, 132, 135, and 315 of the Uruguay Round Agreements Act, as amended; Kantor, “The Perspective,” 16; and interviews with Trim Bisell, National Coordinator, Campaign for Labor Rights, 2 December 1997; and Pharis Harvey, Executive Director, International Labor Rights Fund, 6 May 1997.

99. Interview with Jennifer Haverkamp, assistant USTR for Trade and the Environment, 31 July 1998; Laura Kneale Anderson, director for trade and the environment, USTR, 4 August 1998; and Bobbi Dresser, associate director for international standards, FDA, 16 September 1998. Also see USTR, “The Uruguay Round and U.S. Food Safety,” June 1994.

100. Vogel, *Trading Up*, 191; and Esty, *Greening the GATT*, 49–52.

101. Esty, *Greening the GATT*, 53–54. Also interviews with David Schorr, WWF, 1 December 1998; Jennifer Haverkamp, Assistant USTR for Trade and the Environment, 31 July 1998; and Nancy Dunne, *Financial Times*, 7 July 1998.

102. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, *Hearings on S. 2467: GATT Implementing Legislation*, 103rd Cong., 2d sess., 4 October–15 November 1994, 198–205. The Consumers Union noted it had certain problems with the Uruguay Round Agreements but hoped they would be addressed in the future work program of the WTO.

103. Esty, *Greening the GATT*, 53–54.

104. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 145–46; and President of the United States, *Message Transmitting the Uruguay Round Trade Agreements, Texts of Agreements Implementing Bill Statement of Administrative Action and Required Supporting Statements*, 27 August 1994.

105. Interviews with Lori Wallach, Public Citizen, 2 July 1998; and Brent Blackwelder, Friends of the Earth, 3 August 1998.

106. Catherine Fields, Office of the General Counsel, USTR, telephone interview, 1 May 1994; and Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, PL 100–418. The first trade negotiating objective for the United States in the act was “to provide for more effective and expeditious dispute settlement mechanisms and procedures.” Also see President Bill Clinton, *Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative, Subject: Trade Agreements Resulting from the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations*, 15 December 1994, 26.

107. Aaronson, *Trade and the American Dream*, 147; and Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, February 1995* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1995), 205–14.

108. Patrick J. Buchanan, *The Great Betrayal*, 17–19.

109. *Ibid.*, 19, 43, 62.

110. *Ibid.*, 8–9, 113.

111. Susan Ariel Aaronson, “Circle the Wagons: Pat Buchanan’s Illogical Campaign to Protect America from the Foreign Hordes,” *New Democrat* (July/August 1998): 21–23.

112. Susan Dentzer, “The Buchanan Trade Winds,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 26 February 1996, 31.

113. Save Our Sovereignty, “Opposition to World Trade Organization Grows Across Political Spectrum,” press release, 13 June 1994. See Senate Committee on Commerce, *Hearings on S2467*, 93–95, testimony of Michael Lind; and 121–27, testimony of Kevin Kearns.

114. Reporters wondered how these groups could afford these ads and if the funding came from wealthy nationalists or corporate sources. I had heard that Milliken and Company paid for these ads, but I was not able to corroborate this. Milliken is privately held and does not legally have to reveal this information. Jock Nash, Milliken and Company, interview, May 20 1998; and Nancy Dunne, *Financial Times*, interview, 18 November 1996.

115. Congressman Lane Evans and fifty-four other members to President William Jefferson Clinton, request to delay vote, 28 April 1994; Kevin L. Kearns, president, United States Business and Industrial Council, statement, 13 June 1994; all in *Inside U.S. Trade*, 12, no. 18, 6 May 1994, 12–13. Also see Senator Larry Pressler, *Congressional Record*, statement, 6 April 1994, S5344–S5346.

116. The 1994 hearings on the round included hearings held in January, February, and June by the House Ways and Means; March and April hearings by the House Agriculture Committee; and February, March, and June hearings by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. On the Senate side, the Finance Committee held hearings in February and March; the Commerce Committee held hearings in October and November; and the Foreign Relations Committee held hearings in June.

117. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings under the request of Senators Helms and Pressler. Senators Jesse Helms and Larry Pressler, letter to Senator Claiborne Pell, chair, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 4 May 1994. Some of the Senate Commerce Committee hearings were held after the election, when Congress was in recess.

118. Adams is quoted in Thomas K. McCraw, “Mercantilism and the Market,” 37.

119. Thus it was interesting that labor rights activists such as Pharis Harvey did not testify on the Uruguay Round. The Alliance for Responsible Trade was not as vocal on the Uruguay Round as it was on NAFTA.

120. Collins and Bosworth, *The New GATT*, 78–79.

121. Bureau of National Affairs, “State Officials to Ask Clinton for Trade Consultation Summit,” *Daily Report for Executives*, 24 June 1994, A121; and *Inside U.S. Trade*, 1 July 1994, 11.

122. Patti Goldman, “Resolving the Trade and Environment Debate: In Search of a Neutral Forum and Neutral Principles,” *Washington and Lee Law Review* 49, no. 4 (fall 1992): 1279; and Patti Goldman, telephone interview, 29 June 1994.

123. Thomas L. Friedman, “Dole Explains Trade Treaty Stand,” *New York Times*, 13 August 1994, D2; “Administration Weighing Dole Proposal for Review of WTO Deci-

sions,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 18 November 1994, 1, 22, 23; and U.S. Senate, *Report 103–412*: Title I, Subtitle C, Sections 123–30, 20–27. To meet Dole’s concerns, the Clinton administration agreed to establish a panel of judges to review WTO panel decisions.

124. Gingrich was quoted on the NBC program “Meet the Press.” John Maggs, “Sovereignty Issue Threatens Trade Pact, As Fears of ‘World Government’ Voiced,” *Journal of Commerce*, 26 April 1994; and Senate Commerce Committee, *Hearings on S.2467*, 4–32.

125. Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on the World Trade Organization*, 103 Cong., 2d sess., 10 June 1994; testimony of USTR Kantor, 9, 38, 44.

126. The letter also included an analysis by conservative law professor Robert Bork and Heritage Foundation economist Joe Cobb.

127. Committee on Ways and Means, *The World Trade Organization*, 38–43. Lori Wallach, telephone discussion, 17 March 1995. On better coordination of domestic and foreign economic policies see Clyde Prestowitz in *The New GATT*, eds. Collins and Bosworth, 78–80, 82; and Council on Competitiveness, *Roadmap for Results*, 5–20, 73–90.

128. Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on the World Trade Organization*, 28–32; “U.S. Drops Plan to Monitor Compliance With China Business Principles,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 11 November 1994; Michael Bergsman, “ACTPN to Call for Short-Term Focus in APEC,” and “House Letter on Indonesia Worker Rights,” both in *Inside U.S. Trade*, 28 October 1994, 23–24; Council of Economic Advisors, *Economic Report of the President, 1995*, 249–50; and David E. Sanger, “Trade Agreement Ends Long Debate But Not Conflicts,” *New York Times*, 4 December 1994, A1. Environmentalists were also divided; some wanted an international organization to cover the environment, others wanted to include trade and environmental considerations in the GATT.

129. Committee on Commerce, *Hearings on S. 2467*, 77, Wallach quotes; 78, 83, Sir James Goldsmith.

130. U.S. Senate, Committee on Governmental Affairs, *Report 103–412 on S. 2467*, 221–23.

131. Alliance for GATT Now, “Statement of Purpose”; “Pro-GATT Editorials”; “America’s Leading Economists Endorse Uruguay Round”; “Governors Voice Support to GATT Trade Pact”; “Alliance for GATT Now Membership,” and “Voices in Support of the Uruguay Round”; and Michael E. Carpenter, attorney general of Maine, letter to Honorable Michael Kantor, 27 July 1994. Also see “Fact Sheets on the Senate Budget Waiver,” “The Costs of Delay,” and “Why Pass the Uruguay Round Implementing Bill This Year.” All these documents were provided to me by Paula Collins of the Alliance for GATT Now. I am grateful for her assistance.

132. “Green Group Calls on Administration to Back Reform of GATT Rules,” and Defenders of Wildlife, letter, *Inside U.S. Trade*, 28 October 1994, 15–17. Interview with John Audley of NWF, 22 October 1998; David Schorr, World Wildlife Federation, 1 and 2 December 1998; and Justin Ward, NRDC, interview, 18 November 1998. David Schorr of the WWF did issue mild support of the agreement, but he also criticized its content. Schorr’s boss, Kathryn Fuller, served on the ACTPN.

133. Lori Wallach, interview, 21 March 1995.

134. *Public Citizen*, January/February 1995.

135. “Senate Letter on GATT Delay,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 18 November 1994, 20.

“Clinton Urges Bipartisan Support for GATT Amid Conflicting GOP Signals,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 11 November 1994, 1, 16.

136. See, for example, remarks of Senator Barbara Mikulski, *Congressional Record*, 30 November 1994, S15102.

137. In the Uruguay Round vote, 167 Democrats and 121 Republicans voted for (288) the agreement and 89 Democrats and 56 Republicans voted against (and one independent) (146) the agreement in the House. In the Senate, 41 Democrats and 35 Republicans voted for, 14 Democrats and 10 Republicans voted against. Debbie Lamb, “Congressional Votes on International Trade Bills.” Also see David E. Sanger, “Trade Agreement Ends Long Debate But Not Conflicts,” *New York Times*, 4 December 1994, A1; and Patrick Buchanan, “An American Economy for Americans,” *Wall Street Journal*, 11 September 1995.

138. William Drozdiak, “Poor Nations Resist Tougher Trade Rules,” *Washington Post*, 14 April 1994; N. Vasuki Rao, “Developing States to Map Opposition to Trade Curbs,” *Journal of Commerce*, 31 March 1994; John Zarocostas, “Environmental Proposal for WTO Met Coolly,” *Journal of Commerce*, 19 September 1994.

139. On the International Forum on Globalization, see “History of the IFG,” and IFG Associates at www.ifg.org/about.html; and www.ifg.org/assoc.html.

140. Interviews with Victor Mennoti, International Forum on Globalization, 25 August 1998; with Lori Wallach, 9 April 1999; and Colin Hines, 23 September 1998.

Chapter 7

1. Aaronson observation of Institute for International Economics Conference, June 1996. On I. M. Destler’s views, see I. M. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 3d ed. (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1995), 7, 177, 316; I. M. Destler, John S. Odell, and Kimberly Ann Elliot, *Anti-Protection: Changing Forces in United States Trade Politics* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1987), 1–7; and I. M. Destler and Peter J. Balint, *The New Politics of American Trade: Trade, Labor, and The Environment* (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 1999), 1–13. Many analysts shared Destler’s views. See Julie Kosterlitz, “Betting on Good Times,” *National Journal*, 21 June 1997, 1266–69.

2. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 204, 206.

3. WTO, “WTO Focus: WTO Holds High Level Trade Symposia on Environment and Development,” March 1999, 5.

4. “WTO Environmental Panel Likely to Allow Public Access to Some Papers,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 2 December 1994, 13; “U.S. Calls on WTO Members to Open Dispute Mechanism to Public,” *Inside U.S. Trade*, 6 November 1998, 8.

5. David Vogel, *Barriers or Benefits? Regulation in Transatlantic Trade* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997), 6, 62–66.

6. The USTR Web site is www.ustr.gov; Canada’s Web site is www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/tna-nac/why-e.asp; Australia’s Web site is www.dfat.gov.au; and Europe’s Web site is www.europa.eu/int/comm/trade/misc/.

7. Daly and Goodland were quoted in Lang and Hines, *New Protectionism*, 115.

8. Human rights groups, however, may receive funding from labor unions and their affiliates.

9. Ralph Nader, “The Corrosive Effects of NAFTA,” *Washington Post*, 15 November 1993.

10. David K. Schorr, World Wildlife Fund, testimony before the Subcommittee on Foreign Commerce and Tourism, Commerce Committee, U.S. Senate, 3 February 1994, 3–4 (in possession of the author).

11. On the other hand, developing nations may view developed country environmental standards as unfair because they force foreign producers to comply with overly stringent rules. Industrialized country standards may not only be expensive; they may

be difficult for foreign producers to understand and meet. From a developing country perspective, such standards may be inequitable.

12. Robert V. Reich, secretary, Department of Labor, in *International Labor Standards and Global Economic Integration: Proceedings of Symposium*, 1–5.

13. Suzanne Berger, “Introduction,” in *National Diversity and Global Capitalism*, ed. Suzanne Berger and Ronald Dore (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Vogel, *Trading Up*, 3–22; and Vogel, *Barriers and Benefits*, 3–7.

14. Aaronson, “What About Trade?” 44–48.

15. Wallach, interview, 9 April 1999; and Hines and Lang, *New Protectionism*, 25–26.

16. Committee for Economic Development, *Nontariff Distortions*, 28–29.

17. See chapter 3 and Hines and Lang, *The New Protectionists*, 104–5. They noted that large corporations “may . . . argue for higher standards to cut out medium and small firms.”

18. The evidence thus far is incomplete, since the preliminary work of the Uruguay Round and the actual negotiations will not be declassified and available to researchers at the National Archives until the year 2011 at the earliest.

19. International Chamber of Commerce, *Business Charter for Sustainable Development*, 1991.

20. On NAFTA, the ACTPN recommended that “liberalized trade and environmental health cannot be separated.” ACTPN, *ACTPN NAFTA Report*, September 1992, 81–83; ACTPN, *ACTPN Uruguay Round Report*, January 1994, 108, 115.

21. David A. Wirth, “International Trade Agreements: Vehicles for Regulatory Reform?” *Chicago Legal Forum* (1997): 354–55.

22. *Ibid.*, 365–66.

23. Edward Alden, “Global Labor Standards Pledge,” *Financial Times*, 30 July 2000; and OECD, “New OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises Reinforce Framework for the Global Economy,” [www.oecd.org/media/release/nw/\)-68a.htm](http://www.oecd.org/media/release/nw/)-68a.htm). These Guidelines are recommendations on responsible business conduct addressed by governments to multinational enterprises operating in or from the thirty-three countries that have agreed to adopt them. They were first published in 1976, but they have been revised several times since to meet changes in the global economy. At the United Nations, a wide range of companies agreed to nonbinding standards for human rights and environmental practices under the global impact. See Susan Ariel Aaronson, “Compassionate Globalization,” *American Prospect Online*, www.prospect.org/webarchives/00-08/aaronson-00821.html.

24. The ACTPN included Rhoda Karparkin of Consumers Union and Kathryn Fuller of the World Wildlife Fund in the NAFTA/Uruguay Round years, 1993–1995.

25. For example, see chapter 2 on the comments of Congressman William M. Springer and Jacob Viner. Also see Congressman Richard A. Gephardt to Democratic colleagues, 27 February 1997, 2. This letter was widely publicized, copy in author’s possession.

26. Kelly, “Antecedents,” 1–10.

27. Congressman Richard A. Gephardt to Democratic colleagues, 27 February 1997, 2.

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