

# Trade Tensions in the Time of Trump

Alan V. Deardorff University of Michigan

May, 2018



Search site for pages

#### **Links to Trade News**

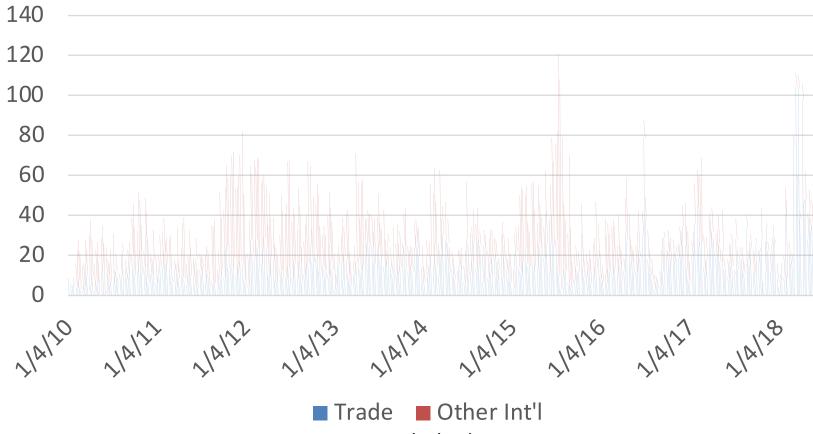


(Click here for other International Economic News)

(Chea note for outer international Economic News)				
Date	Topic	Author	Title	Public Source
May 19, 2018	Boeing-Airbus dispute	Economist	"A WTO ruling on aircraft subsidies raises the risk of a tariff war"	Economist
May 19, 2018	NAFTA	Economist	"NAFTA negotiators are struggling to meet a congressional deadline"	Economist
May 19, 2018	China-US trade talks	Swanson & Tankersley	"China Pledges \$200 Billion in U.S. Purchases by Overhauling Trade Rules"	NYT
May 19, 2018	China-US trade talks	Tankersley	"Boosting U.S. Exports to China by \$200 Billion Is a Tricky Task"	NYT
May 19, 2018	China-US trade talks	Davis & Wei	"China Agrees to Buy More U.S. Goods and Services"	WSJ
May 19, 2018	China-US trade talks	Donnan & Mitchell	"China stops short of accepting US trade demands"	FT
May 19, 2018	China-US trade talks	Lynch	"China agrees to buy 'significantly' more from the U.S., but doesn't commit to specific amount"	WP
May 18, 2018	China-US trade tensions	Tejada & de la Merced	"China, Signaling Thaw With U.S. Over Trade, Approves Toshiba Microchip Deal"	NYT
May 18, 2018	US actions against China's ZTE telecoms company	Krugman	"Did China Just Bribe Trump to Undermine National Security?"	NYT
May 18, 2018	US-EU trade tensions	Surk	"Clashing With Trump, E.U. Tries to Blunt U.S. Sanctions on Iran"	NYT
May 18, 2018	NAFTA	Swanson & Malkin	"Chance of Nafta Deal in 2018 Diminishes as Talks Drag"	NYT
May 18, 2018	China-US trade talks	Landler & Swanson	"China Plans Up to \$200 Billion in Trade Concessions, but Skepticism Abounds"	NYT
May 18, 2018	US-China FDI	O'Keeffe	"Legislation to Curb Chinese Deals Moves Through Congress"	WSJ
May 18, 2018	US-EU trade tensions	Norman	"Merkel, Macron Try to Preserve Iran Deal Without Provoking U.S."	WSJ
May 18, 2018	US-EU trade tensions	Pancevski	"Trump Presses Germany to Drop Russian Pipeline for Trade Deal"	WSJ
May 18, 2018	China-US trade talks	Donnan	"China talks test Trump's dealmaker reputation"	FT
May 18, 2018	China AD case on US sorghum	Mitchell & Woodhouse	"China offers trade olive branch by scrapping tariffs on US sorghum"	<u>FT</u>



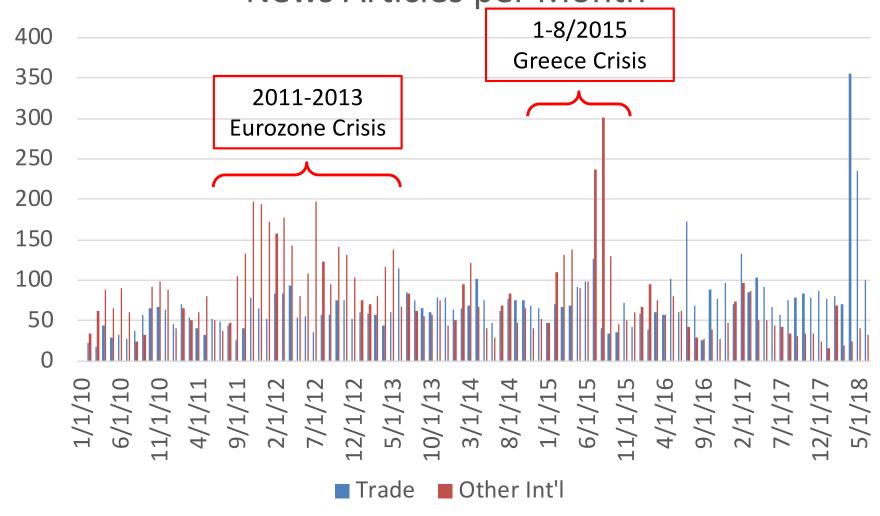
# Trade and other international economic articles in the news per week



From FT, WSJ, NYT, WP, Economist as linked to on http://www-personal.umich.edu/~alandear/news/TradeNews.html www.fordschool.umich.edu



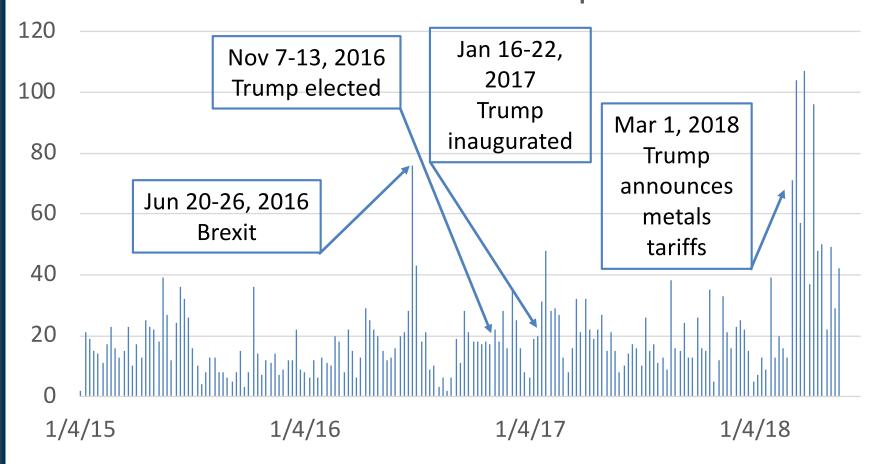
Trade and Other International Economic News Articles per Month



From FT, WSJ, NYT, WP, Economist as linked to on http://www-personal.umich.edu/~alandear/news/TradeNews.html



#### Trade articles in the news per week



From FT, WSJ, NYT, WP, Economist as linked to on http://www-personal.umich.edu/~alandear/news/TradeNews.html





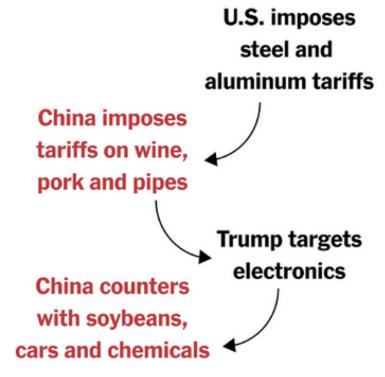
Ingram Pinn, Financial Times, April 6, 2018



#### How the U.S.-China Trade Conflict Has Evolved

The United States wants
American companies to
have a level playing field
with their Chinese
counterparts. China
wants to build its
industries into
sophisticated global
competitors. Both
countries have
demonstrated a
willingness to offer
concessions — and
escalate tensions — to get
what they want.

April 5, 2018



Source: Swanson & Tankersley (2018)



#### Outline

- Timeline of events
- TPP
- NAFTA
- Safeguards
- Trade deficits
- Steel & Aluminum
- China
- WTO



# Timeline of Trade Policy under Trump

- Actions taken in 2017
  - Jan 23: Trump pulls out of TPP
  - Apr 3: Trump signs 2 executive orders on trade
  - Apr 24: 20% tariff on Canada softwood lumber\*
  - May 18: US launches NAFTA renegotiation
  - Oct 5: Negotiation began to amend US-Korea FTA

under Obama

CVD case begun



- Actions taken in 2018
  - Jan 21: Safeguard tariffs on solar panels and washing machines
  - Mar 1: Announces 25% tariff on steel; 10% on aluminum on all countries
  - Mar 23: Steel and aluminum tariffs begin, exempting: Canada, Mexico, EU, Australia, S. Korea, Brazil, Argentina (not Japan) until May 1



- March 2018
  - Mar 22: Trump announces tariffs on \$50-60
     billion of China exports (details announced Apr
     2)
  - Mar 22: China threatens tariffs on \$3 billion of US exports
  - Mar 27: Amended KORUS signed (extends tariffs and reduces trade)
  - Mar 29: US suspends duty-free access for apparel from Rwanda



- April 2018
  - Apr 1: China announces tariffs on 128 US exports
  - Apr 6: Trump threatens tariffs on another \$100 billion of China exports. China threatens to hit back.
  - Apr 7: Trump considers stricter environmental enforcement for imported cars
  - Apr 12: Trump considers rejoining TPP
    - Apr 17: He changes his mind
  - Apr 16: US acts against China's ZTE telecoms company for selling to Iran & N. Korea
  - Apr 17: China AD case on US Sorghum adds 179% deposit
    - May 18: China drops the case and removes the tariff



- May 2018
  - May 1: Trump extends metals tariff exemptions for 30 more days for EU and other allies
  - May 3-5: Seven US trade negotiators meet with officials in Beijing. No agreement results.
  - May 7: In NAFTA negotiation, US asks for minimum wage for auto workers
  - May 10: China's ZTE halts operations
    - May 14: Trump says he'll protect ZTE jobs in China
  - May 17-19: China's Liu He meets in Washington with Treasury Secretary Mnuchin
    - May 19: China promises to increase imports from US by \$200 billion
  - May 24: Trump initiates national security
     investigation of auto imports
     www.fordschool.umich.edu



#### **TPP**

- 12-country FTA negotiated un Obama but not ratified by Congress
- Trump said he'd pull out and he did, on first full day in office
- Later said he'd like to rejoin, but changed his mind after a few days
- Meanwhile, the 11 other countries renegotiated TPP as
  - Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)



#### **NAFTA**

- Trump opposed from before it was enacted:
  - 1993: "The Mexicans want it, and that doesn't sound good to me."
  - 2016: "The single worst trade deal ever approved in this country"
- Threatened (repeatedly) to pull out, but is currently "renegotiating"



## **NAFTA Renegotiation**

- Began Aug 16, 2017
- Intended to finish before now
- US eager to finish soon, before
  - Trade Promotion Authority (Fast Track)
     expires July 1
  - Mexico's presidential election, July 1
  - US midterm elections, November but primaries already underway



## **NAFTA Renegotiation**

- Issues
  - Auto trade
    - Rules of origin
    - Wages
  - Sunset clause
  - Dispute settlement mechanism
    - Investor-state (Chapter 11)
    - AD/CVD (Chapter 19)



### Safeguards

- Implemented safeguard tariffs (US 201, or Escape Clause)
  - 30% on solar panels
  - 50% on washing machines(both declining over 4 years)
- Both follow prior anti-dumping actions that had been circumvented
- President had option not to use



### Trade Deficit(s)

- Trump's primary objection is to US trade deficits, bilateral and overall
- Says they mean "US is losing in trade"



### **Quote from Trump**

- Told by Canada's Justin Trudeau that Canada doesn't have a trade surplus with the US, Trump says "I said, 'Wrong, Justin, you do.' I didn't even know. I had no idea."
- In fact, by US data, the US has a surplus with Canada in goods and services, but a deficit if you count only goods. 2017, \$billions:
  - Goods: -17.5
  - Goods and services: +2.8
- As economists explain, there is no reason why countries' trade should balance, especially bilaterally, under either measure.





Onald J. Trump 

OrealDonaldTrump



We do have a Trade Deficit with Canada, as we do with almost all countries (some of them massive). P.M. Justin Trudeau of Canada, a very good guy, doesn't like saying that Canada has a Surplus vs. the U.S. (negotiating), but they do...they almost all do...and that's how I know!

9:29 AM - 15 Mar 2018



# Is he right about "almost all countries"?

- US Census reports goods trade balances of US with 234 countries for 2017. US has
  - Surpluses with 130
  - Deficits with 104
- But with our top-10 trading partners (ranked by exports plus imports) we have a surplus with only one: U.K.
- Of our top 50 partners, we have surpluses with only 36%



#### Steel and Aluminum

Legality under WTO doubtful

- Mar 1: 25% tariff on steel; 10% on aluminum
  - Based on "national security"
- Mar 2: China grumbles at Trump's tariff move, but Europe takes aim at Harleys and bourbon
- Mar 2: Trump insists 'trade wars are good, and easy to win' after vowing new tariffs
- Mar 2: FT Donald Trump's steel tariffs flirt with a global trade war

The US president puts the rules-based global trading system in peril

- Mar 2: Trump just started a trade war, all right with his own party
- Mar 3: Jeffrey Sachs Trump's tariff move shows he flunked economics
- Mar 3: FT Trump fires back at EU tariff retaliation threats



#### Steel and Aluminum

- Mar 8: Paul Krugman Oh, What a Trumpy Trade War!
- Mar 8: Trump metals tariffs to start in 15 days, exempting Canada and Mexico
- Mar 22: Also exempts other allies EU, Australia, S. Korea, Brazil, Argentina (not Japan)
- Mar 23: Tariffs go into effect, mostly on China and Russia

# Enemies list United States, imports by country, 2017, \$bn Steel Aluminium

w.fordschool.umich.edu

UAE

Mex

Japan

Russia

Taiwan

Turkey

China

India

Vietnam

Source: Peterson Institute for International Economics



#### **FT** Trump plays a game of chicken with EU on trade

#### Steel and Aluminum

- May 1: Exemptions extended late on Apr 30
  - 30-day exemption for EU, Canada, Mexico, during which US will negotiate for possible permanent exemption
    - Canada & Mexico as part of NAFTA talks
    - EU, US is pushing for quotas
  - US has "agreement in principle" with Argentina, Australia, and Brazil, for permanent waivers if finalized
  - S. Korea got permanent exemption with amended KORUS FTA (in return for promise to cut steel exports to 70% of 2017 levels)



#### China

- Mar 22: Trump announces tariffs on \$50-60 billion of China exports
- Mar 22: China threatens tariffs on \$3 billion of US exports
- Apr 1: China announces tariffs on 128 US exports
- Apr 6: Trump threatens tariffs on another \$100 billion of China exports. China threatens to hit back.



#### China

- May 3-5: Negotiations in Beijing
- May 17-19: Negotiations in Washington
- May 19:



- Related US-China issues
  - ZTE
  - China sorghum imports
  - Intellectual property theft
  - Joint-venture requirements



# World Trade Organization

- Trump has not (yet) taken much direct action against the WTO. But he has ignored and weakened it.
- WTO is
  - Agreement among member countries not to use trade policies against each other except under specified rules
  - Forum for negotiation to resolve disputes and liberalize trade
- WTO superseded GATT which stopped the pre-WWII chaos of trade policy



# World Trade Organization

- Trump's actions
  - Blocked replacements on WTO Appellate Body
    - Though that was done first by Obama
  - Threatened tariffs on China ignoring WTO rules
    - Mar 23, 2018: Trump Just Pushed the World Trade Organization Toward Irrelevance
  - He prompts others to ignore WTO rules
    - Mar 6, 2018: FT
       EU retort to Trump's tariffs risks breaching WTO rules



# **Concerns Going Forward**

- Tariffs will cause harm
  - Supply chains that expanded will be broken
- Trade war
  - Tariffs, retaliation, and counter-retaliation will push both trade and the world economy into recession or depression
- WTO will cease to matter and world trading system will revert to rule by the strong
  - That may have worked in the 1980s, when US and EU agreed and were dominant
  - It won't work now with China an equal power