

# UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION

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## CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE

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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION S  
CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE

Thursday, September 8, 2016  
Voice of America  
Building Auditorium  
330 Independence Avenue, SW  
(C Street between 3rd & 4th)  
Washington, D.C.

The meeting commenced pursuant to notice at  
9:15 a.m., Chairman Irving A. Williamson, presiding.

1 ITC COMMISSIONERS

2

3 Vice-Chairman David S. Johanson (Moderator)

4 Commissioner Dean A. Pinkert (Moderator)

5 Commissioner Scott F. Kieff (Moderator)

6 Commissioner Rhonda K. Schmidtlein (Moderator)

7 Commissioner Meredith M. Broadbent (Moderator)

8

9

10 KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

11

12 The Honorable Kevin Brady, Chairman of the House  
13 Committee on Ways and Means

14

15 Ambassador Michael Froman, U.S. Trade  
16 Representative

17

18 Chief Judge Sharon Prost, U.S. Court of Appeals  
19 for the Federal Circuit

20 Everett Eissenstat, Chief International Trade  
21 Counsel, U.S. Senate Committee on Finance  
22 (Majority)

23

24

25

1 KEYNOTE SPEAKERS (CONTINUED)

2

3 Jayme White, Chief Advisor for International  
4 Competitiveness and Innovation, U.S. Senate  
5 Committee on Finance (Minority)

6

7 Angela Ellard, Chief Trade Counsel and Trade  
8 Subcommittee Staff Director, U.S. House Committee  
9 on Ways and Means (Majority)

10

11 Jason Kearns, Chief International Trade Counsel,  
12 U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means (Minority)

13

14 The Honorable Judge Leo M. Gordon, U.S. Court of  
15 International Trade

16

17

18 PANEL PARTICIPANTS

19

20 Professor Andrew Reamer, The George Washington  
21 University

22

23 Professor W. Elliot Brownlee, University of  
24 California, Santa Barbara

25

## 1 PANEL PARTICIPANTS (CONTINUED)

2

3 Professor Douglas Irwin, Dartmouth College;

4 Robert Enholm, Woodrow Wilson House

5

6 Professor Alfred Eckes, Ohio University

7

8 Gene Rosengarden, Former USITC Director of the

9 Office of Tariff Affairs and Trade Agreements

10

11 Janice Summers, USITC

12

13 Arun Butcher, USITC

14

15 Lynn Featherstone, Former USITC Director of

16 Investigations

17

18 James Lyons, Former USITC General Counsel

19

20 Professor Kara Reynolds, American University

21

22 Terence P. Stewart, Partner at Stewart and

23 Stewart

24 Professor Chad Brown, Peterson Institute

25

## 1 PANEL PARTICIPANTS (CONTINUED)

2

3 Kenneth Mason, Former Secretary of the Commission

4

5 V. James Adduci, Adduci, Mastriani &amp; Schaumberg

6

7 Sarah Hamblin, Adduci, Mastriani &amp; Schaumberg

8

9 Deanna Tanner Okun, Adduci, Mastriani &amp;

10 Schaumberg

11

12 N. Timor Yaworski, Former USITC Assistant General

13 Counsel

14

15 Stephanie Roberts, Steptoe and Johnson

16

17 Dr. Michael Ferrantino, World Bank

18

19 Professor Michael Moore, The George Washington

20 University

21

22 Commissioner Thelma Askey, Rockardt Group

23

24 Catherine Field, Former USTR Deputy General

25 Counsel

## 1 PANEL PARTICIPANTS (CONTINUED)

2

3 Professor Thomas Prusa, Rutgers University

4

5 Neena Shenai, Medtronics

6

7 F. David Foster, Foster, Murphy, Altman and

8

Nickel

9

10 Shara Aranoff, Covington and Burling

11

12 Daniel Pearson, Cato Institute

13

14 Paul Bardos, Editor-in-Chief of USITC Centennial

15

Book

16

17 Lynn Bragg, Glass Packaging Institute

18

19 Daniel Leahy, Former USITC Director of the Office

20

of External Relation

21

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1 PROCEEDINGS

2 (9:08 a.m.)

3 MR. BARDOS: I am Paul Bardos. I want to welcome  
4 you. I am the Editor-in-Chief of the Commission's  
5 Centennial Book, and I have a number of announcements.

6 Oh, good. Thank you. So I am very pleased to  
7 say that we have all parts of our book in and they're now  
8 under review. It's 16 chapters. And I want to thank very  
9 much all the contributors and reviewers for their excellent  
10 work on this project. It's been a lot of fun for me, and I  
11 hope it has been for them as well.

12 Now our plans for what to do with the book:

13 First we plan to push the book on the  
14 Commission's website, and we're hoping to do that in the  
15 next couple of months. And then we're also exploring the  
16 idea of publishing a hard cover book version. And there is  
17 a sign-in sheet out in front if you're interested in buying  
18 one of these hard copies. We don't know yet how much this  
19 is going to cost, but we hope to keep it under \$70. We  
20 anticipate publishing the hard copy by the end of this year.

21 And I want to say also, summaries of today's  
22 discussions will be drafted for publication in a special  
23 volume of the Commission's staff-run Journal of  
24 International Commerce and Economics. If you have any  
25 questions or concerns about this, please let me know and

1 I'll pass them on to the JICE people.

2 And the conference is being watched live at the  
3 Commission building by staff and others, and it is being  
4 videotaped and transcribed. Both the video and  
5 transcription will be posted on the Commission's website in  
6 a few weeks.

7 I want to point out, we have some conference  
8 coordinators and facilitators. They are the ones with the  
9 ribbon on their ID, and they have "How may we help you?"  
10 They are here to help in any way they can.

11 We are continuing to run a shuttle on a  
12 continuous loop to the Commission building, leaving every 15  
13 minutes or so from the C Street entrance here near the  
14 pedestrian crosswalk, and it will be dropping off right in  
15 front of the Commission building.

16 And then with respect to lunch, we recommend that  
17 you eat lunch in the cafeteria downstairs here in this  
18 building. They are ready for us. They have prepared box  
19 lunches and hot food so you can eat and get back within the  
20 lunch hour.

21 And for me the most important thing, the  
22 restrooms. If you go out the back here, turn right, and  
23 then left past the elevators are the restrooms.

24 And finally, please remember to join us for our  
25 fabulous reception starting at 6:15. So those are the

1 administrative announcements I have, and I want to then turn  
2 it over to Chairman Irving Williamson.

3 (Applause.)

4 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you, Paul.

5 I am extremely pleased to welcome you to this  
6 Conference celebrating the 100th anniversary of the founding  
7 of the U.S. International Trade Commission.

8 In thinking about how to celebrate our  
9 Centennial, the Commission decided that one of the most  
10 useful and lasting things we could do is to do the detailed  
11 written history. And Paul has already told you about the  
12 book.

13 Our goal was to create a work that describes the  
14 circumstances that led to the Commission's creation, the  
15 goals of its founders, the evolution and expansion of its  
16 responsibilities, the changes in the trade laws it  
17 administers, changes in its structure, and the challenges it  
18 has faced.

19 We hope that the readers of this history will not  
20 only gain an appreciation of how far the Commission has  
21 come, but will also gather insights into how the Commission  
22 can engage the challenges that lay ahead.

23 As you will hear many times today, in 1916 the  
24 creators of the Commission wanted an agency that was  
25 independent, bipartisan, expert, and objective.

1           President Woodrow Wilson in his own quaint way  
2 emphasized that the evidence-focused role of the Commission  
3 should be as the following:

4           Do not let a fact catch you napping because you  
5 will get the worst of it if you do. And the object of the  
6 Tariff Commission is that we should see the facts coming  
7 first so they could not catch us. This you will find in  
8 Chapter 3 of the book.

9           The United States is a far different country than  
10 it was in 1916. We are so much more diverse and more  
11 globally connected. International trade is also far  
12 different than it was in 1916. Our trading partners are  
13 more diverse, and what we consider international trade today  
14 is far broader than what was imagined in 1916. And trade is  
15 conducted in ways today that were unimaginable in 1916.

16           What has not changed in 100 years is the  
17 controversial nature of trade and tariff policy, and the  
18 need for a voice in the debate that all can trust.

19           Please give some thought today as to how the  
20 USITC can continue to serve the American people for another  
21 100 years.

22           What is clear is that the Commission was created  
23 to be of service to the President, the Executive Branch, and  
24 the Congress. It is therefore appropriate that we start off  
25 today's conference with messages from those we serve, and

1 the first message is from President Barak Obama. It is in  
2 your program, but I would like to read it:

3 "I am pleased to join in commemorating the 100th  
4 anniversary of the United States International Trade  
5 Commission. Since its founding one century ago, the USITC  
6 has provided 17 Presidents and 50 Congresses with the  
7 technical skills and advice they need to strengthen our  
8 Nation's trade policies.

9 "Countless American businesses and workers have  
10 benefitted from the USITC, whether through your efforts to  
11 end harmful trade practices, or provide insight on our  
12 country's competitiveness. Although we have come a long way  
13 since this small but robust agency was founded, its mission  
14 is as critical now more than ever, as we continue to expand  
15 our Nation's reach in an ever-expanding global economy.

16 "I commend the men and women, past and present,  
17 of the United States International Trade Commission. Your  
18 tireless efforts support American businesses and workers,  
19 and I am confident that your dedication will continue to  
20 leave a lasting impact for generations to come.

21 "As you mark this special milestone, you have my  
22 best wishes." Signed, "President Barak Obama."

23 (Pause.)

24 Okay, I'm sorry. Excuse me. I just got some  
25 pages out of order. Here we go.

1           As you will read in Chapter 3 of the Centennial  
2 History, the House Ways and Means Committee under the  
3 leadership of Claude Kitchin of North Carolina played a key  
4 role in the creation of the Commission.

5           It gives me great pleasure to present to you the  
6 current Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee,  
7 Kevin Brady. As you can see from his bio, Congressman Brady  
8 is from Texas and has long been an important voice on trade  
9 matters. Through 2013 he served as Chairman of the Trades  
10 Committee of the House Ways and Means Committee.

11           I present to you Chairman Brady.

12           (Applause.)

13           CONGRESSMAN BRADY: Thank you. Chairman, it is  
14 nice to see you. Thank you very much for having me here  
15 today. Thank you for your leadership of this organization,  
16 and thank you to Vice Chairman Johanson, and a special  
17 shout-out to Meredith Broadbent who has her Ways and Means  
18 credentials in leading ITC, which we love to see over here.  
19 And thank you for making note, before I did, that the Ways  
20 and Means Committee initiated the creation of the Commission  
21 when it was established in 1916.

22           So throughout the hundred-year history of the  
23 Commission, you have served an invaluable role in providing  
24 Congress and the Administration with the tools needed to  
25 accomplish our trade policy goals.

1           So this morning I want to first start by offering  
2 my sincerest gratitude to the Commission and its staff, past  
3 and present, for your commitment to excellence, and to your  
4 outstanding work throughout the years. Trade is incredibly  
5 important. It is, in my view, our greatest economic  
6 freedom, the freedom to buy and sell and compete throughout  
7 the world with as low government interference as possible is  
8 really at the heart of our free enterprise system.

9           It allows fair and free trade. It allows  
10 individuals, families, communities, and countries to raise  
11 themselves out of poverty and into prosperity. It ensures  
12 -- done right, it ensures that that entrepreneur working  
13 through the night, or with that new idea in the garage, or  
14 that medical breakthrough they've been working years on, has  
15 the opportunity to sell that product and make it available  
16 throughout the world. It is the freedom for that parent to  
17 buy whatever product they choose at the price that they can  
18 best afford for their family.

19           It is critically important today in a world where  
20 global trade has changed and impacted everyone's life. It  
21 is extremely important that America understand the freedom  
22 to trade isn't about China, it isn't about Mexico, it isn't  
23 about Europe, it's about America and our individual freedom  
24 to trade. The Commission plays an incredibly important role  
25 in the policies that we set as a Congress in this area.

1           Over the past century we've seen, as you know,  
2 dramatic changes to nearly every facet of global commerce.  
3 These changes have opened incredibly new doors of  
4 opportunity, but they've also posed significant challenges  
5 for policymakers. Specifically, in the face of an  
6 ever-shifting global economic landscape.

7           So how do we set trade policies that support  
8 competition and growth to benefit our economy? And how do  
9 we do so in a balanced way, taking into account the position  
10 of all U.S. companies and workers?

11           These are incredibly complex questions to answer,  
12 and it is all but impossible without thoroughly reliable,  
13 unbiased information on the effects of our trade policies.  
14 That is where this Commission comes in. And through the  
15 objective analysis and impartial administration of our trade  
16 remedy laws, the ITC has in many ways made the impossible  
17 possible.

18           Today the Commission's work is essential. The  
19 development of sound U.S. trade policy that can stand up to  
20 the challenges of the 20st Century global economy.

21           That is why we needed to created, for example, a  
22 miscellaneous tariff bill process that is transparent,  
23 objective, and through. And when we needed to, we turned to  
24 the ITC. And with the Commission's support, we will be able  
25 to deliver legislation that offers critical tariff relief to

1 American manufacturers, while also upholding the House's  
2 earmark ban.

3 Our MTB process legislation passed the House by a  
4 vote of 415 to 2, a rare occasion in today's political  
5 climate, and was signed into law in May. But none of that  
6 would have been possible without the confidence that the ITC  
7 has earned in Congress among both parties and in both  
8 Chambers.

9 Over the past 100 years, the ITC and staff has  
10 been the center of so many outstanding accomplishments.  
11 Your work has made a truly meaningful difference in the  
12 lives of countless Americans who may not even know who the  
13 ITC is.

14 So in your honor, I have submitted a statement to  
15 the Congressional Record and have ordered a flag flown over  
16 the Capitol. I have the Congressional Record framed and  
17 here today. And so on behalf of the United States House of  
18 Representatives, I want to congratulate the Commission on a  
19 century of professionalism, expertise, and excellence.  
20 Thank you for your distinguished service to our Nation and  
21 to the American People.

22 And, Chairman, I would like to present this  
23 framed certificate. We just want to make sure the whole  
24 country knew the role of the ITC in so many of our lives.  
25 Congratulations.

1 (Presentation made.)

2 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you, very much.

3 CONGRESSMAN BRADY: Thank you, Chairman.

4 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: On behalf of the Commission,  
5 I thank you.

6 CONGRESSMAN BRADY: My pleasure. Thank you.

7 (Applause.)

8 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: A key element of the mission  
9 of the Commission is to investigate and make determinations  
10 in unfair trade cases. Given this role, it is appropriate  
11 that we hear from members of the court that review our  
12 determinations. The Court of Appeals for the Federal  
13 Circuit reviews all appeals of the Commission's  
14 determinations in Section 337. And in Title VII cases, the  
15 court hears appeals of these decisions in the Court of  
16 International Trade in New York.

17 I'm sure the importance of the Commission's  
18 International Judicial Branch is something that the founders  
19 of the Commission did not anticipate, but it is very  
20 important to us now.

21 And so with that, I would like to ask Judge  
22 Sharon Prost, who is Chief Judge for the Court of Appeals  
23 for the Federal Circuit, and she has been a judge in the  
24 Federal Circuit since 2001 and has been Chief Judge since  
25 2014.

1           I am extremely proud that she is able to join us  
2 today. Judge Prost?

3           (Applause.)

4           JUDGE PROST: Thank you. I am delighted to be  
5 here. Congratulations to the Commission on their Century.  
6 The Federal Circuit is only 35 years old, so I feel very  
7 young and new to the game to be here with you today.

8           I am honored to be on this distinguished panel.  
9 I have spent my 40 working years in government, divided  
10 between all three Branches of government, and I am always  
11 particularly happy to join colleagues. Once, always a Senate  
12 staffer, so that's where my head is and I'm particularly  
13 delighted to be here with members of the Senate and the  
14 House staff.

15           Again, all I have to do here is, on behalf of my  
16 17 colleagues on the Court of Appeals for the Federal  
17 Circuit, is to congratulate you and thank you for all that  
18 you do. Your cases are among the most challenging and  
19 interesting that we get at the Court of Appeals for the  
20 Federal Circuit, so we're always appreciative of your hard  
21 work. And I think you understand and appreciate and share  
22 with us the delight in doing the work that we do. Trade,  
23 intellectual property, you know, they always say the law by  
24 definition looks backwards, but we are fortunate enough to  
25 be in the challenging fields of trade law and intellectual

1 property law. So we as judges and you as members of the  
2 Executive Branch and otherwise are always chasing the  
3 science and technology, chasing changes in our global  
4 economy, and just trying to readjust the law so that it  
5 makes sense and we get it right.

6 And that's what I know everyone at the Commission  
7 does every day. My congratulations to the Commissioners and  
8 to your staff, and we look forward to the next 100 years.  
9 Thank you.

10 (Applause.)

11 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you, Judge Prost.

12 One of the major themes of the Centennial Book is  
13 the many ways that over the years the staff of the ITC has  
14 worked with the staff of the Trade Subcommittees of the  
15 House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance  
16 Committee.

17 The ITC staff has sought to provide the  
18 committees with the information and analysis that the  
19 committees need to carry out their responsibilities. This  
20 collaboration continues today and is very much evidenced in  
21 the new Miscellaneous Tariff bill process that the  
22 Commission received in the petition--received and evaluated  
23 temporary duty suspensions and reductions. Congressman  
24 Brady talked about that, but that is another milestone that  
25 we are--another new role we're taking on.

1           In light of all this continuous collaboration, I  
2 am very pleased that the Majority and Minority staff  
3 directors from the Trades Committees can be with us today,  
4 and I would like each of them to come up and say a few  
5 words. And we'll start with Everett Eissenstat, Chief  
6 International Trade Counsel, Senate Finance Committee.

7           (Applause.)

8           MR. EISSENSTAT: Well I never thought I'd have  
9 this honor to be here and commemorating the ITC. I didn't  
10 think I'd be on the Hill for as long as I've been, but it  
11 just goes to show you if you stick around good things  
12 happen. So I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for that.

13           And you definitely recognized the important  
14 relationship that Congress and the International Trade  
15 Commission have, and it is a special relationship.

16           As you know, Congress created the International  
17 Trade Commission and gave it some clear missions. The  
18 fulfillment of those missions are done on a daily basis.  
19 The administration of the Trade Remedy laws, protection of  
20 Intellectual Property Rights, and of course one of the  
21 under-looked tasks that the Commission takes on is the  
22 economic analysis that they provide to the Administration  
23 and Congress.

24           And one of the things that I think is most  
25 important about the institution and its people, and Chairman

1 Hatch along with Ranking Member Wyden will be introducing a  
2 statement for the record today commemorating the  
3 International Trade Commission's Centennial.

4 One of the things that statement recognizes is  
5 that the people are key to the institution. Congress can  
6 create the laws. We can build the buildings. But if the  
7 people are not there with the daily commitment to fulfill  
8 those missions, they don't serve their purpose.

9 And my experience has been that the Commission  
10 has some of the best people that we've worked with. And I  
11 think we all know the Commissioners are great. They  
12 probably hear it on a daily basis. I'll tell you again, the  
13 Commissioners are great. But we also, what you may not hear  
14 so often, is that the people we work with, the economists  
15 and the policy analysts, and the Congressional Affairs are  
16 absolutely outstanding.

17 And among the government agencies we work with,  
18 they are truly exceptional. And on behalf of Chairman Hatch  
19 and the staff of the Committee, I want to thank all of the  
20 members, not just of the Commission but of the International  
21 Trade agency itself for everything that they do that makes  
22 all the work possible.

23 We look forward to the continuation of that  
24 relationship, and I will look forward to hearing some more  
25 remarks, and also reading that exceptionally ambitious book.

1 I think it is going to be very interesting. And I commend  
2 the Commissioners and the institution for bringing that  
3 forward.

4 So thank you very much. It's an honor.

5 (Applause.)

6 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: As you will see in Chapter 3  
7 of the Centennial Book, President Wilson's Executive Branch  
8 advisors on trade, tariff and revenue matters were deeply  
9 involved in the creation of the Commission.

10 While the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative  
11 was not created until much later, since its creation it has  
12 been the Commission's main point of contact with the  
13 Executive Branch.

14 Michael Froman has been the U.S. Trade  
15 Representative since 2013. Under his leadership, USTR has  
16 continued to seek from the ITC the facts that are essential  
17 to the formulation of sound U.S. trade policies.

18 In truth, if you know anything about his trade  
19 negotiating agenda, the trade negotiating agenda that  
20 Ambassador Froman has pursued, you appreciate how busy he  
21 has kept the ITC.

22 It gives me great pleasure to present Ambassador  
23 Michael Froman.

24 (Applause.)

25 AMBASSADOR FROMAN: Well thanks, Irv, and thanks

1 for letting me join you this morning. I ran into Chairman  
2 Brady outside, and he told me he had warmed you up and  
3 announced the TPP was almost through Congress, and TTIP was  
4 almost done. So I said I hope you didn't raise the bar too  
5 high, so they--but I think it was great that he was here,  
6 and it just underscores both the bipartisan nature of our  
7 enterprise and the fact that there's so much  
8 Congressional-Executive collaboration over trade policy.  
9 And the ITC is the clear manifestation of that.

10 I want to congratulate you all on the Centennial.  
11 As Irv noted, we're about half as old as you are. We're a  
12 mere baby compared to the ITC. And when we think about all  
13 the things that the ITC has accomplished over the last 100  
14 years, it is really quite remarkable.

15 Remember that before the ITC was created, it was  
16 Congress that not only was doing trade policymaking, but  
17 also having to sort through the factual basis of various  
18 requests for tariff actions. In the 1920s, there was an  
19 Institute for Government Research report that talked about  
20 before the ITC was created, or the Tariff Commission as it  
21 was then called, statements, and I quote, "Statements were  
22 made by members of Congress who participated in tariff  
23 legislation that they believed their lives had been  
24 shortened by the strain to which they were subjected as  
25 members of committees preparing tariff bills."

1 (Laughter.)

2 AMBASSADOR FROMAN: So when President Wilson  
3 created the precursor of the ITC, whether it was for the  
4 sake of good policymaking, or for the longevity of  
5 legislators, it served a very important purpose. Think  
6 about the last 100 years. You have seen everything from the  
7 move from Depression-era protectionism to the 21st Century  
8 local trading system, and hopefully not a return to  
9 protectionism; from the last of the sailing cargo vessels,  
10 the Model-T, and Boeing's first mail-carrying bi-plane, to  
11 the 19,000 TEU Container Ships, the driverless car, and over  
12 \$400 billion worth of American air freight exports a year.

13 We have seen the change from manual typewriters  
14 and Morse Code Telegraph, to websites, satellites, fiber  
15 optic cable. And from largely rural, high-tariff and  
16 isolationist economy to the world's largest, most  
17 productive, most open and most advanced economy.

18 And over these years, as each phase of the  
19 economy evolved, you've seen new issues with new  
20 opportunities and new challenges. And in each one of those  
21 cases, the ITC has been very much involved in wrestling with  
22 those issues.

23 You have had formal hearings on topics ranging on  
24 everything from watch making, to services' trade. You've  
25 acted on over 2,500 anti-dumping and countervailing duty

1 cases. And you've produced a set of very valuable tools  
2 like the DataWeb, to Trade Remedy Spreadsheets that have  
3 helped the rest of the government and the industry as a  
4 whole do their job.

5 Of course you have also produced a number of very  
6 important reports:

7 An Evaluation of The Contribution of The Digital  
8 Data To The Economy; a study of the trade barriers  
9 particularly affecting small and medium sized businesses. A  
10 formal estimate of the substantial and measurable  
11 contribution of our 14 Free Trade Agreements. By the way, I  
12 cite that report quite actively on the Hill these days. And  
13 not to mention, of course, the report on competition,  
14 subsidies, and labeling of olive oil.

15 (Laughter.)

16 AMBASSADOR FROMAN: So everything from the mighty  
17 to the less mighty, but all very important. And in each  
18 case, the words of W.M. Stewart, the first Acting Secretary  
19 of the ITC, still ring true, and I quote: "The Tariff  
20 Commission approaches its problems in an absolutely  
21 nonpartisan attitude with a total absence of prejudice. It  
22 has no doctrine to preach, and no panacea to prescribe."

23 And sometimes from the Executive Branch some  
24 would love you to have a panacea to prescribe, but we very  
25 much respect the nonpartisan fact-based approach that you

1 take to all of your work.

2 And that work has helped 17 Presidents and 50  
3 Congresses collaborate on 19 grants of trade promotion  
4 authority, on the negotiation of GATT rounds, WTO  
5 agreements, FTAs, accession agreements, on the creation of  
6 preference programs, on decisions on safeguards and trade  
7 remedy actions, and on enforcement cases. And those  
8 policies in turn have helped open markets, promote research  
9 innovation, enforce American rights, raise farm incomes, and  
10 family purchasing power, and support high-wage jobs. So you  
11 have a lot to be very proud of.

12 And at certain key points in our history, the  
13 kinds of intellectual capital that the ITC has put out has  
14 really shaped the direction of our country.

15 The Reciprocal Trade Agreement of 1934, for  
16 example, and the support of the GATT system provided for the  
17 alliance of democracies during the Cold War. The bulwark of  
18 the WTO rules and the FTAs provided against protectionist  
19 actions to the 2008 financial crisis.

20 And we are now at a similarly important point in  
21 history as we work with Congress to ratify TPP. As you all  
22 know, it is a complex agreement. It takes time to read.  
23 You've read it all. You may be some of the few people who  
24 have read it all. It eliminates 18,000 tariffs on U.S.  
25 goods. It encourages trade by small and medium sized

1 businesses. It promotes high labor and environmental  
2 standards. It strengthens intellectual property rights, and  
3 addresses new issues like the flows of digital data and the  
4 growing phenomenon of state-owned enterprises.

5 And dealing with these issues, we believe very  
6 much, will help ensure that American values and interests  
7 shape the global trading system going forward, in addition  
8 to creating real, tangible benefits for America's workers,  
9 farmers, ranchers, and businesses of all sizes.

10 The ITC's formal estimates drawn from cautious,  
11 very cautious and conservative methods have additional  
12 worker income, net gain in jobs, and a higher GDP are  
13 proving to be an important part of the debate over the  
14 agreement, and we very much look forward to working with you  
15 as Congress takes up TPP to ensure that they have all the  
16 information and analysis available to them.

17 With that, I just want to thank you again. As  
18 Irv mentioned, we have probably kept you quite busy, whether  
19 it's on trade agreements, certainly on trade remedies, and  
20 new issues that have been on the agenda. We very much  
21 appreciate both the professionalism and the responsiveness  
22 of the Commissioners and the ITC staff. And from USTR's  
23 perspective, we have borrowed and stolen some of our best  
24 people from you. We very much appreciate the collaborative  
25 relationship we have with you and look forward to many more

1 years to come.

2           Congratulations, and thanks again.

3           (Applause.)

4           CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: I told you we collaborated  
5 with the USTR in many, many ways. And Ambassador Froman has  
6 mentioned one of those, and that is the important role I  
7 think the Commission has played over the years in the  
8 training ground for many of the professionals throughout the  
9 government who work on trade policy.

10           One of those places where I hope we have provided  
11 some good people over the years is to the Congressional  
12 committees. And I would now like to continue with hearing  
13 from the staff directors, and will ask Jayme White, who is  
14 Chief Advisor for International Competitiveness and  
15 Innovation on the Finance Committee on the Minority side.  
16 Jayme, if you would come up. Thank you.

17           (Applause.)

18           MR. WHITE: Well first, it's great to be here this  
19 morning. And I want to align myself with the comments of  
20 the previous speakers.

21           From the perspective of the Finance and Ways and  
22 Means Committee, we very much value and view the work of the  
23 ITC as not just valuable but critical to what we have to do  
24 on the Hill.

25           The analysis of the complexity of global trade

1 and the impact of trade agreements on the U.S. economy is  
2 vital to our understanding as to whether to pass new trade  
3 agreements and how to negotiate trade agreements in the  
4 future.

5 The work of the ITC to help Congress understand  
6 new issues, for example the 3-3-2s on digital trade, are  
7 essential to our work on the Hill, and especially to the  
8 analysis that we have to do on the Finance Committee.

9 Of course the work of the ITC to determine  
10 whether imports are infringing on intellectual property is  
11 essential to America's innovators. And of course the  
12 application of trade remedy laws and the analysis as to  
13 whether imports are harming American workers and  
14 manufacturers is essential to ensuring that Americans have  
15 confidence in our global trading regime and our trade laws.

16 So it is an honor to be here. And  
17 congratulations to the ITC for 100 years of what is really,  
18 truly excellence. A former Defense Secretary said something  
19 like we don't necessarily go to war with the military we  
20 want, but instead the military we have. With respect to the  
21 ITC, I would say that Congress has the Commission it wants,  
22 not a Commission it has. And so congratulations to the ITC  
23 for tremendous work, and for valuable information to the  
24 Congress not only in the past but we have confidence that we  
25 will have good analysis in the future, too.

1                   So thank you.

2                   (Applause.)

3                   CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Both Congressman Brady and I  
4                   have talked about the important role that the House Ways and  
5                   Means Committee played in the creation of the Commission, as  
6                   well as the Finance Committee, and it is a pleasure now to  
7                   turn to the House side and I welcome to the podium Angela  
8                   Ellard, who is Chief Trade Counsel and Trade Committee Staff  
9                   Director for the House Ways and Means Committee. And you  
10                  all know her, so she needs no further introduction.

11                  (Applause.)

12                  MS. ELLARD: Good morning everyone. It definitely  
13                  is a pleasure to be here to celebrate this event, but I do  
14                  have to say that it's perhaps a bit overshadowed by another  
15                  anniversary today. It is the 50th anniversary of the first  
16                  episode of Star Trek.

17                  (Laughter.)

18                  MS. ELLARD: But I think that Star Trek has  
19                  perhaps learned a few lessons from the ITC, because you all  
20                  do probable economic effect analyses, and we do know that in  
21                  Star Trek one of the key Vulcan themes is the needs of the  
22                  many outweigh the needs of the few. So what after all is a  
23                  probable economic effects analysis other than that kind of  
24                  cost/benefit thing.

25                  So in any event, I have to say that I personally

1 am very proud of the role of the Ways and Means Committee in  
2 helping to create the ITC, the Tariff Commission, its  
3 precursor entity. And as Ambassador Froman was mentioning  
4 the sleepless nights of the Members beforehand in trying to  
5 announce that, I guarantee you it wasn't the Members; it was  
6 the staff.

7 (Laughter.)

8 MS. ELLARD: So we I think are very grateful for  
9 that. And of course -- well, I mean, you know, Members in  
10 fact sometimes. I remember Sam Gibbons always saying every  
11 Member is entitled to his own facts. But of course the ITC  
12 investigates these independently, as many have said, without  
13 party affiliation and in an objective and excellent way that  
14 we rely on.

15 And I know that my Members know, whenever we say  
16 the ITC, sometimes you need to spell out words. We don't  
17 need to spell out what the ITC is. They know it, and they  
18 rely very heavily on the work of this very important agency.

19 And I know too that you all spend a lot of time  
20 meeting with us at the staff level, many, many hours in  
21 going through explaining the rigor of your analysis and how  
22 you came to various conclusions.

23 And I found in my office a book from the Tariff  
24 Commission. This is the report from 1936, and it's very old  
25 and dusty but beautifully bound, but it's amazing to me how

1 many of the issues that the Tariff Commission worked on then  
2 are very similar to what you all are working on now:

3 Investigations about products like linseed oil, and plate  
4 glass, electric light bulbs--well, maybe not so much anymore  
5 -- but even rayon filaments in yarn. And I didn't really--I  
6 didn't realize that that was around in 1936. I thought that  
7 was newer.

8 So your work has definitely stood the test of  
9 time. So in the words of Mr. Spock, "Live long and  
10 prosper."

11 (Laughter and applause.)

12 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you, Angela. And we  
13 have next Jason Kearns, who is Chief International Trade  
14 Counsel, Ways and Means, Minority. Jason, we'll welcome you  
15 to the podium.

16 (Applause.)

17 MR. KEARNS: Thanks, Irv. This is a very special  
18 day, and not just because of the Star Trek connection to the  
19 ITC. The stars really are aligned today I think. And as a  
20 very strong Denver Broncos fan, I also appreciate the fact  
21 that the ITC is having a pre-kickoff party this evening.

22 (Laughter.)

23 MR. KEARNS: So I really think we've got this  
24 right.

25 So in addition to the statements that Chairman

1 Brady and his counterparts in the Senate have entered into  
2 the record, my boss, Ranking Member Levin, has also done so,  
3 congratulating the ITC for its 100 years, and expressing  
4 great appreciation for the hard work that all of its staff  
5 has done.

6 And as previous speakers have said, we have seen  
7 that first hand in a number of different contexts, including  
8 the fact that we have from time to time had a number of  
9 different ITC staffers serving as detailees on our staff,  
10 and have always been very impressed with all of their work.

11 Another thing, though, that I think Mr. Levin  
12 focused on in his statement--I won't read the whole thing to  
13 you; I'm sure you all will consult with the Congressional  
14 Record on your own--but he also said a few words about the  
15 future of the ITC and the need to incorporate new thinking  
16 on trade in its work.

17 And I think, you know, we as staffers for  
18 Congress, I think we're always attuned to the need to  
19 provide clear direction when we legislate, but also to  
20 provide flexibility in the way we draft things so that the  
21 law can sort of withstand the test of time.

22 And I think that is particularly important for  
23 the ITC. We have seen how the ITC has used this. We were  
24 approached a number of years ago about some concerns about  
25 the way the 3-3-7 process works, for example. And I think

1 many of us were hesitant to legislate in that area. But I  
2 think the ITC showed -- did a great job of seeing how it  
3 could work within the structure that Congress has provided  
4 to sort of efficiently and fairly continue to address 3-3-7  
5 cases.

6 And that kind of creative thinking I think within  
7 the constraints of the law is really what Congress expects  
8 and appreciates from the work of the ITC. One thing my boss  
9 said, I think he's looking to see some of the same kind of  
10 creative thinking and objectivity that we continue to see  
11 with the ITC in the area of economic analysis.

12 So he wrote that we need new models and new  
13 thinking regarding how we analyze the impact of  
14 international trade. And it is important that the  
15 Commission be a leader in that regard.

16 One of the things I think the ITC has done very  
17 well, when it comes to trade debates these are often  
18 incredibly heated and more heat than light, I think, when it  
19 comes to how trade policy will affect the U.S. economy. And  
20 I think we have depended on the ITC to provide more  
21 objectivity in its analysis, and we look forward to doing  
22 that in the future.

23 So as much as we look back, I think we also  
24 should look forward to the next 100 years. And in that, I  
25 think we look forward to working with the ITC to ensure that

1       it continues to achieve the mission that it has for the  
2       first 100 years.

3               So thank you very much.

4               (Applause.)

5               CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you very much, Jason.  
6       And I particularly appreciate what you've had to say about  
7       the challenges going forward. Because one of the goals for  
8       today is not just to celebrate our past, but also to think  
9       about what do we do in the next 100 years? And Jason has  
10       started that discussion.

11              And I also want to say, for any organization it  
12       is important to hear from our customers. We've heard from  
13       our customers this morning, and I really, on behalf of the  
14       Commission, thank you all for especially the kind words  
15       you've had to say, and to let you know the importance of our  
16       relationship. So thank you very much, and I wanted to  
17       express appreciation to all of you for that.

18              Today, as I said, it is also about history. I  
19       think it is important that we recognize those who have  
20       played a role in making that history. So I would like all  
21       of the former Commissioners who are present today to stand  
22       so that we can recognize you, because we are building on  
23       your backs.

24              (Former Commissioners stand to applause.)

25              CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. You will be

1 seeing the current Commissioners later today, so they can  
2 stand then. But I also would like, we've heard a lot of  
3 words about the importance of the staff and the work they've  
4 done over the years, and there are many former staff here  
5 today. So I would like them to stand, too. So all former  
6 staff of the ITC.

7 (Former ITC staff stand to applause.)

8 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. And all of the  
9 current staff who are here in the room. You will be seeing  
10 many of them later today.

11 Today's event has entailed a great deal of work  
12 by many people. Before we take a break and begin our first  
13 panel, I wanted to thank all of those people who have helped  
14 put the conference and reception together.

15 I first want to thank Paul Bardos, our former  
16 administrative assistant general counsel for administration.

17 (Applause.)

18 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Paul came out of retirement  
19 to organize and be editor-in-chief of the Centennial Book,  
20 and to help organize this conference.

21 I also want to thank Alex Hammer, the  
22 Commission's Deputy Chief of Staff. Alex has worked  
23 tirelessly over the past several months on the arrangements,  
24 the logistics, and all the other details that go into making  
25 an event such as this.

1           I also want to thank Vince Litt, Lisa Barton, Deb  
2 Bridges, Michael Straud, and Katie Heiner, and Carol Varadi  
3 for their work on the conference.

4           There are also many other people whose names I'm  
5 not going to mention who have helped us greatly with this,  
6 and I want to extend thanks to them. So let's give them all  
7 a round of applause.

8           (Applause.)

9           CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: I guess, Paul, do you want  
10 to speak to logistics?

11          MR. BARDOS: We're running a little bit ahead of  
12 time, which is nice, so we can take our break now and we  
13 will start the first panel afterwards. And I think there  
14 are plenty of refreshments out there still. Thank you.

15          (Whereupon, at 9:53 a.m., a break is taken.)

16          MR. BARDOS: Please take your seats. So it's time  
17 for the first panel, Commissioner Broadbent as moderator.

18          COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: It's great to have so  
19 many colleagues back together here. We hate to break up  
20 your conversations, but if you could come on in that would  
21 be great.

22          (Pause.)

23          These really are klieg lights up here. Doug, do  
24 you want to come up? You can be up with us, too. That  
25 would be great.

1                   My name is Meredith Broadbent. I'm a  
2 Commissioner here at the Commission, and I have the pleasure  
3 of moderating our first discussion here today. And I think  
4 the Commission, as we grope and consider carefully all  
5 different issues, we got together to discuss about a year  
6 ago how we would commemorate our 100-year anniversary. And  
7 we all looked at ourselves and said, well, we could write a  
8 book. And then we thought what that would entail.

9                   And then the next suggestion, I think by  
10 Professor Kieff known in academia, was we could ask other  
11 people to write a book for us.

12                   (Laughter.)

13                   COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: And we have been just  
14 overwhelmed with the gratitude for folks who have  
15 contributed their scholarship to looking at our particular  
16 place in history. And I am very honored to introduce, very  
17 quickly, because their bios are in your book, Dr. Elliott  
18 Brownlee who is a Professor Emeritus of History at the  
19 University of California Santa Barbara. He's a published  
20 authority on Woodrow Wilson and the Federal Income Tax. And  
21 he wrote Chapter 3 of our book, The Creation of The  
22 Commission.

23                   And he will be followed with another 15-minute  
24 presentation by Andrew Reamer of George Washington  
25 University, who is a Professor of Economics at George

1 Washington, and an authority on the history of federal  
2 agencies. And he wrote of the period before the U.S. Tariff  
3 Commission was created.

4 So I will yield to our speakers, and then we have  
5 two very distinguished commentators, Dr. Doug Irwin,  
6 Professor of Economics at Dartmouth, and who is writing a  
7 book, The Battle over U.S. Trade Policy, which will be  
8 finished next year. The battle may be over by then, but  
9 we're looking forward to that book.

10 (Laughter.)

11 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: And then the second  
12 reviewer will be Robert Enholm, the Executive Director of  
13 the Woodrow Wilson House here in D.C.

14 So we are looking forward to the commentators at  
15 the end, but first we will start with Professor Brownlee.

16 (Applause.)

17 PROFESSOR BROWNLEE: It's very bright up here,  
18 but a little dim on my lectern. And I'm going to read,  
19 unfortunately, in order to pack in as much history as I can  
20 in the next 15 minutes.

21 It's a great pleasure and honor to be here. For  
22 a scholar of the Federal Income Tax and Wartime Finance and  
23 Woodrow Wilson, these centennials are a great thing for me.  
24 Beginning in 1913 with the Income Tax, extending through the  
25 Centennial of American entry into World War I and the

1 financial measures, but this is a particularly important  
2 centennial because of the contemporary importance of trade  
3 issues and the fact that historians frankly have had  
4 relatively little to say in depth about the history of this  
5 Commission, and indeed tariff policy.

6 Let me take you back to the political world of  
7 1916. I have to give you a little background first. First  
8 with regard to the late 19th Century. During the 19th  
9 Century, American political leaders had little interest in  
10 fact in independent, nonpartisan tax commissions. Their  
11 interest instead was in the tight control of information by  
12 either Executive or Legislative interests.

13 My story in Chapter 3 was how political  
14 conditions shifted in a way that overcame these preferences  
15 and produced the U.S. Tariff Commission a hundred years ago.  
16 During the Civil War, the United States adopted a trade  
17 policy that was rigorously protectionist and maintained that  
18 policy for over two generations, and perhaps longer  
19 depending on your point of view.

20 Until 1913, the ratio between duties and the  
21 value of dutiable goods rarely dropped below 40 percent, and  
22 was frequently close to 50 percent. Throughout this period,  
23 until the creation of the Tariff Commission, there was  
24 little enhancement of the capacity of government to study  
25 and understand this complex tariff regime in any systematic

1 way.

2 One major reason was the powerful complex of  
3 beneficiaries organized by the dominant Republican Party.  
4 The Party leaders were worried that scientific understanding  
5 in the system might lead to its unraveling, especially since  
6 the emerging profession of economics seemed to be coalescing  
7 around ideas of free trade.

8 The second major reason was the Democratic Party.  
9 It mounted an important challenge to the protectionist  
10 system, but feared that protectionism would capture a  
11 commission.

12 In the late 1890s, the Tariff Commission idea  
13 began to attract supporters, especially merchants and small  
14 manufacturers, and as a means of advancing reciprocal trade  
15 agreements.

16 At the same time, rising inflation and a dramatic  
17 wave of corporate mergers increased national support for the  
18 Democratic Party's call for drastic reductions of tariffs.

19 The national leadership of the Republican Party,  
20 especially President William Howard Taft, tried to use the  
21 Tariff Commission idea as a way of maintaining Party unity.  
22 But growing disagreements among the defending Republican  
23 groups, protectionists opposed to any Tariff Commission,  
24 tariff revisionists, and anti-monopoly reformers prevented  
25 the Party from developing coherent proposals.

1           During the Presidential election of 1912, that  
2           was the highly dramatic three-way election between  
3           Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives.

4           During that election, Theodore Roosevelt raised  
5           the visibility of the idea of a Tariff Commission. In his  
6           third-party campaign as the Progressive Party candidate for  
7           President, he associated himself with the tariff-reforming  
8           wing of the Republican Party and sharpened his proposal for  
9           the Tariff Commission.

10           The Republican Party, which TR had abandoned,  
11           nominated Taft for re-election and endorsed a vague proposal  
12           for a permanent tax commission.

13           The Democratic Candidate, Woodrow Wilson, chose  
14           to ignore the commission proposals altogether. He advocated  
15           dramatic cutting of rates, declaring, quote, "The tariff  
16           question is at the heart of every other economic question we  
17           have to deal with, and until we have dealt with that  
18           properly we can deal with nothing in a way that will be  
19           satisfactory and lasting."

20           Wilson stressed the connections between the  
21           tariff and the rise of the monopoly power in industry. Taft  
22           became identified with conventional protectionism. And  
23           Roosevelt failed to generate significant support among the  
24           Democratic voters for his approach.

25           Wilson won the White House with what most

1 observers believe was a mandate for an across-the-board  
2 significant rollback in tariff rates. And in 1913, he  
3 engineered just that: passage of the Underwood Tariff would  
4 slash rates on the average by about one-third in one year.

5           During the deliberations over the Underwood  
6 Tariff, neither Wilson nor the Democratic leaders in  
7 Congress paid much attention to the idea of a Tariff  
8 Commission. Wilson focused instead on establishing a  
9 process, a political process that would continue to produce  
10 major cuts and ultimately bring about something like free  
11 trade.

12           For Wilson, the call for scientific tariff-making  
13 by a commission of experts was merely an excuse to delay  
14 substantive reform and maintain the status quo until the  
15 Republicans could return to dominance in Congress.

16           With the passage of the Underwood Tariff, the  
17 Tariff Commission idea seemed off the table. The guns of  
18 August, however, intervened. During 1914, former small  
19 business advocates of a Tariff Commission began to fear that  
20 the post-war world would be chaotic, demanding a better  
21 understanding of the political economy of commerce and  
22 expanded administrative discretion in setting tariff rates.

23           With this argument, the traditional leaders of  
24 the Tariff Commission movement won new recruits to their  
25 cause among large corporations, the labor movement, and a

1 variety of civic leaders.

2 At the same time, an economic recession that had  
3 begun in 1913 worsened and the closing of the New York Stock  
4 Exchange shook the economy for nearly six months in late  
5 1914. Public concern about the economic future,  
6 particularly after the War, grew.

7 Meanwhile, the recession increased federal  
8 deficits and in October 1914 the Wilson Administration,  
9 fearing that the deficit would produce a banking crisis and  
10 a worsening recession, led to the enactment of \$100 million  
11 in new taxes. The next month, no surprise, the Democrats  
12 suffered severe losses in Congressional elections, barely  
13 holding on to control of Congress.

14 Leading Democrats, including Wilson's Cabinet  
15 members, began to doubt his prospects for re-election in  
16 1916, especially if the Republican Party was united by TR's  
17 return. Democratic leaders urged the Administration to  
18 prepare for the 1916 election by crafting a proposal for a  
19 permanent tax commission that would appeal to former  
20 Progressive voters, appeal to the TR voters.

21 Wilson strongly resisted, sticking to his  
22 anti-tariff political strategy, but the War continued to  
23 disrupt. The German torpedoing of two British passenger  
24 liners and the death of American passengers energized a  
25 movement for American preparedness for entry into the War,

1 military preparedness.

2           During December 1915 and January 1916, it became  
3 clear to Wilson and the Democratic leadership in the House  
4 that preparedness would require even more tax increases.  
5 Because of the power of populist Democrats, particularly  
6 Southern, in the House led by Claude Kitchin, who you heard  
7 about earlier today, who was both chair of the House Ways  
8 and Means Committee and House Majority Leader, the increases  
9 would almost certainly include huge hikes in the taxation of  
10 corporations, and the introduction of excess profits'  
11 taxation.

12           Wilson supported this approach, but worried about  
13 the backlash both from business and from voters,  
14 particularly in the Northeast, who might punish the  
15 President for tax increases. Within the Wilson  
16 Administration, a new tactical idea took hold. The  
17 Administration's support for the Tariff Commission idea,  
18 Cabinet members in particular, thought could do more than  
19 simply appeal to Roosevelt Progressives; it could help ease  
20 business hostility to the ambitious and radical income tax  
21 plan.

22           Wilson, however, remained rigid. Several of his  
23 Cabinet members led by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo were  
24 especially enthusiastic about embracing a tax commission and  
25 continued to pressure Wilson.

1           McAdoo was the best-connected New York politician  
2           in the Cabinet, and he concluded a Tariff Commission might  
3           be a useful tool for the Treasury to begin to bargain for  
4           more favorable treatment of American exports.

5           Wilson continued to agonize, but in late January  
6           1916 under pressure from McAdoo in particular, he finally  
7           caved in. His next step was delicate, negotiating with  
8           Claude Kitchin. Wilson knew that Kitchin was certain to  
9           dislike any proposal for a nonpartisan commission because it  
10          would seem to threaten Congressional prerogatives, and to  
11          reverse the partisan tax reform that had prevailed in 1913.

12          Wilson was not surprised when the very next day  
13          after making his proposal, his aide Joseph Tumulty let the  
14          President know that he had spoken with Kitchin who would be  
15          arriving at the White House that day, quote, "to oppose the  
16          idea of a Tariff Commission," unquote.

17          Tumulty also reminded Wilson that Kitchin himself  
18          had made two speeches against it and were, in the audience  
19          anyway, very well received.

20          After Kitchin arrived, he and Wilson reached a  
21          meeting of the minds. Wilson formally agreed that the  
22          Commission would focus on fact-gathering rather than  
23          policy-making, and its main assignment would be to assist  
24          legislators in writing free trade laws after the War.

25          Kitchin and Wilson also agreed that McAdoo and

1 his Treasury staff would draft a bill, and that  
2 Representative Henry Rainey of Illinois, the second-ranking  
3 Democrat on Ways and Means, rather than Kitchin, would  
4 introduce it in the House.

5 But the Rainey bill introduced did not advance in  
6 the House. The revenue legislation, the main revenue  
7 legislation was Kitchin's top priority, and Kitchin still  
8 had doubts about the Tariff Commission proposal.

9 In June, once the Ways and Means Committee  
10 hammered out its version of the revenue legislation, Kitchin  
11 decided the contents of the Rainey bill might be useful as a  
12 vehicle to dampen vigorous opposition to the revenue  
13 legislation.

14 Kitchin, after private discussions with McAdoo,  
15 included the Tariff Commission proposal in one section of  
16 the revenue bill that the committee reported out on July 1,  
17 1916. You have that section in its ultimate form in your  
18 package.

19 The bill included another measure that the Wilson  
20 Administration had proposed to appease business: the  
21 imposition of a new tariff that included duties of 30  
22 percent on the importation of dye stuffs, medicines, and  
23 synthetics. The goal was to protect the American chemical  
24 industry from German competition, specifically the German  
25 Farben Trust, both during and after the War, when the

1 American industry anticipated price cutting and dumping.

2 On the floor of the House, Kitchin admitted to  
3 his fellow Democrats that, quote, "If I were as good a  
4 Democrat as I used to be, I would be fighting the dye stuffs  
5 provision, but I am going to take this bill with that dye  
6 stuffs provision and the Tariff Commission in it like I used  
7 to take a bad pill when I was a boy. I would take it down  
8 all at once."

9 He appealed to Republicans as well. And many  
10 House Republicans responded favorably. Even Ohio  
11 Representative Nicholas Longworth, a protectionist stalwart,  
12 declared that he would vote for the bill if he had to vote  
13 between choosing to voting it all up or voting it all down.

14 He embraced preparedness, the creation of the  
15 Tariff Commission, and the protective duties on dyes and  
16 dyestuffs.

17 When the bill was under discussion in the House,  
18 the anti-tariff Democrats, Senator William Jennings Bryan,  
19 among them who supported the Progressive revenue measure,  
20 assured his no-tariff colleagues in the House that the  
21 Tariff Commission provision does no harm.

22 The Democratic leadership in the House allowed  
23 virtually no tampering with the Kitchin Committee's report.  
24 His committee held no formal hearings, and the Democrats  
25 introduced the legislation as a privilege bill to make

1 amendments difficult.

2 On July 10th, only four days after consideration  
3 of the bill began, the House passed the Kitchin package,  
4 joined by 39 Republicans. The Democrats established a  
5 100-vote margin of victory.

6 On the Senate side, the divisions within the  
7 Democratic Party were more severe than in the House.  
8 Free-trade Democrats, led by Senator Underwood, threatened  
9 to break ranks and oppose the entire revenue package.

10 In the final debate in the Senate, Underwood  
11 tried to encumber the revenue act with a kind of poison  
12 pill, a severe reduction in the personal exemption in the  
13 income tax. In late August, in response, Wilson actively  
14 intervened and succeeded in defeating Underwood's poison  
15 pill ploy.

16 On September 6th, the Senate passed the revenue  
17 bill, including the Tariff Commission provision, by a margin  
18 of 42 to 16. However, many Democrats with major  
19 reservations about the Commission chose not to vote. The  
20 next day, Congress accepted a reconciliation of the two  
21 bills, and on September 8th, 100 years ago to the day,  
22 Wilson signed the measure into law.

23 If I had time today, I would relate how Wilson  
24 proceeded to appoint the first members of the Commission.  
25 It's a significant story reflecting how Wilson tried to

1 balance his desire to make the Commission nonpartisan with  
2 his continuing commitment to the low-tariff program of the  
3 Democratic Party and its hostilities to Republican  
4 protectionism. You will have to read the book for that  
5 story.

6 (Laughter.)

7 PROFESSOR BROWNLEE: What I would like to do is I  
8 think end with some words from Wilson on the tariff.  
9 Woodrow Wilson, during World War I, reflected that the  
10 global political, and economic experience of the War had  
11 demonstrated the importance of freely flowing commerce to  
12 international harmony.

13 In other words, the War only intensified his  
14 faith in the power of free trade, which he thought all along  
15 ought to be a fundamental objective of the Tariff  
16 Commission.

17 In 1918, in crafting the third of his fourteen  
18 points, Wilson advanced one of his most eloquent and concise  
19 statements for free trade. He called for, quote, "The  
20 removal so far as possible of all economic barriers in the  
21 establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all  
22 the nations, consenting to the peace, and associating  
23 themselves for its maintenance."

24 This was to Wilson more than economics. He  
25 declared, "What we ourselves are seeking is a basis that

1 will be fair to all and which will nowhere plant the seeds  
2 of such jealousy and discontent and restraint of development  
3 as would certainly breed fresh wars."

4 Perhaps one of the most important questions to  
5 address in evaluating Wilson's long-term accomplishments in  
6 creating the Tariff Commission is whether or not the  
7 Commission succeeded in advancing the lofty goals he  
8 promoted and he said forth for promoting international  
9 comity in his 14 points.

10 Thank you.

11 (Applause.)

12 PROFESSOR REAMER: Good morning. It's a pleasure  
13 to be here, and an honor to be here. Congratulations to the  
14 USITC on its 100th Anniversary.

15 I am going to talk about some of the history  
16 prior to the development of the Tariff Commission, and the  
17 evolution of the learning Congress went through to come to  
18 the point of figuring out how to construct a Commission.

19 So the U.S. Tariff Commission's establishment in  
20 1916 was really the culmination of 127 years of efforts by  
21 Congress to generate the data and analyses that it thought  
22 it needed to knowledgeably set tariffs.

23 From 1789 forward, debates over tariff laws--and  
24 there were 42 tariff laws passed between 1789 and 1916--  
25 reflected profound differences in perspectives about the

1 economic interests of Members' constituents. There were  
2 certain tensions around the appropriate level of government  
3 revenue, protectionism versus free trade, and the interests  
4 of the Nation versus regions versus industry A versus  
5 industry B versus consumers who were always present.

6 As a result, over this 127 years deliberations in  
7 Congress over tariffs were always complex, passionate,  
8 divisive, and lengthy.

9 To understand the context here, it is really  
10 important to appreciate the centrality of tariffs to  
11 American Government and politics in the Nation's early  
12 history.

13 Between 1789 and the Civil War, tariffs provided  
14 nearly all of federal revenue, like in the high 90 percent.  
15 Between the Civil War and the passage of the Sixteenth  
16 Amendment, the Income Tax Amendment, it was roughly half.  
17 So from a revenue perspective, tariffs were critical to the  
18 operation of the Federal Government.

19 And while slavery and race were the paramount  
20 political issues of the 19th Century, the role of tariffs  
21 and the nature of tariffs were right behind. It was very,  
22 very central to the politics of the period.

23 At the same time, Congress's task in commerce  
24 really had skin in the game. One of the prior speakers  
25 talked about, you know, that Members of Congress lost sleep

1 and years off their lives trying to figure out tariff  
2 levels. Well, they had to set tariffs, line by line.

3 And the 1789 Act was three pages long. The  
4 Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 was 200 pages long. So as the  
5 Nation progressed industrially, the complexity of Congress's  
6 task grew exponentially.

7 Whatever their perspective, Members of Congress  
8 sought data and analysis to inform their views and bolster  
9 their arguments. From the 1790s forward, Congress  
10 periodically passed legislation directing the Executive  
11 Branch to produce reports and data so that Congress could  
12 rationally set tariffs.

13 And the result was a multi-decade trajectory of  
14 trials, errors, and experimentation that ultimately led to  
15 the creation of the Tariff Commission.;

16 So what I want to do is give you this overview,  
17 kind of the thread of this trajectory over the first 127  
18 years of the Nation's history. So when Congress had to  
19 figure the stuff out, Members had to consider three factors:

20 Federal revenue, national economic development,  
21 and constituent interest. As I mentioned, tariffs are  
22 really essential to the operation of the Federal Government.  
23 So there were questions about, so what should the Federal  
24 Government do? And how much money do we need to do it?

25 Secondly was national economic development. The

1 strategic use of tariffs to protect and promote job, wealth,  
2 and revenue generating industries, particularly  
3 manufacturing.

4 So just from the get-go there was this tension  
5 regarding tariffs and setting them between its role in  
6 providing federal revenue and as a protectionist tool, as a  
7 neomercantilist tool, to use a term of economic history and  
8 theory, to promote U.S. industry.

9 And in the 19th Century there was a notion called  
10 the American System of Economics, which was basically a new  
11 mercantilist strategy of stimulating national economic  
12 development through strategically setting tariffs on key  
13 industries, for key industries that would collectively  
14 generate the revenue to fund transportation infrastructure,  
15 the canals and the roads of the time. And so, promote  
16 internal market development.

17 And the primary, the first explicit articulation  
18 of this was by Henry Clay in 1832, but he really built on  
19 work that Alexander Hamilton had done in his Report on  
20 Manufacturers in 1791. Lincoln, the Republicans from  
21 Lincoln through Taft, supported major elements of this  
22 American System of Economics, and protectionism was a key  
23 part of that.

24 And then the third driver of course was  
25 constituent interest. Whether you were, you know, a

1       Congressman from Lowell, Massachusetts, representing textile  
2       manufacturers, or a Southern Representative representing  
3       cotton growers selling to England, you cared a lot, and your  
4       political life was on the line. You had to address the  
5       needs of your constituents.

6                So this process of Congress having to set tariffs  
7       line by line, and then figure out Member by Member how these  
8       three things of revenue, of national economic development,  
9       and protecting constituent interest, fit together. That was  
10      a lot, a lot to do. And, yes, a cause for a lot of strain  
11      and stress, and they wanted data to help them figure out how  
12      to kind of thread this needle.

13               So to get to the point of being able to design  
14      the Tariff Commission, Congress had to go through, as I  
15      said, a long series of experiences so it could develop some  
16      understandings. And these understandings were as follows:

17               One is, clearly they didn't think this way but  
18      this was the result, the distinctions between data and  
19      information and knowledge. And the administrative and the  
20      statistical and the political methods for generating data,  
21      information, and knowledge. So collecting comprehensive,  
22      reliable data on specific economic activities like an  
23      imported shipment. They had to figure out how to do that.

24               Turning data into useful statistical information,  
25      detailed objective, reliable, descriptions of whole

1 activities, exports, imports, by year, by state, by port.  
2 The industrial structure.

3 And then the third element was transforming that  
4 information into actionable knowledge, some analysis that  
5 helped Congress figure out okay this is what we do. And  
6 there was no playbook for how to do this. And it took them  
7 a long time to build the capacity and the understanding for  
8 what was necessary.

9 So if you look at the pre-Tariff Commission  
10 history, I divide it into two periods: From 1789 to 1850,  
11 and then from 1850 forward. And I'll describe those.

12 In 1790--Congress first asked for knowledge, and  
13 in 1790 and then three more times in 1809, 1815, and 1832,  
14 Congress went to the--Congress passed a resolution asking  
15 the Treasury Department to give a manufacturing plan, a plan  
16 for promoting manufacturing in the U.S., and what the tariff  
17 should be for that, for those industries.

18 So it was going to Treasury and saying tell us  
19 what we should do. And each time, each of those four times,  
20 Treasury came back and said this is what we think you should  
21 do but we don't have the information to tell you because we  
22 don't have good data.

23 The second time this happened, the Secretary of  
24 the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, said to Congress: Look,  
25 here's my plan for you. The data is lousy, but this is my

1 suggestion. You just passed the Census Act of 1810. Go  
2 back and amend it and do a Census of Manufacturers. In that  
3 way, we can figure out what kind of manufacturing you have  
4 in this country.

5 So the Congress said, great. They amended it.  
6 And that was the first Census of Manufacturers. It didn't  
7 work. They didn't know how to run a census of  
8 manufacturers. So they tried again in 1820. Again, it  
9 didn't work. They skipped 1830 because they were  
10 frustrated.

11 In 1832, Congress went to the Secretary of the  
12 Treasury, a guy named McLane, and said we want a  
13 manufacturing plan. McLane did his own ad hoc manufacturing  
14 census which was not great but, you know, it was a little  
15 bit better.

16 And then at the end of the decade, President Van  
17 Buren went to Congress and said, okay look, we need  
18 information on the manufacturing. We don't have a sense of  
19 what the manufacturing industry looks like in this Nation,  
20 and it's growing quickly. We do know that.

21 And so Congress reinstated the Census of  
22 Manufacturers in 1840, and it was better. Some learning  
23 went on. And so Congress went to Treasury and asked for  
24 knowledge. Treasury comes back and says we need better  
25 information, let's do a Census of Manufacturers.

1           The second stream of activity in this first  
2 period was trade reports. And from the get-go, Alexander  
3 Hamilton, the first Treasury Secretary, was sending to  
4 Congress reports on what was--how much money was being  
5 raised through tariffs. And between 1792 and 1798, each  
6 House of Congress acting independently passed resolutions  
7 saying, no, we want better information from you.

8           And so over time a process developed where the  
9 Treasury Department was sending reports annually to each  
10 House separately regarding imports and exports of only  
11 dutiable goods. It was not a full accounting of all trade.

12           And this system remained in place until 1820.  
13 Congress again continued to be frustrated, not having enough  
14 information to set tariffs, and so in 1820 a New York  
15 Senator, a guy named Sanford, convinced Congress to describe  
16 the kinds of annual reports that it should get from  
17 Treasury. One report, not two reports to each House, and  
18 covering all imports and exports, not just imports that were  
19 dutiable.

20           This was a major advance. The problem is that  
21 these reports themselves ended up not being that good  
22 initially. There were lots of omissions. How do you do the  
23 accounting? Human error. Inconsistencies. So the result  
24 was that Congress was still kind of working in the dark  
25 here.

1           In the 1840s, Congress tried two more things  
2           which started well and then kind of fell apart. One is they  
3           asked the State Department to describe tariffs laws in other  
4           countries. State produced two reports and then stopped  
5           doing it. And then the Treasury Department was told to  
6           prepare a much more comprehensive set of economic reports,  
7           almost like an 1840 version of what used to be the  
8           Statistical Abstract. And Treasury did that twice and then  
9           stopped.

10           So Congress was mandating these reports, but they  
11           weren't getting back. There was not the capacity in these  
12           departments to do this work. So there we are in 1850, and  
13           all we have are these 1820 reports, the reports with the  
14           format mandated in the 1820s, and a kind of semi-useful 1840  
15           Manufacturing Census.

16           But in 1850 things really changed dramatically.  
17           The progress in statistical science and Congress was very  
18           helpful, and Congress figured out that it needed a  
19           management board for the 1850 Census. So it created a  
20           management board. It brought in statistical experts. It  
21           figured out better ways of--the experts had better ways of  
22           tabulating, and the result was the 1850 Census both for  
23           population and manufacturing was a success.

24           And then things took off from there. So you can  
25           look at the 1850 to 1916 period as a progressive and

1 historically relatively quick going up the ladder of  
2 learning. So in 1856, Congress created a--Congress shifted  
3 from demanding reports to creating statistical agencies with  
4 mandates, and money, and staff. So they did it in State, and  
5 they got those missing foreign tariff reports to be sent.  
6 It created a Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department  
7 to create the reports that Treasury was supposed to create  
8 20 years earlier. And then--so it was creating reliable  
9 streams of information.

10           And the second thing it did was it started asking  
11 experts for opinions. It began with the 1850 Census. In  
12 1865, Congress set up a U.S. Revenue Commission because the  
13 Civil War was ending. There were all these emergency  
14 measures regarding taxation, and Congress wanted to figure  
15 out, okay, so what should our revenue streams be in the  
16 future, and for what purposes?

17           So it was a one-time commission. They made some  
18 recommendations about internal--so Internal Revenue comes  
19 from this period, right, because there were tariffs, and  
20 then there was Internal Revenue, which was kind of a new  
21 thing.

22           This commission went in great depth about  
23 Internal Revenue, but punted on tariffs because it lacked  
24 the information. Congress liked this idea of having an  
25 expert, so it created a special commissioner for revenue in

1 the Treasury Department to give it advice on an annual basis  
2 about its revenue streams, including tariffs.

3 And Congress asked for this expert opinion  
4 several times throughout this period, and each time the  
5 experts came back and said: Congress, you should lower  
6 tariffs because protectionism is hurting the economy. And  
7 the Republican-dominated Congress didn't want to hear that.  
8 So it either terminated the experts, or just ignored their  
9 advice.

10 In this case of the special commission for  
11 revenue in Treasury, they just let the office lapse. In  
12 1882, there was a Tariff Commission created that again said  
13 lower tariffs, and Congress said no. And then later in the  
14 1880s, the notion of scientific tariff setting became  
15 popular. This notion that you could take data and set  
16 tariffs scientifically so that the costs of production in  
17 the U.S. and the costs of production in foreign countries  
18 would equalize.

19 And this was very much a topic of focus and  
20 conversation in the 30 years between the 1880s and the  
21 creation of the Tariff Commission. What became the Bureau  
22 of Labor Statistics was charged with creating these reports  
23 about equalizing costs of production.

24 The government got really good at producing huge  
25 volumes of data, but the problem was they didn't know how to

1 translate the data into actionable knowledge.

2 So the next step was the creation of the Tariff  
3 Board in 1909. As you know, that was something that  
4 President Taft found kind of wiggle room in the Payne  
5 Aldrich bill, created a Tariff Board. Again they called for  
6 lower tariffs. Congress didn't like that, and so they  
7 stopped funding the Tariff Board.

8 But by the end of this period, there was the  
9 capacity to create lots of information, the desire to rely  
10 on experts, and what the Tariff Board did that no one had  
11 done before was take enormous amounts of data and actually  
12 come up with some recommendations. Congress ignored them,  
13 but the result was, after this 127-year period, the  
14 government and Congress were in a position to then create a  
15 Tariff Commission to continue this work.

16 So with that, thank you very much.

17 (Applause.)

18 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Great. Thank you, Dr.  
19 Reamer. Would our two commentators like to stay in their  
20 seats, or speak at the podium? Please.

21 PROFESSOR IRWIN: So I have to start with Star  
22 Trek. Angela Ellard started that way. One of the things I  
23 show my class is the Customs Declaration Form for the Apollo  
24 Astronauts when they splash down in the Pacific with moon  
25 rocks. Now there's no tariff line for moon rocks, but they

1 did have to fill out the form. It was processed. NASA  
2 didn't have to pay duties to the Treasury Department because  
3 they weren't duty free, but I think this indicates the ITC's  
4 role in the 21st Century, which is as we move to  
5 interplanetary trade, as private sector moves to mining  
6 Mars, mining the Moon to bring things back, you're going to  
7 need some reports indicating what is the impact on the  
8 domestic mining industry when we start bringing back these  
9 rocks?

10 At any rate, that's the future. We're here to  
11 talk about the past. I very much appreciate the opportunity  
12 to be here at this conference and talk about these two  
13 papers.

14 Historically they're quite accurate and they're  
15 quite good, and I do recommend you read them. I don't have  
16 any substantive comments on them.

17 Professor Reamer talked about the difficulties  
18 with Congress getting new and better data on international  
19 trade, and I just have to have two thank-yous to the  
20 International Trade Commission for what they do in this  
21 realm.

22 First is the DataWeb. The DataWeb is an  
23 invaluable resource for practitioners, researchers, in terms  
24 of getting access to U.S. trade data. So I commend very  
25 much the ITC for providing that service.

1                   In addition, I would like to thank the ITC  
2                   Library of International Trade and the librarians at the  
3                   ITC. It's incredibly valuable, the resources that they have  
4                   there. They maintain the whole historical record. They're  
5                   putting up a lot of documents on PBS, on the website which  
6                   is very useful for those of us who don't live in Washington.  
7                   So I am very grateful. I know I speak for a lot of people  
8                   in the trade policy community, very grateful to the ITC  
9                   librarians for all they do.

10                   In terms of the two papers, I just want to  
11                   provide a little bit of color, because we're talking about  
12                   legislation, laws, this Congress, that Congress, but there's  
13                   some personalities and individuals that are very important  
14                   in these two periods.

15                   The person I'd like to highlight for the period  
16                   that Professor Reamer talks about, the pre-Tariff Commission  
17                   period, is David Wells, who was the first Special  
18                   Commissioner of Revenue in 1866 to 1869 or so, and he  
19                   produced some very large and important reports on tariff  
20                   policy during that period, in the post-Civil War period.

21                   And what's interesting and fascinating about him  
22                   is he underwent an intellectual conversion. He had been  
23                   vetted by the Republicans, the protectionists at the time.  
24                   He was a safe appointment. Henry Carey, who was a leading  
25                   intellectual in favor of high tariffs at this time, was a

1 good friend of his, trusted him, but in his role as Special  
2 Commissioner he began to see the politics behind the tariff.  
3 And he was appalled and disgusted by the difficulty of  
4 getting reform through Congress.

5 He thought the Tariff Code was a complete mess.  
6 It actually didn't protect a lot of manufacturers because  
7 the duties on raw materials were so high it was actually a  
8 negative effect on protection for downstream producers. He  
9 wanted to clean that up. And he lost a lot of friends and  
10 was excoriated in Congress for producing these reports that  
11 said we need thorough-going tariff reform.

12 The second personality I would like to point out  
13 for the second period, for Professor Brownlee's period, and  
14 this is a person really who I hope gets his due on an  
15 occasion like this and for the International Trade  
16 Commission's Centennial, and that is Frank Taussig. Frank  
17 Taussig is a towering figure in the history of trade and  
18 trade policy. He was Professor of Economics at Harvard. He  
19 was a tremendous scholar, an inspiring teacher. He wrote  
20 the key memo to David Houston, who was the Secretary of  
21 Agriculture in the Wilson Administration, proposing, or at  
22 least providing a justification for the creation of a Tariff  
23 Commission. And that memo was very important in convincing  
24 President Wilson to change his position and adopt and  
25 advocate for a Tariff Commission.

1                   And of course he was later appointed as the first  
2                   Chairperson of, Chairman of the Tariff Commission, and he  
3                   brought three things to that role. He brought tremendous  
4                   good sense. He brought expert knowledge -- there's probably  
5                   no person in America who knew more about tariff and tariff  
6                   history at that time. And perhaps most importantly, he  
7                   brought integrity, because he was respected across the aisle  
8                   for this views and his knowledge. And starting the Tariff  
9                   Commission on a good step forward in terms of being sound,  
10                  trusted, was very important. Because as we look a little  
11                  bit later, as we look at the Tariff Commission in the 1920s,  
12                  we will see integrity is not the first word that would come  
13                  to mind in describing the commission at that time.

14                  I would also like to say that Dr. Taussig was  
15                  responsible for one of the most important reports,  
16                  government reports on trade policy in U.S. history, I would  
17                  say one of the top three or four reports of all time.  
18                  Obviously Hamilton's report on Manufacturers is up there as  
19                  well.

20                  In 1919 there was a Tariff Commission Report on  
21                  Reciprocity Treaties, and this lay the groundwork for the  
22                  adoption of the Unconditional Most Favored Nation Clause in  
23                  U.S. Commercial Treaties by the Harding Administration in  
24                  1923.

25                  That 1919 Report is still worth reading today.

1 It is exceptionally interesting and very sound in terms of  
2 its judgments on the future direction of U.S. trade policy,  
3 and I think is a tribute to what the Tariff Commission has  
4 done in the past and hopefully will continue to do in the  
5 future in terms of providing analysis and insight into U.S.  
6 trade policy that we've seen.

7 So it's a pleasure to be here, and thanks to the  
8 International Trade Commission staff for all they do for us  
9 who use their work.

10 (Applause.)

11 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Thank you, Professor  
12 Irwin. And our last reviewer will be Mr. Robert Enholm, who  
13 is the Executive Director of the Woodrow Wilson House.

14 MR. ENHOLM: Thank you. And happy birthday to the  
15 Commission. Let me--years ago, my daughters convinced me  
16 that I didn't need a wristwatch, I should just use my phone.  
17 And there are times like this where I think it would be nice  
18 to have a watch. But then I use my phone.

19 So my name is Bob Enholm. I am the Director of  
20 the Woodrow Wilson House. For those of you who are local to  
21 Washington, D.C., you may know it. The House is on S  
22 Street, near Massachusetts Avenue, in the Kalorama  
23 Neighborhood. It's where President Obama has announced that  
24 he's intending to live after leaving the White House, and he  
25 will be only the second American President to stay in

1 Washington, D.C., immediately after leaving office.

2 President Wilson was the first and, until now, has been the  
3 only American President to stay in Washington.

4 Let me also thank Chairman Williamson and also  
5 Commissioner Johanson, whom I have met, who actually visited  
6 the Woodrow Wilson House a couple of times, and I think  
7 ultimately was responsible for my being included on this  
8 panel. I am delighted to do this.

9 Part of my job is not only running the House and  
10 making sure the electricity bill gets paid, but figuring out  
11 ways to use that House, which is a 100-year-old house, the  
12 home in which President Wilson lived from the day he left  
13 the White House in 1921 until his death in 1924, and where  
14 his widow lived until her passing actually in 1961. Just  
15 pause and reflect on Edith Wilson living until President  
16 Kennedy's Administration, a woman who sat in a gallery of  
17 the Joint Session of Congress when President Wilson sought a  
18 Declaration of War in 1917. The Centennial of that is  
19 coming up.

20 So part of my job is to figure out ways to use  
21 that House to teach history. And as someone who was a  
22 history undergraduate, although I was a lawyer for 25 years--  
23 --my mother now thinks I've finally found the perfect job for  
24 me--but I understand that good history is meaningful today.  
25 And I think the papers have done a good job of explaining

1 what went on then and how it relates to what's going on  
2 today.

3 And I want to add some anecdotes and give you  
4 from my perspective the importance of the founding of the  
5 ITC and put it in the context of the broader events that  
6 were going on in American history at that time.

7 I would be remiss if I didn't mention the  
8 national spotlight that is currently focused on the racism  
9 of Woodrow Wilson's era and his responsibility for that.  
10 Let me let you know that at the Woodrow Wilson House we are  
11 quite well aware of that, and trying to use that spotlight  
12 as a way to create opportunities for all of us to learn  
13 about the history of race in the United States. And,  
14 importantly, to think about how the mistakes made by our  
15 grandparents and great grandparents can be studied and  
16 reveal ways we can improve our society today.

17 So that is an important aspect of what we do, is  
18 to think about how different Woodrow Wilson's times were,  
19 and then to think about how those can--

20 There we are.

21 (Laughter.)

22 MR. ENHOLM: I assume the microphone still works,  
23 so we will carry on. How the history relates to our own  
24 times--oh, that's nice. I can see you're all here,  
25 actually, so that's good.

1           So let me jump into that, then, very quickly and  
2           say that Woodrow Wilson is often considered one of the first  
3           modern American Presidents, and that is because he really  
4           did see the opportunity to create a rational Federal  
5           Government system with the associated processes and, dare I  
6           say, bureaucracies which in this town I think is not a  
7           pejorative term, and he did that. He grew up in an era of,  
8           you know, he was born in 1857 and really came of age in the  
9           late 19th Century.

10           We have alluded a couple of times to the growing  
11           sense of rationalism of that era. Wilson was one of the  
12           founders of political science as a discipline, and many of  
13           the areas that we think of as college majors were really  
14           created as academic disciplines in the late 19th Century  
15           when people around the world were convinced that there was  
16           an objective truth and it fell to us to discern it.

17           And it is in that spirit that the ITC was  
18           founded. It was in an era of a sense of searching for  
19           economic efficiency. Wilson, we all know, and Theodore  
20           Roosevelt as well, were progressives, and progressivism  
21           stood for a number of things. But they included good  
22           government, whether Democrat or Republican, and for rational  
23           decision making with good information.

24           And today we are so steeped in a thought of data,  
25           data, data, setting metrics, setting goals, and managing to

1       them. That really was not something that Woodrow Wilson was  
2       raised to think about and really came about during his  
3       lifetime.

4               Some of you might know Frederick Taylor, who was  
5       the founder of so-called "Taylorism" in this era. Basically  
6       he's credited, for better or worse, as being the founder of  
7       business management. But his book entitled THE SCIENTIFIC  
8       PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT I think was published in 1911 and  
9       really was confirming the sense that people had that there  
10      ought to be a rational way to conduct business and to  
11      conduct government. And Wilson was very much a part of  
12      that.

13              Let me also mention, and I'll just conclude by  
14      saying we take figures of history and pigeonhole them into  
15      the times that they're most famous for. President Wilson of  
16      course, for World War I, but sometimes we neglect to  
17      remember that they were once children, once young parents,  
18      once starting their careers with hopes and aspirations.

19              And we also need to not know, or to unlearn the  
20      things that they didn't know in their time. Many people  
21      come to the Woodrow Wilson House with sort of a mad-on about  
22      Wilson's having laid the foundation for the nanny state, as  
23      it's sometimes characterized, but I like to point out that  
24      Wilson didn't know that World War II or the Great Depression  
25      were going to come. He didn't even know that World War I

1 was going to come. It came as a complete shock to the  
2 people of that era. And, frankly, world trade was beginning  
3 to burgeon in that time before World War I, and it was that  
4 War and the cataclysm that it represented that set back  
5 world trade really for decades.

6 And so the founding of the ITC in that era laid  
7 the foundation for the continued growth of what was to be an  
8 important part of history. And so let me conclude by  
9 inviting all of you to come to the Woodrow Wilson House. I  
10 would be happy to greet you there, but in any event it's a  
11 great place to come and also to send relatives when they're  
12 visiting our Nation's Capital from out of town and have run  
13 out of things to do. Okay? I look forward to taking part  
14 in the conversation.

15 (Applause.)

16 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Thank you very much.  
17 That was a great presentation.

18 I guess I'll start, as the moderator, with my  
19 prerogative here to see if we can sort of discern who is the  
20 strongest father of the International Trade Commission. If  
21 we were to build a statue outside the front, who would get  
22 the honor of being the person that drove it with their  
23 energy and vision?

24 PROFESSOR IRWIN: I'd vote for Taussig. Because,  
25 once again, it was his--remember Professor Brownlee's

1 presentation made this very clear--President Wilson was very  
2 undecided, was opposed to a tariff commission initially.  
3 House Ways and Means was very much opposed, as well. They  
4 didn't want to give up the prerogative.

5 There was sort of political pressure and economic  
6 pressure to have a commission of some sort, and it was  
7 Taussig's memo I think that got the ball rolling, at least  
8 within the Administration to help bring that about.

9 MR. ENHOLM: And I would just add that President  
10 Wilson was intent on having either, we'd say today,  
11 nonpartisanship or bipartisanship, and Wilson himself was an  
12 academic, a former professor professionally and a university  
13 president. And so he very much respected Taussig's  
14 intellect and independence, and that was the key.

15 I think the Commission required a division  
16 between the political parties. Taussig was at least  
17 nominally a Republican, but sort of ensured that the  
18 Commission would be seen as being even-handed.

19 PROFESSOR BROWNLEE: Is this working? I'm just  
20 going to nuance that a little bit. I think it's very  
21 difficult to pick one person. There is an interesting  
22 intellectual nexus. Wilson, David Houston, and Frank  
23 Taussig. They all knew each other well and had a  
24 significant academic background in common.

25 It is very difficult to sort out, among the three

1 of them, who really shaped the final ideas. Wilson liked  
2 Houston's approach, which was narrow. He wanted a  
3 well-defined, limited tax commission, a fact-finding body, a  
4 very technocratic.

5 Wilson was very worried politically that a tax  
6 commission improperly constructed would become in itself a  
7 partisan vehicle. And that was his major concern. So he's  
8 from a very early point open to the idea of a tax  
9 commission.

10 He had one other concern which was related to the  
11 other. He in general disagreed a little bit with the notion  
12 of, of -- Wilson's enthusiasm for modern government. He had  
13 great concern about executive discretion, and he preferred,  
14 when possible, providing a regulatory structure that would  
15 shape behavior rather than relying on Executive  
16 interventions in economic life.

17 And that was characteristic of the Democratic  
18 Party leadership certainly from the East Coast during this  
19 period. And the major difference between the Republicans  
20 was the major difference between Wilson and TR, probably  
21 philosophic is most important difference. TR was much more  
22 of an activist.

23 I think the statue should go to TR. I think he's  
24 the one who elevated this issue nationally for the first  
25 time. I think without TR and the leadership of the

1 Progressive Republican Party this idea would have gotten  
2 nowhere. It would not have made it through the Wilson  
3 Administration. McAdoo was intellectually the closest to  
4 TR. So I would trace it from actually TR to McAdoo to the  
5 final proposal.

6 Another candidate, and this goes beyond political  
7 correctness, might be Jane Adams who had a huge impact on  
8 the public discussion of the Tariff Commission. And  
9 arguably her writing, muckraking as it once was called,  
10 about the contribution of the tariff to the high cost of  
11 living, and her advocacy of the Tariff Commission. She  
12 converted a number of civic leaders to the Tariff Commission  
13 movement.

14 And that Tariff Commission movement was very  
15 important behind TR. And it's very hard to pick out one  
16 person that really generated the crystalized support for the  
17 Tariff Commission within that movement. But if I would pick  
18 on person, I would pick Jane Adams.

19 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Good. I want to come at  
20 that question from maybe the reverse perspective. It sounds  
21 from Dr. Reamer's presentation that there was a perceived  
22 need for the Tariff Commission for hundreds of years, for a  
23 hundred years before we were actually established, and that  
24 tariff policy was central really to most big political  
25 debates and elections and so forth.

1                   Why did it take so long to establish the  
2                   Commission?

3                   PROFESSOR REAMER: I think it was a huge learning  
4                   curve. There was a lot of magical thinking that, you know,  
5                   Congress could ask the Treasury Department in 1790 for a  
6                   manufacturing plan with specific recommendations on tariffs,  
7                   and Congress could then act on that.

8                   So it really took a long time for Congress to  
9                   appreciate the incredible intricacies of how you collect  
10                  data in a way that's reliable and consistent over space and  
11                  time. How you--when you're getting information from ship  
12                  masters and getting information from factory owners, how you  
13                  do that. Protection of confidentiality was an important  
14                  aha! And then how you create administrative structures to  
15                  take these huge amounts of data, right, and it's all on  
16                  paper in those days, to make sense of it.

17                  And then, I think part of the learning was the  
18                  recognition for outside experts. And I mentioned that, that  
19                  after the Civil War that there was a--Congress came to a  
20                  consensus, we need experts.

21                  And then there was a long battle. As I said,  
22                  they would rely on experts and then--but Members of Congress  
23                  who had private interests to protect, didn't want to hear  
24                  what the experts were saying.

25                  So there was a long process. The rise of

1 academic disciplines, as was mentioned, and the notion that  
2 there could be a, quote/unquote "objective truth" was  
3 something that was relatively new.

4           So it just took time for all these things to come  
5 together. And it was really to Congress's credit that it  
6 happened when it did. I mean, I appreciate that in one way  
7 it looks like it took a long time. In another way, I really  
8 have great admiration for the persistence of Members of  
9 Congress from the 1st to the 64th to keep trying, and to  
10 create some things that had never been created before:  
11 objective data analysis, a whole administrative structure  
12 that could take information and come up with  
13 recommendations. This was all, there was no playbook for  
14 this. They had to make the playbook first to get to the  
15 point of a commission, I think.

16           COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Okay--Sure.

17           PROFESSOR BROWNLEE: Just let me -- I agree with  
18 everything you just said, Andrew, but I would like to add  
19 the political headlines. The tariff was the most divisive  
20 national political issue in the late 19th and early 20th  
21 Century, and that's fundamentally what's going on  
22 politically.

23           The Democratic Party saw tariff commissions as a  
24 potential for permanent capture on the part of  
25 protectionists. Republicans viewed tariff commissions as

1 being the covert way of working toward free trade.

2 We can find all kinds of examples in contemporary  
3 politics, and I won't take us into that, where both parties  
4 look at something that could be very much in their interest  
5 but don't move forward because of the basic partisanship  
6 that divides Democrats and Republicans.

7 Wilson's preferred way around that, to come back  
8 to TR indirectly, was to beef up the Executive departments,  
9 Commerce and Treasury and Congressional staffs, rather than  
10 go the tariff commission route.

11 TR broke open that partisan division by taking  
12 out the tariff-lowering, Republicans' tariff-reforming  
13 elements of the Republicans, and creating the possibility  
14 for bipartisan alignment between Progressive Republicans and  
15 Democrats. And that was the bipartisan nature of the  
16 formation of the first Tariff Commission, to give you a  
17 preview, and that broke down when protectionist Republicans  
18 resumed their influence in Congress after World War I.

19 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Okay, that's great.  
20 Let's talk about President Wilson a little bit in terms of  
21 the political environment in 1915 leading up to the 1916  
22 Presidential election.

23 What convinced Wilson that maybe he should push  
24 for a tariff commission?

25 PROFESSOR BROWNLEE: I think it was ultimately the

1 ability of his Cabinet members, and I think McAdoo was  
2 actually the most persuasive one, saying you're going to  
3 lose this election in 1916. We're going to lose possibly  
4 control in Congress at the same time. Unless you find a way  
5 to bridge the gap to appeal to the TR voters.

6 The Republican Party was the dominant party in  
7 terms of voter alignment from the Civil War down to 1932.  
8 So the demography, the registration, all the measures we  
9 talk about today were very much on the Republican side.  
10 Nothing changed really in 1912.

11 The only way that Wilson could get re-elected in  
12 1916 was by reaching out to Roosevelt's Republicans, which  
13 is what he did through the Tariff Commission.

14 MR. ENHOLM: Let me add sort of a personal note,  
15 and I know Professor Brownlee knows this, but William McAdoo  
16 actually had become Woodrow Wilson's son-in-law. So when we  
17 talk about his persuasiveness with the President, there's  
18 that added dimension, that he had married one of Wilson's  
19 daughters in 1916.

20 PROFESSOR BROWNLEE: And that actually could work  
21 against him.

22 (Laughter.)

23 MR. ENHOLM: I well understand that. And McAdoo  
24 wanted the old man's endorsement to run for President, as  
25 you certainly know, and never got it. So there were limits.

1 But still he certainly had the old man's ear, and I think  
2 that is an interesting point.

3 COMMISSIONER BROADBENT: Good. Well I'm getting  
4 the hook here, and we just appreciate all of your  
5 contributions. Thank you, very much.

6 (Applause.)

7 MR. BARDOS: Thank you very much to the first  
8 panel. And we can now move on to the second Panel on Tariff  
9 Activities, moderated by Vice Chairman Johanson.

10 (Pause.)

11 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Alright, well I would  
12 like to welcome all of you to the Panel on Tariff  
13 Activities. I would like to begin by thanking Paul Bardos  
14 and Alexander Hammer for their work in putting this  
15 conference together. I know it took a lot of work on their  
16 part.

17 I would also like to make a pitch for the Woodrow  
18 Wilson House, of which Mr. Enholm spoke a minute ago. I  
19 visited there. I found it interesting. He said it's a  
20 place to go when you've done everything else with your folks  
21 in town, and in my experience it's the opposite. It's the  
22 place to go when your folks are tired of dealing with the  
23 crowds at the Smithsonian. So I encourage you all to go  
24 there if you're interested in American history.

25 Well I'm pleased to be the moderator for today's

1 Panel on Tariff Activities. I've always enjoyed working on  
2 tariff matters, and in particular I've enjoyed working with  
3 the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States, or the  
4 HTS.

5 During my Senate confirmation hearing, I made it  
6 a point to emphasize the important role of the ITC in  
7 maintaining the Harmonized Tariff Schedule. In fact, I  
8 mentioned the HTS not once but twice in my hearing  
9 statement, and it was a short statement.

10 So it is clear to me that a centennial conference  
11 on the ITC would not be complete without a panel on tariff  
12 activities. I see three reasons for us to focus today on  
13 tariff matters.

14 First, tariffs have been at the center of the  
15 ITC's activities since the day that it opened its doors in  
16 1917. After all, throughout most of its existence the  
17 United States International Trade Commission was the United  
18 States Tariff Commission.

19 The Revenue Act of 1916, the founding statute of  
20 the Commission, provides that: The Commission shall have the  
21 power to investigate the tariff relations between the United  
22 States and foreign countries.

23 Second, for trade practitioners tariffs are at  
24 the heart of what we do. I began my legal career as an  
25 associate attorney at the law firm of Stewart and Stewart.

1 During one of my early weeks there, Terence Stewart, the  
2 firm's managing partner, told me that the first step to take  
3 when working on any trade matter is to go to the Harmonized  
4 Tariff Schedule and look up the relevant article's HTS  
5 number.

6 That was sound advice. Whenever you're involved  
7 in an antidumping, countervailing duty, or Section 337  
8 investigation, you're going to visit the HTS early on.

9 Now changing directions for a moment, I spent  
10 most of--much of my career focusing on agricultural trade.  
11 Convenient for me, the headings for agricultural products  
12 are found in the beginning of the HTS, like the very  
13 beginning.

14 (Laughter.)

15 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: In the mid-1990s, I  
16 worked on a trade case involving live cattle, which are  
17 classified in the second heading of the HTS at 01.02. I  
18 later worked for Senator Chuck Grassley who represents Iowa,  
19 a major hog-producing state.

20 Not surprisingly, I became familiar with the  
21 third heading of the HTS, 01.03, which covers live swine.  
22 One day I was inspired to turn the page to look up the first  
23 heading of the HTS. Out of the 1,224 four-digit headings of  
24 the HTS, the very first one, 01.01, covers live horses,  
25 asses, mules, and hennies.

1 (Laughter.)

2 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: For those of you who are  
3 wondering what a "hennie" is, it is the offspring of a  
4 female donkey and a male horse.

5 Before today, did anyone in the audience know  
6 what a hennie is? If so, please raise your hand. Okay, I  
7 see two people, and they probably worked with Chapter 1  
8 quite a bit.

9 That brings me to my third point, which is that  
10 tariff matters are worthy of our attention because they're  
11 so incredibly interesting. Whenever you pick up the HTS,  
12 you find something new. Sticking to Chapter 1 of the HTS  
13 which covers live animals, I learned just yesterday that a  
14 statistical breakout for leaf-cutter bee larvae was created  
15 in recent years.

16 Using the ITS's Trade DataWeb, I discovered that,  
17 much to my surprise the United States imported 288,000  
18 kilograms of these larvae in 2015, almost double the amount  
19 from 2012. Leaf-cutter bee larvae trade numbers are  
20 important to someone--

21 (Laughter.)

22 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: --and the HTS makes the  
23 discovery of these data possible. Some of today's panelists  
24 are fortunate to have spent decades working on tariff  
25 matters.

1           Alfred Eckes is a former Chairman of the ITC. He  
2           is currently a Professor at Ohio University. Gene  
3           Rosengarden was the first Director of the ITC's Office of  
4           Tariff and Trade Agreements. Janice Summers has worked in  
5           the ITC's Office of Tariff Affairs on Trade Agreements since  
6           1981. Another of the panelists, Arun Butcher, is just now  
7           embarking on a career involving tariff matters. He is a new  
8           attorney and works in the ITC's Office of Tariff Affairs and  
9           Trade Agreements.

10           Our first reviewer is Barbara Norton, who spent  
11           almost four decades working on tariff matters at the ITC,  
12           and then at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.  
13           And our second reviewer is Kenneth Mason, who was the  
14           Secretary of the ITC from 1969 to 1992.

15           With that, I ask Professor Eckes to start the  
16           conversation. I should add, as well, that I am going to be  
17           looking at my Blackberry during this. I'm not checking my  
18           emails. I'm checking the time to make sure we don't go  
19           over. Thank you.

20           (Applause.)

21           PROFESSOR ECKES: Thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman.  
22           Good morning everyone. It's great to be back with you. I  
23           do have a tendency to shout, so I want to push the mike back  
24           a little bit. But if you can't hear me, why raise your  
25           hands and I will jump around a bit.

1                   I confess I know very little about the Harmonized  
2 Code, and what I learned was from Gene Rosengarden 25 years  
3 ago. So I refer all questions about the Harmonized Code to  
4 him, and to Janice, and to others who have worked on it more  
5 recently.

6                   My comments are more about a sad chapter in the  
7 Commission's existence. The decade of the 1920s when the  
8 Commission was in seemingly perpetual turmoil. It was an  
9 unpleasant chapter, but one that I think is highly  
10 instructive. And indeed if it were my wish, I would suggest  
11 that all new Commissioners and all staff members gain some  
12 familiarity with what went wrong in the 1920s.

13                   I must say that my comments are based on primary  
14 research. That is, we historians refer to diaries and  
15 personal papers of early Commissioners and Congressional  
16 leaders and the like as "primary papers."

17                   The most useful for me were the diaries of an  
18 individual many of you have heard about in a most negative  
19 manner, and that is former Senate Finance Committee Chairman  
20 Reed Smoot, who accumulated a vast amount of information and  
21 squirreled it away at Brigham Young University. We remember  
22 him as one of the principal authors of the 1930 Tariff, but  
23 you know he left a significant imprint on the Tariff  
24 Commission.

25                   And if Commissioner Broadbent had asked the

1 question to me that she did of the previous panel, I would  
2 suggest that Reed Smoot is one of several who merits a  
3 statue outside the Commission building.

4 Another I would nominate, incidentally, to be  
5 truly bipartisan, is Russell Long, again a Senate Finance  
6 Committee Chairman, and I'll explain why in a few moments.

7 Smoot was a Congressional workhorse in an era  
8 when the Congress had few staff members. He mastered the  
9 Tariff Schedules in a way that Gene Rosengarden would  
10 admire, if Gene had met him. He was suspicious of Wilson's  
11 Tariff Commission and perceived it initially as a political  
12 vehicle for Cobdonites such as the first Commission Chairman  
13 Frank Taussig, to promote their free trade philosophy.

14 In 1919, Smoot nearly succeeded in eliminating  
15 the Commission's appropriation and, to use the word of that  
16 era, submarining the agency. By 1923, however, with  
17 President Harding in the White House, Smoot had come to  
18 recognize the value of the Commission. As the Chairman of  
19 the Public Buildings Commission, the forerunner of the  
20 General Services Administration, he personally arranged for  
21 the Tariff Commission to acquire additional space in the  
22 General Post office Building at 701 E Street, Northwest.

23 The Commission remained in Smoot's office space  
24 until the 1980s when structural problems and rodents in the  
25 basement promoted the Commissioners to ask Congress for new

1 facilities. I will always remember the occasion in April of  
2 1983 when Chairman Bob Dole and former Chairman Russell  
3 Long, and several colleagues, came to a Chinese carry-out  
4 luncheon that we had prepared in the old building.

5 We sat down at the table. Dole looked at me and  
6 he said: Mr. Chairman, what do you want? Having come from  
7 the Academy, I was unaccustomed to being so direct, but I  
8 managed to blurt out a response. And within a few moments,  
9 he and Russell Long had worked out a procedure to obtain a  
10 new building for the ITC.

11 And by the 1980s--in the 1980s, then, the  
12 Commission could count on strong Congressional support, not  
13 something they had in the 1920s.

14 Let me return to those trials and tribulations  
15 for a few moments. It is worth emphasizing that after World  
16 War I the tariff issue was high on the policy agenda. And  
17 for more than a decade the Tariff Commission occupied center  
18 stage.

19 President Warren Harding, and President Calvin  
20 Coolidge occasionally called the Commissioners to the White  
21 House, dined them, sought their advice. President Hoover  
22 also devoted a lot of time to recruiting Commissioners.

23 I suspect the last President to pay much personal  
24 attention to the Commission--and I could be wrong on this--  
25 was President Jimmy Carter, who reportedly sat in the White

1 House and actually read and underlined and put marginal  
2 notes in our reports. Some would say that he missed an  
3 opportunity to occupy himself with more significant issues,  
4 but those in this room may feel differently.

5 The first Tariff Commission, chaired by Taussig,  
6 construed narrowly the Commission's mission to involve only  
7 fact-finding and research. The youngest Commissioner, Billy  
8 Culbertson, a progressive Republican, pressed for an  
9 activist agenda involving scientific tariff-making. He and  
10 Edward Costigan, another Progressive and Wilson appointee,  
11 perceived the Commission as an instrument of revolutionary  
12 tariff reform as a vehicle for scientific tariff making--  
13 though they weren't certain exactly what it was, but it  
14 involved a panel of experts.

15 They also hoped that this approach would lead the  
16 Commission to becoming actively involved in negotiating  
17 commercial treaties.

18 Well, President Harding was struggling for an  
19 answer other than a general tariff revision, and he accepted  
20 Culbertson's suggestion and made it to Congress, and indeed  
21 the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act contained a provision that  
22 made the Commission for a while one of the government's most  
23 important and apparently powerful agencies.

24 It would help establish the tariff, or at least  
25 make recommendations. That is, until the Commission

1 imploded during the much-publicized and politicized sugar  
2 investigation of 1924. That investigation tested the  
3 Commission's competence, which would be assailed, the lack  
4 of collegiality among Commissioners was exposed, the  
5 integrity of individual Commissioners impugned.

6 One target was Commissioner Henry Glassey of  
7 Louisiana whose family held interests in the sugarcane  
8 growing business. At one Commission meeting in 1923,  
9 Culbertson and Glassey exchanged heated words. Glassey  
10 called Culbertson a liar. Culbertson then threw his tobacco  
11 pouch at Glassey, hitting him in the eye. The other  
12 Commissioners stepped in between the two to avoid a  
13 fistfight.

14 (Laughter.)

15 PROFESSOR ECKES: At the first public hearing on  
16 sugar in 1924, Culbertson and two of his colleagues,  
17 Costigan and Lewis, challenged Glassey's eligibility to sit  
18 on the case, alleging a conflict of interest.

19 Culbertson had raised it previously with  
20 President Coolidge, who told Glassey to do his duty as he  
21 saw it, and Glassey said that it would be an act of moral  
22 cowardice to refuse to sit on the case.

23 His example created a bitter division within the  
24 Commission, and Congress sided with Culbertson's majority.  
25 It amended the Tariff Commission's appropriation to bar

1 salary payments to any Commissioner participating in a case  
2 in which any member of his family had personal financial  
3 interest.

4 The turmoil and deadlock in the Commission  
5 continued. There were efforts to disqualify Culbertson  
6 because he taught an evening course at Georgetown. Turmoil  
7 and deadlock led to the Senate Special Investigation in 1926  
8 which generated much adverse publicity.

9 The New York Times would editorialize that the  
10 Commission was an ineffective and almost useless agency of  
11 government. The Washington Post put it simply, "The Tariff  
12 Commission has no excuse for existence. It should be  
13 abolished."

14 To make a long story short, the Coolidge and  
15 Hoover Administrations gradually replaced the fractious  
16 Commissioners, and in 1930 in the process of enacting the  
17 General Tariff Reform, Congress effectively terminated the  
18 entire Commissioners and gave President Hoover authority  
19 with Senate approval to appoint six new ones.

20 Interestingly, Edgar Brossard of Utah, the  
21 agricultural economist who served over 33 years on the  
22 Commission, survived. He was the patron--his patron was  
23 Senator Smoot who just happened to chair the committee.

24 We do not have time to revisit Commission  
25 activities after the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

1 was passed, but another set of issues arose. As the  
2 Commission became actively involved in the Reciprocal Trade  
3 Agreements Program, indeed Commissioners engaged in  
4 negotiations. Staff members were involved in more than  
5 supplying information to the State Department which handled  
6 negotiations. Some of the staff members engaged in  
7 negotiations.

8 By the late 1940s, Members of Congress were  
9 questioning whether an independent agency, which the Senate  
10 Finance Committee then considered a legislative agency,  
11 should also be involved actively in Executive Branch policy  
12 decisions and tariff negotiations.

13 For a fuller discussion of these issues, I will  
14 refer you to Chapter 8, and I suspect this afternoon my  
15 colleague, Will Leonard, will have a few points to make  
16 about the evolution of the Commission.

17 It is plain that his patron, Russell Long, did  
18 something to establish the Commission's independence. He  
19 gave us the Commission power to represent itself in the  
20 courts, and he established a budget procedure which I  
21 believe is still in place in which the Commission sends its  
22 budget to OMB, but OMB sends it unchanged to our oversight  
23 committees.

24 Thank you very much. I look forward to your  
25 questions.

1 (Applause.)

2 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Thank you. And our next  
3 panelist is Gene Rosengarden, the former Director of the  
4 Office--I'm sorry, Jan Summers, who currently works in the  
5 Office of Tariff Affairs and Trade Agreements. Thank you.

6 MS. SUMMERS: I don't really propose to cover in  
7 depth the first 50 years of the tariff laws that the  
8 Commission has been involved in working with. I think  
9 others are talking about that in great depth, and so will  
10 our Centennial Book.

11 Just as our agency has evolved over time, so have  
12 the tariff laws, and now the Tariff Schedules. From many  
13 individual Tariff Acts covering one product, or a small  
14 number of products, to omnibus Tariff Acts, to the paragraph  
15 system of the old Tariff Act of 1930, about 100 pages of  
16 this are devoted to the old dutiable list and free list that  
17 covered named types of merchandise and trade, to the very  
18 structured tariff schedules we work with today.

19 I think the chief benefits in this regard for  
20 business in particular are the greater clarity and greater  
21 predictability that our Tariff Schedules and the Structured  
22 Duty Rates that we present entail for them. It is a  
23 comprehensive structure covering everything in trade,  
24 underlying all trade data used by the Commission in its  
25 analysis, as well as by policy makers and everyone in

1 business planning and economic analysis.

2 I think the role of trade data, as many have  
3 pointed out, is quite huge. And I would just briefly end my  
4 tiny introduction to the craft of tariff preparation by  
5 referencing the commentator's note about Moon rocks. Our  
6 office had to draft the provision for goods returned from  
7 Space, not because of the Moon rocks but because the robot  
8 manipulator arm of the Space Shuttle was made in Canada--

9 (Laughter.)

10 MS. SUMMERS: --and therefore was dutiable.

11 (Laughter.)

12 MS. SUMMERS: So we crafted a special tariff line  
13 just for them, just an instance of how we work with everyone  
14 to be responsive to the needs of others.

15 (Applause.)

16 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Thank you, Jan. And  
17 remember I said a moment ago, when you pick, up the HTS you  
18 always find something incredibly interesting, and the  
19 Canadian Rocket Arm is one of those products.

20 Our next speaker is Gene Rosengarden, the former  
21 Director of the Office of Tariffs and Trade Affairs at the  
22 ITC.

23 MR. ROSENGARDEN: Thank you. I'm glad somebody  
24 finds the HTS interesting.

25 (Laughter.)

1 MR. ROSENGARDEN: My wife never did.

2 (Laughter.)

3 MR. ROSENGARDEN: I have about seven or eight  
4 minutes to discuss the last 62 years, and I'm going to fly.  
5 1954, Congress passes the Tariff Simplification Act of 1954  
6 requiring the Commission to compile logical schedules,  
7 reasonable and consistent in arrangement and terminology.

8 The study was completed in 1960 and consumed  
9 about 300 work years. But it was really the work of one  
10 person who was supported by those other 294 years or so, and  
11 that was Russ Schumacher, who at the time was the Assistant  
12 General Counsel and later became General Counsel.

13 He was a brilliant technician in drafting complex  
14 provisions, and organizing things really very well. And in  
15 fact the Tariff Schedules of the United States represent a  
16 sea change in tariff discipline which we spearheaded for  
17 others, as well, for other countries, even though it was  
18 referred to in other forums.

19 The Schedules presented in tabular arrangement  
20 with consistent numbering, annotative statistical  
21 subdivisions for the first time in our history, the idea  
22 being that between the adversarial relationship of an  
23 importer and the tax guy you probably get proper  
24 classification, accurate classification. And finding the  
25 right church in terms of the tariff helps you to find the

1 right pew in terms of the statistical category under it.

2 So that was the first time that was done. It had  
3 head notes and legal notes, general interpretative rules to  
4 ensure that each product was classified in one place and one  
5 place only. And compared to the Tariff Act of 1930, which  
6 was a system of paragraphs unrelated to one another without  
7 much in the way of priorities, the only good thing that came  
8 out of it in terms of tariff discipline, frankly, was the  
9 large body of court-made law as a result of all of the  
10 litigation that that tariff presented.

11 Russ was a giant, as I said. He became the  
12 General Counsel of the Commission for many years. And the  
13 tariff was implemented in 1963, in August of '63, and lasted  
14 26 years, which is quite a long time.

15 Besides Russ, I need to mention just very briefly  
16 Bill Hart. Bill was head of the Office of Executive  
17 Liaison. He attended the opening of GATT. He was there at  
18 the birth of GATT, and he was in effect the government's  
19 institutional memory on trade.

20 When he finally left, there were 96 full cabinets  
21 in his office--

22 (Laughter.)

23 MR. ROSENGARDEN: --that had to be archived. I  
24 think it was 96. And he could find a document in any one of  
25 them. He was really rather amazing.

1                   This brings us to the Harmonized System. In 1973  
2 DOT, which is not really considered a trade agency, does a  
3 study and finds that as goods move from the purview of the  
4 shipper to the ultimate consignee, it can go under  
5 classification within the purview of about 17 classification  
6 systems, not just the government systems but the transport  
7 systems as well.

8                   They thought this was a tremendous barrier to  
9 transport trade. They wanted to facilitate it. They wanted  
10 one master classification for everything. Very naive. They  
11 make a presentation to Customs. Customs sends them over to  
12 what is now the World Customs Organization in Brussels.

13                   The WCO--it was called the CCC, the Customs  
14 Cooperation Counsel originally, had the nomenclature,  
15 maintained the nomenclature that was used by the European  
16 communities to establish the common market. This work was  
17 done in the 1940s after the War. It was based on a League  
18 of Nations' nomenclature that was created in the 1930s.

19                   And it was maintained, and there were about 46  
20 signatories to it, and more countries used it, however. But  
21 it was old, and it was out-of-date. And it was not a big  
22 nomenclature, only about 1,000 categories.

23                   They wanted to in effect modernize it, and they  
24 wanted to expand the influence of the organization. So they  
25 greeted it. They wanted it. And they wanted the United

1 States in the game, the U.S., and Canada, and Australia were  
2 not yet in that game.

3 And they established a negotiation essentially in  
4 1973. In 1974, I firmly believe that Harry Lamar, who was  
5 Chief of Staff at the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade,  
6 after the markup session, walked into his office probably at  
7 ten o'clock at night and drafted Section 608 of the Tariff--  
8 of the Trade Act of 1974, requiring the Commission to  
9 undertake an investigation that would serve as the technical  
10 basis for developing the U.S. contribution to the Harmonized  
11 System effort, to ensure that U.S. business interests were  
12 recognized in the development of the Code.

13 And I was assigned to head that project. And  
14 Paul Jugierre and I, Paul was head of the delegation from  
15 Customs, walked into the lion's den in Brussels. Decisions  
16 are made by voting. You look at each line. You discuss  
17 proposals for that line, and subdivisions, and product  
18 subdivisions, and so forth. And what you find is that you  
19 vote. We had one vote. Canada had a vote. Japan had a  
20 vote. Australia, the European Union, the European community  
21 at the time, had a vote. The member states had a vote. And  
22 the European countries aligned with the EC all had a vote.  
23 Spain, Switzerland, the Nordics, usually Austria, although  
24 Austria agreed with us a lot.

25 We tried to modernize as much as we can, but the

1 great lesson that we learned basically was that you don't  
2 get what you want, you're lucky to get what you need. And  
3 we got what we need. We had an enormous amount of support  
4 from industry, and reasonably so I think because they had so  
5 much at stake here.

6 It took seven years for the technical work, and  
7 then a year for the umbrella agreement over that. And the--  
8 what I'm most proud of in fact was the fact that we were  
9 instrumental in proposing and getting what they call a  
10 Review Subcommittee. This is a special subcommittee under  
11 the Maintenance Committee designed with the authority to  
12 propose amendments to the Harmonized System to keep it  
13 abreast of trading patterns and technology. And in fact  
14 thousands of amendments have come into play as a result of  
15 their work.

16 So the United States, for example, originally had  
17 proposed a four-digit category for semiconductor  
18 manufacturing machines. That was not accepted at the time,  
19 but it has since been accepted. The same with products like  
20 high-tech ceramic materials, and more recently anti-malaria  
21 commodities.

22 HS had to go through five forums. After the WCO,  
23 it came back to the Commission. We had 19 months to prepare  
24 a tariff based on these new codes. That report was 11  
25 pounds. It included not only the nomenclature but

1 cross-references between the old and the new, the source of  
2 all the rates of duty, and so everybody could tell where  
3 their ox was being gored.

4 Finally, it was enacted May the 2nd, January  
5 1989. It was a 15-year effort. After it came to us, it  
6 went to USTR for a line-by-line review. Then they had to go  
7 to the WTO because we were changing a lot of rates by reason  
8 of simplifying the tariff as much as we could.

9 That submission had to include not only the new  
10 tariff--oh, running out of time--the new tariff, but also  
11 the top three suppliers of that rate, of that particular  
12 rate, and trade data for three years. That' submission  
13 weighed 110 pounds, and Terry O'Brien from Office of Tariff  
14 Affairs had a lot to do with that.

15 What are the benefits? We had always felt that  
16 if the EU, Europe, U.S., Canada, Japan, and Australia used  
17 the system, the rest of the world would follow. And in fact  
18 it has. Over 200 countries now are Harmonized System  
19 countries. Not all of them are signatories to the  
20 Agreement, but all of them follow it.

21 It facilitated, if not enabled, all of these 200  
22 Free Trade Agreements that you see. Because if you're not  
23 using the same system for tariffs, negotiations are really  
24 prolonged. In addition, we had U.S. imports and exports on  
25 the same system now. That's the first time. And we have a

1       promise from the Commerce Department to seek comparability  
2       with imports and exports with their output information, so  
3       you can more easily determine U.S. consumption of a product.

4               Finally, we have an agreement with Canada whereby  
5       U.S. exports to Canada are collected by the Canadian Customs  
6       in their system, and Canadian exports to the U.S. are  
7       collected by us. They use our import data for their export  
8       declarations, and vice versa for the U.S., eliminating over  
9       9 million documents a year, at least at that time.

10              The most important aspect of this, however, is  
11       for U.S. exporters. Here in the Commission you generally  
12       talk about imports, but exporters. Can you imagine, for  
13       example, what the traffic manager at Boeing Aircraft has to  
14       go through to send hundreds of thousands of airplane parts  
15       to over 100 countries? A hundred different tariffs. It's a  
16       mess. This simplifies their arrangement.

17              You also have some countries where it takes two  
18       to three weeks to process goods through Customs, and  
19       classification issues are frequently one of the major  
20       problems there. We're the world's largest exporter of  
21       perishable agricultural commodities. It's a really great  
22       boon to our export interests to have the world on the same  
23       system.

24              If I could take a minute and a half, there's  
25       something else I'd just like to mention about the Commission

1 and its work practices. Working in an independent agency in  
2 this town is a luxury, but it's also a responsibility. And  
3 I believe that the work practices of the Commission and the  
4 organization and the way the work is done really strikes at  
5 the soul of the place.

6           There is an organizational chart that shows who  
7 works for who. The fact of the matter is that work isn't  
8 necessarily done that way. When you have an investigation,  
9 you are calling on different offices. You're creating  
10 teams. If you have specific industry, more or less  
11 micro-economic analysis, you call on the Office of  
12 Industries for people. For macro, you call on the Office of  
13 Economics. You always get a lawyer from the General  
14 Counsel's Office to work on these.

15           So you create these teams. If you have a  
16 nomenclature problem with defining an investigation, you  
17 call on Tariff Affairs, and so forth. Executive liaison  
18 sometimes if you need help with international obligations.  
19 And that's how work is conducted.

20           It's a tribute I think to the reorganization  
21 under Chairman Leonard and the Commission at that time that  
22 the organization of the Commission has not changed in the  
23 last 38 years or so in any great degree, because it works so  
24 well, this kind of a matrix approach to the work.

25           In addition, the senior staffs of the Commission

1 staff always work as cooperatively as possible with one  
2 another, because the problem isn't people, the problem is  
3 the problem of that investigation.

4 In addition, when you do get an investigation you  
5 immediately set up essentially a little business plan in  
6 effect to handle it. You put an action jacket together for  
7 the Commissioners to sign. It involves understanding the  
8 requests, the nature of the investigation. It concerns  
9 creating a modus operandi to how you're going to do it. You  
10 identify the resources and you identify all of the  
11 milestones with dates so you're not going to miss statutory  
12 deadlines, and they don't.

13 So it works very well. And I think it should be  
14 indicated in the report, and I hope Paul writes it up that  
15 way. Thank you.

16 (Applause.)

17 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: All right. Thank you,  
18 Mr. Rosengarden. I would now like to ask Barbara Norton to  
19 give about five minutes in response, and then we will have  
20 Mr. Mason speak and we'll open up to questions. Thank you.

21 MS. NORTON: Thank you. And thank you very much  
22 for inviting me to come and participate in this birthday  
23 celebration today. It's great to see so many old friends  
24 and colleagues, former bosses, several former lawyers here.  
25 So I'm really enjoying it.

1                   I was asked to participate on this panel because  
2                   in 1982 when I was working in the Commission's Office of  
3                   Economics I was detailed over to USTR to assist in the  
4                   Executive Branch review of the conversion of the TSUS to the  
5                   Harmonized System.

6                   We got the conversion in June of 1983, and this  
7                   Executive Branch review went on for five years until 1988.  
8                   So it was a big job. And we had a lot of interagency  
9                   assistance during this period. USTR led the TPSC review of  
10                  the 11 pounds and the Concordance Tables. I think it was  
11                  8,000 tariff lines that we had to go through line by line at  
12                  the time.

13                  So we relied a lot on other people from the  
14                  Commission to help us out, as well as people from Commerce,  
15                  the Department of Agriculture, and Treasury/Customs.

16                  As Gene was mentioning, there were three phases  
17                  to this review. There was first the line-by-line review  
18                  undertaken by the Executive Branch of all of these tariff  
19                  lines.

20                  Secondly, we went to Geneva for intense Article  
21                  XXVIII negotiations with all of our GATT trading partners to  
22                  ensure that a balance of concessions was maintained with  
23                  each of the, both in respect of our tariff and then for us  
24                  in respect of their tariff conversions.

25                  And then thirdly, we had to do the implementing

1       legislation to implement the Harmonized Tariff Schedule in  
2       1988.

3               So after we received the conversion from the ITC  
4       in June of 1983, USTR published a Federal Register notice  
5       seeking industry comments on the conversion, and on the duty  
6       rates.

7               A lot of the comments that we received were from  
8       companies, industry people who were concerned that their  
9       product was going to have a duty increase in the Harmonized  
10      System. And even though we had these Concordance Tables  
11      that Gene mentioned, these were not public so we couldn't,  
12      you know, tell them, well, no, sorry, the ITC only told us 5  
13      percent of the TSUS-7 was going to this HS item. But we  
14      would just get a lot of concerns raised, and we'd have to go  
15      back and forth and study the classifications, and try to  
16      figure out whether in fact we needed to--the product was  
17      sufficiently important that we would need to create a new  
18      breakout to accommodate the old TSUS rate under the  
19      Harmonized System, or whether we in fact thought that the  
20      product would not be classified in the area where the  
21      industry was concerned that it would be.

22              There were also some concerns of course, not just  
23      about duty rates going up, or going down, but going the  
24      other way where there are occasionally, would be people who  
25      were importing things from other countries as inputs, and so

1 they, you know, wanted to make sure that their tariff rate  
2 wasn't going up, and that would have been a problem for  
3 their production processes.

4 So then the second phase of the negotiations  
5 began in 1985. After we completed the line-by-line review,  
6 we put together a draft Schedule 20 to table in Geneva, and  
7 we had to go over there and have many of the same types of  
8 discussions with our trading partners who would look at the  
9 items, look at the HS categories and raise concerns about  
10 products that they exported to the United States, and the  
11 possibility that the duty was going up on these items,  
12 particularly if they were one of the top three suppliers.

13 And so we would have to discuss with them whether  
14 the classification where they thought the item was going to  
15 be classified was in fact where we thought it was going to  
16 be classified, and determine whether they were correct, or  
17 we were correct, and whether we needed to make a new  
18 breakout to accommodate them.

19 Sometimes we would try to convince them that  
20 there were other areas in the Tariff Schedule where the rate  
21 was being lowered, and that would benefit them so therefore  
22 they were having, having a balance of concessions.

23 And at the same time that we were defending our  
24 own tariff conversion, we had to be analyzing the Tariff  
25 Schedules and the tariff conversions of all of our trading

1 partners to make sure that in fact our industries were being  
2 protected and would not suffer tariff increases abroad.

3 And this was, I think as Gene gave a flavor, a  
4 huge negotiation. We had stacks of papers. There wasn't  
5 much computer support back in those days, so we did a lot of  
6 it by hand, like little handwritten data entry sheets for  
7 every, you know, Japan, 85-42-10, what did they say?  
8 Different colors.

9 I just wanted to give a little bit of a shout-out  
10 to some of the people who helped us a lot during the  
11 process. And we had details from Commerce, Customs, and the  
12 ITC during these five years who helped us a lot with the  
13 process.

14 We had Joe Elbert from the Commission's Chemical  
15 Office who helped us with all the chemical chapters. None  
16 of us over at USTR knew very much about chemicals, and  
17 chemical nomenclature. We had Paul Gigeir and Homme Kapler  
18 who were both posted to USTR Geneva, one for a year and the  
19 other for two years, to help us out on all these  
20 classification questions that came up during the Article  
21 XXVIII negotiations.

22 We also had Andy Rollick who I saw here earlier  
23 today from the Commission's Computer Data Division. He was  
24 in Geneva, and he also spent time in USTR Washington helping  
25 us with statistical and other technical analysis, and also

1 Larry Butler who was an industry analyst at the Commission  
2 and he, along with Andy, had spent time in Geneva and at  
3 USTR Washington.

4 We also had two people full time from Commerce.  
5 Skip Jones, who is still at Commerce. He was in Geneva for  
6 several years, sort of like USTR Geneva person is now, but  
7 he was over there making sure that U.S. industry interests  
8 were protected. And, before him, Nancy Morgan.

9 Then just finally, the last issue is that after  
10 we finished the Article XXVIII negotiations and we had to  
11 begin preparing the implementing legislation, and this was a  
12 time when we benefitted particularly from the expertise of  
13 Bill Hart and Terry O'Brien, we had to table the new  
14 Schedule 20 in Geneva and also work with Congress on the  
15 implementing legislation.

16 And of course during the whole process, all three  
17 phases, Gene's office was always available to answer endless  
18 questions and requests that we received on how we determined  
19 that particular products should be classified in new HS  
20 categories, and how we determined the proposed Harmonized  
21 System Tariff Rates.

22 And just finally, I would say that I agree  
23 completely with Gene on all of the trade facilitation  
24 benefits that he mentioned. I had it on the import side, on  
25 the export side, as helping to facilitate negotiations and

1 for transport and shipping documents, as well as just  
2 overall uniformity and predictability in tariff  
3 classifications.

4 Thank you.

5 (Applause.)

6 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Thank you, Ms. Norton.  
7 And our last commenter will be Kenneth Mason, who is -- was  
8 formerly Secretary at the ITC.

9 MR. MASON: It seems I have the dubious honor of  
10 being the last speaker before lunch. I want to first put to  
11 rest a story I've heard a couple times. I was definitely  
12 not at the signing of the Tariff Act of 1930.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MR. MASON: I had a dentist appointment that day.

15 (Laughter.)

16 MR. MASON: I want to echo Gene's remarks  
17 regarding Bill Hart and Russ Schumacher. As many of you  
18 knew both of them, you'll understand this story.

19 When Russ passed away, one of the speakers at his  
20 funeral was Bill Hart, who pointed out that when you asked  
21 Russ what time it was, he proceeded to tell you how to make  
22 a watch, and what all the TSUS numbers applicable to the  
23 parts were provided for.

24 (Laughter.)

25 MR. MASON: I'm not going to get into the details

1 of the previous speakers. I went to the Commission in 1960.  
2 I was in the Agriculture Division -- Mr. Vice Chairman, you  
3 didn't see me. You were out of my -- I was out of your  
4 sight. I raised my hand. I know what a Hennie is.

5 (Laughter.)

6 MR. MASON: I was the analyst at the Agriculture  
7 Division for the first items in the HTS. So fortunately it  
8 was one of the simpler things to do. Everybody pretty much,  
9 with the exception of the Hennie, knew what cattle, sheep,  
10 hogs, and about the only controversy we had was whether to  
11 make a statistical breakout for imports of live worms.

12 (Laughter.)

13 MR. MASON: I don't know what you did with that.  
14 I also had the experience in 1963 of going to Geneva on an  
15 Article XXVIII team of about 20 people from various agencies  
16 to explain the change from the Tariff paragraphs and  
17 Schedule A numbers to the TSUSA numbers.

18 We spent three months there. I'm not sure we  
19 convinced anyone that we hadn't somehow abrogated all of our  
20 treaty obligations. And three years later I got to go back  
21 again to redo it with the Japanese. The fact that we go  
22 through it is close to a miracle.

23 With that, Mr. Vice Chairman, I will turn it back  
24 to you.

25 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Thank you, Mr. Mason, for

1 your comments.

2 (Applause.)

3 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: I am very impressed with  
4 your knowledge of Hennies.

5 (Laughter.)

6 VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: But I'm going to begin  
7 with a question. That is, we have heard today about the  
8 improvements made through the Harmonized Tariff System.  
9 Several speakers have touched upon that. And it is all that  
10 I've known in my career, and I've been happy with it.

11 That being said, how can it be improved?

12 MR. ROSENGARDEN: We're a little spoiled now in  
13 certain respects in that there is a mechanism in Brussels  
14 for improving the system. You have opportunities there.  
15 And there is an administrative framework for getting them  
16 implemented in this country.

17 We wanted to be able to change the tariff every  
18 couple of years, but we got outvoted because everyone has to  
19 go through the parliamentary procedures. It's painful. And  
20 so they decided on every five years.

21 One of the issues that I think you're interested  
22 in, too, is the accuracy of data. And generally rates are  
23 very low. I mean, I think the trade rate average now is  
24 probably about one percent, or one percent-and-a-fraction.  
25 Exchange rates differ more than that.

1                   And we did a report on accuracy a number of years  
2 ago, around 25 years ago now, and the results were pretty  
3 good. I don't know if they would still be good, but a  
4 self-initiated study on the accuracy of imports would  
5 certainly pinpoint some problems perhaps, and send a message  
6 to those agencies that collect the data, Customs  
7 particularly, Commerce, as to how good a job they're doing.

8                   But there is no really administrative or other  
9 legal mechanism for improving, as far as I know.

10                   VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Would anyone else like to  
11 comment on that?

12                   (No response.)

13                   VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: If so, let me know. If  
14 not, I'm wondering if the audience has any questions. We  
15 have a lot of experts out there. If you don't, I've got  
16 plenty of more.

17                   (No response.)

18                   VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: No one. This fascinating  
19 subject, which I love so much, isn't shared by everyone, I  
20 guess. But that's okay.

21                   Another question I have for you is, can you all  
22 discuss the attempts to bring new technology into the HTS?  
23 An example I know of is that most people in the room have  
24 mobile phones, or Smart Phones. How are they handled in the  
25 current HTS, given the constant change in technology?

1                   MR. ROSENGARDEN: I guess a phone is a phone,  
2                   whether it's wireless or not. The problem is, you're always  
3                   behind in this business. You can't ever catch up. You  
4                   don't know what's happening in the laboratory. If you go to  
5                   Brussels with a new product that's just on the market,  
6                   they'll tell you there's not enough trade to isolate it yet.  
7                   That's one of the problems. They want probably \$50 million  
8                   in world trade to isolate the good.

9                   So it is very difficult to keep up. Thankfully,  
10                  the rates are very low, so it may not be much significance  
11                  to it, unless you're going to do a study, and then you have  
12                  a problem.

13                  VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: Thank you, Mr.  
14                  Rosengarden. We do have one question from the audience. If  
15                  you could please introduce yourself and then ask your  
16                  question.

17                  CHAD HOUSTON: My name is Chad Houston  
18                  (off-microphone). Getting back to the issue of how you can  
19                  potentially improve upon data collection in the HTS, we've  
20                  noticed in sort of the economic research literature with the  
21                  global fragmentation of production and supply chains that  
22                  there is a growing disconnect between how, you know, we  
23                  record trade at the border which is gross flows, and what  
24                  really matters, which is value-added flows.

25                  So for those of you folks that are in charge of,

1       you know, kind of keeping track of the nomenclature, do you  
2       foresee a period down the line in which we actually might  
3       get data on value-added trade flows and stop having to use  
4       input/output techniques that us economists can come up with,  
5       but that are somewhat inaccurate in terms of trying to come  
6       up with the actual value-added numbers?

7                   MR. ROSENGARDEN: I have no idea.

8                   (Laughter.)

9                   MR. ROSENGARDEN: The problem, we did a lot of  
10       studies and were involved in the negotiation on the Rules of  
11       Origin, and some of our European friends wanted to use the  
12       value-added system for determining Origin. But the problem  
13       is, there are so many different techniques to valuation, and  
14       there are so many ways that companies want the profits over  
15       there, or they want the profits over here. A lot of  
16       related-party issues arise. It's very difficult to handle  
17       value, or value-added.

18                   VICE CHAIRMAN JOHANSON: All right. I think that  
19       our time is about expired. I appreciate you all being here  
20       today. I certainly thank the panelists for being here  
21       today. Once again, the HTS always raises a lot of questions  
22       in our minds. And once again, I was thumbing through it  
23       again yesterday and, going back to Chapter 1, I am going to  
24       leave you all with a question. That is: Why do live foxes  
25       have a relatively high tariff of 4.8 percent? And why are

1 live foxes not covered under GSP? Somebody has the answer.  
2 I can't figure out what it is.

3 And I will leave you all with that before we go  
4 to lunch. Thank you.

5 (Applause.)

6 MR. BARDOS: Okay, thank you. So we are now  
7 adjourning for lunch. Please come back at 1:10. Thank you.

8 (Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the meeting was  
9 recessed, to reconvene at 1:10 p.m., this same day.)

10

11 AFTERNOON SESSION

12 (1:10 p.m.)

13 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Good afternoon, everyone.

14 As I had noted earlier, a key element of the mission of the  
15 Commission is to investigate and make determinations in  
16 unfair trade cases. And given this role, it is appropriate  
17 that we hear from members of the courts that review our  
18 determinations.

19 You have already heard from Judge Prost, and I  
20 would now like to introduce Judge Leo Gordon of the Court of  
21 International Trade. As you know, all appeals of our  
22 determinations in Title VII cases go first to the CIT.

23 Judge Gordon has been on the CIT since 2006, and  
24 before that he was Clerk of the Court. As you can see from  
25 his bio, he has long and rich experience. It gives us

1 particular pleasure to welcome him from New York to come  
2 down and join us today for this event, and to say a few  
3 words.

4 Judge Gordon?

5 (Applause.)

6 JUDGE GORDON: You'll have to forgive me for one  
7 second. I'm trying to use the technology to the best of my  
8 ability.

9 Chairman Williamson, members of the Commission  
10 past and present, staff of the Commission, honored guests,  
11 ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed an honor and a privilege  
12 to be with you today and to share some brief remarks.

13 I bring you greetings and congratulations from  
14 the members of the United States Court of International  
15 Trade on the Centennial Celebration of the International  
16 Trade Commission.

17 One hundred years are truly an outstanding  
18 accomplishment, just not only as a testament to longevity  
19 but one based on a record of outstanding service, quality  
20 decision making, and commitment to our country.

21 As a brief aside, I am joined here today by the  
22 court's newest judge, the Honorable Jennifer Choe Groves.  
23 And if you have a chance, please take an opportunity later  
24 today to greet and welcome her to this wonderful trade  
25 community to which we all belong. Jennifer? Judge Choe

1 Groves.

2 (Applause.)

3 JUDGE GORDON: Judge Choe Groves and the rest of  
4 the court will soon be joined by Judge Gary Katzmann who  
5 will take the oath of office later this month. This will  
6 put us at a point where we have two of the four vacancies  
7 filled, which will be wonderful for not only the members of  
8 the court but the Bar because there will be more folks to  
9 share the load.

10 From its humble beginnings to today, the  
11 Commission has served a critical role in the development of  
12 and the administration and enforcement of the modern world's  
13 trade remedy laws.

14 As the entity responsible for the first level of  
15 review of injury decisions and dumping and countervailing  
16 duty cases, the court sees first-hand the professionalism,  
17 dedication, and commitment to excellence and the rule of law  
18 that the Commission brings to making complex decisions that  
19 are committed to the substantive province of the Commission.

20 Throughout the years, leastwise in the past 38  
21 years from my perspective first as a Hill staffer, then as a  
22 member of the staff of the Clerk's office of the Court of  
23 International Trade, and now as a judge, I have witnessed  
24 personally the cooperation of the Commission and its staff  
25 in making the litigation process meet the goals of US CIT

1 Rule One. Namely, the just, speedy, and cost-effective  
2 disposition of trade cases.

3 Additionally, the Commission and its staff have  
4 always been a willing partner to educate the court and the  
5 members of the Bar at the court's periodic judicial  
6 conferences and as a key constituent member of the court's  
7 planning and advisory committees. For this, the Commission  
8 and its staff has our appreciation and deepest thanks.

9 As the past is prologue, I can confidently say  
10 today that the Commission's first 100 years has provided a  
11 solid foundation for what all who have an interest in the  
12 work of the Commission expect will be a truly successful and  
13 accomplished next 100 years.

14 So on behalf of the court and our Bar, we again  
15 congratulate the Commission on its Centennial anniversary  
16 and wish it well in the days, months, and years to come.  
17 Thank you for your kind attention.

18 (Applause.)

19 MR. BARDOS: Thank you very much, Judge Gordon.  
20 The next panel will be on Import Injury and will be  
21 moderated by Commissioner Pinkert. So, please, if you would  
22 come up and take control.

23 COMMISSIONER PINKERT: As Alexander Haig once  
24 said, "I'm in control now."

25 (Laughter.)

1           COMMISSIONER PINKERT: We have a great panel to  
2 start off the afternoon, but I want to commend all of the  
3 speakers thus far, all the panelists, and Judge Gordon of  
4 course, for doing such a great job with the history of the  
5 ITC, with the Tariff Schedule, and so forth.

6           I learned about hennies this morning, which is  
7 perhaps a specialized field of knowledge, but very  
8 interesting. I learned about the 1920s and how fractious  
9 the Commission was at that time. And I can assure everybody  
10 in the audience that in my experience at the Commission over  
11 the past 10-some-odd years, that there's been tremendous  
12 collegiality among the Commissioners. That's partly just  
13 good fortune to have had such terrific colleagues over the  
14 past 10 years, and there's really a tradition of working  
15 together, communicating, and trying to express our  
16 disagreements in a constructive way when we have  
17 disagreements.

18           So I hope that continues over the next 100 years  
19 and that we don't repeat the 1920s, if possible.

20           Now to begin the session this afternoon, we are  
21 going to turn things over to Jim Lyons and Lynn Featherstone  
22 to talk about ADCBD. Jim Lyons is a former General Counsel  
23 of the U.S. International Trade Commission. He served in  
24 that capacity from December 2004 until July 2012, and was  
25 the Deputy General Counsel from 2001 to 2004.

1           He has practiced international trade law for more  
2 than 35 years, with an emphasis on trade remedy law and  
3 customs-related issues. After graduating from Georgetown  
4 University Law Center in 1977, he worked in the General  
5 Counsel's offices of the Departments of Treasury and  
6 Commerce, and he entered private practice in 1982 before  
7 returning to federal service.

8           From 1997 to 2001, he was Assistant General  
9 Counsel with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

10           Lynn Featherstone served as the Commission's  
11 Director of Investigations from 1988 until 2003 when he  
12 retired. Prior to that, he was Supervisory Investigator and  
13 Commodity Industry Analyst at the Commission. Between  
14 Undergraduate and graduate schools, he served two years as a  
15 captain and two as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

16           So Lynn and Jim, take it away.

17           MR. FEATHERSTONE. Thank you very much. It's  
18 good to be back. I appreciate the opportunity. Jim and I  
19 split the chapter on Import Injury, with him handling  
20 litigation and me handling the Commission's conduct of the  
21 investigations.

22           I'll kind of run through the sequential order of  
23 the chapter. First, the antidumping investigations, and I  
24 would refer any of those interested to the Commission's  
25 website where there is an antidumping and countervailing

1 duty handbook. It has lots of good information.

2           `The first Antidumping Act was actually the  
3 Revenue Act of 1916, which also established the Commission,  
4 but the Commission had no role in those cases which were  
5 adjudicative in nature.

6           The first antidumping law with administrative--  
7 with provisions for administrative determinations was the  
8 Antidumping Act of 1921, but the Commission still had no  
9 role in that until 1954 when an amendment tasked the agency  
10 with making injury determinations.

11           From then until 1979 when the Act was repealed,  
12 the Commission conducted 225 of those cases, and in those  
13 where it made a determination 46 percent were affirmative  
14 and 54 percent were negative.

15           Title VII was then added to the Tariff Act of  
16 1930 in 1979, which provided for antidumping investigations,  
17 and from then until 2014, the last year for which full data  
18 are available, the Commission conducted 1,257 of these  
19 cases, made affirmative determinations in 55 percent, and  
20 negative in 45 percent.

21           The first countervailing duty law was back in the  
22 1800s, 1890, that addressed only sugar. Then there was a  
23 Tariff Act in 1897 that extended coverage to all dutiable  
24 imports, but the Commission had no role until 1974 when the  
25 Trade Act of that year extended coverage to duty-free

1 imports subject to an injury determination by the  
2 Commission.

3 There were a few of these conducted. They were  
4 under Section 303 of the Tariff Act of 1930. And of 10  
5 determinations, it made an affirmative determination in one  
6 and negative in nine.

7 As I mentioned, Title VII also provided for  
8 countervailing duty investigations. And from its enactment  
9 in 1980 through 2014, there have been 545 countervailing  
10 duty cases, with the Commission making affirmative  
11 determinations in 44 percent, and negative in 56 percent.

12 There were also some other provisions, especially  
13 in 303, for countries that were not signatories. But there  
14 were again fewer of those cases.

15 Overall, Title VII cases since 1980 when it was  
16 enacted have resulted in affirmative determinations in 52  
17 percent and negative in 48 percent. So some change since  
18 those under the Antidumping Act, but maybe not significant.

19 Cases covering the largest volumes of imports  
20 included those on many steel products, software, lumber,  
21 minivans, shrimp, and wooden bedroom furniture. As of the  
22 end of last year, of 2015, there were a total of 328 Title  
23 VII Orders in place, 265 dumping, and 63 countervailing  
24 duty.

25 The next significant change in antidumping and

1       countervailing duty investigations came in 1995 when the  
2       Uruguay Rounds Agreement Act required reviews of all orders  
3       currently in place, and all new orders five years after they  
4       were issued.

5                 Since then, the Commission has voted to not  
6       revoke the orders in 83 percent of the cases on which it  
7       made the determination, and to revoke them in 17. There's a  
8       significant number of those that are terminated or suspended  
9       by Commerce that affects those numbers.

10                The Commission always uses a team to conduct  
11       investigations, although the makeup of that has changed some  
12       over time. Caseload expanded sharply after Title VII was  
13       passed in 1980, and investigators were added to work on each  
14       case. There were more structured report outlines, notices,  
15       standardized questionnaires developed that made it easier on  
16       us and, hopefully, easier on practitioners to understand  
17       what was coming up.

18                The Commission also delegated responsibility for  
19       conducting but not making determinations in dumping and  
20       subsidy cases to the staff up to the point of the  
21       preliminary determination. We also had staff conferences  
22       rather than full Commission hearings.

23                I'd be happy to answer any questions after the  
24       other panelists, but, Jim?

25                (Applause.)

1           MR. LYONS: Let me start off by just saying how  
2 honored I am to join in this tribute to the Commission's  
3 hundredth anniversary. During my career I wore hats at a  
4 lot of different places, and had the opportunity to work  
5 with many people at the Commission. And the one thing that  
6 I appreciate, much like I know many of you do as well, is  
7 just how talented and dedicated the civil servants are at  
8 the Commission. They are a joy to work with, and I miss the  
9 camaraderie very deeply.

10           But that's not what I'm here to talk about today.  
11 Today I'm here to talk about how did we get here, in terms  
12 of the litigation workload and the composition of the  
13 workload before the Commission on the litigation side of the  
14 equation.

15           And from my perspective, there was a dramatic  
16 change that accompanied the Tokyo Round Agreements Act, and  
17 then the Uruguay Round Agreements Act, as Lynn said, in 1979  
18 and 1995 respectively.

19           Those two Acts implementing the Agreements made a  
20 far and wide reaching change to the processes that the  
21 different trade agencies undertook in their various  
22 investigations.

23           For the very first time, there were time limits  
24 at a whole sequence of different stages. There were  
25 different factors to consider. There were different

1 processes, and there were important aspects of transparency  
2 which had not existed before.

3 Before the 1979 Act, for example, there was no  
4 access to confidential information by private parties  
5 participating in investigations. Afterwards, through the  
6 administrative protective order process that type of  
7 confidential information became available. There was far  
8 more detailed opportunities for disclosure.

9 And those things, combined with some of the  
10 changes that I think also accompanied in accord, at the same  
11 time led to just a snowballing in terms of the amount of  
12 litigation in which the Commission was involved.

13 Almost simultaneous with the statutory changes  
14 that affected the Commission, there were also changes that  
15 were made in the nature of judicial review. The 1980  
16 Customs Court Act established the Court of International  
17 Trade. It gave it powers and clarified the disputes over  
18 proper jurisdiction which had existed prior to that.

19 Prior to that, many litigants found themselves  
20 very uncertain. Where do I bring my action? Do I bring it  
21 before the Customs Court? Do I bring it to a local federal  
22 district court? The Customs Court Act clarified that,  
23 making it clear that the Court of International Trade was  
24 the place to bring your action if you were challenging a  
25 Commission or Commerce determination.

1           Not long after that, there was a major change  
2           creating the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. Roughly  
3           speaking, I think it was 1985-1986, that court came into  
4           being creating new responsibilities for that court, and  
5           additional oversight with regard to review of Commission  
6           determinations.

7           So if we look at the timeframe, roughly spanning  
8           from the 1979 Trade Agreements Act through the Uruguay Round  
9           Agreements Act of 1995, that 15-year period probably saw  
10          almost the quadrupling of the caseload coming to the  
11          Commission involving challenges before the respective  
12          courts.

13          So what has that meant? There have been a lot of  
14          questions as to has this resulted in an improvement in the  
15          processes of the Commission? Or not? I'm not going to try  
16          to answer that question today. It certainly has made for, I  
17          think more thorough investigations. When you have a  
18          spotlight shone on you like we have here, you're going to be  
19          pretty liable to take additional steps in terms of what are  
20          you looking at?

21          There are additional factors to be considered  
22          that the statute expressed for the very first time that had  
23          to be pursued in an investigation.

24          So the complexity, there's no question of the  
25          complexity of investigations included after those milestones

1 in the statutory changes. That also led to a significant  
2 increase in the administrative actions of investigations, as  
3 the number of petitions multiplied several fold.

4 I don't have the statistics, but I think Lynn  
5 referred to a number of them in terms of the significant  
6 growth in the number of investigations. And you have the  
7 commensurate increase in the challenges that are brought to  
8 the respective courts, that also being a function of the  
9 sums of money involved in these cases. As you all know,  
10 cases like the software and lumber case, the steel cases,  
11 and many others, involved very significant monetary  
12 interests for parties. And it seems like when there are  
13 large sums of money at stake, there's a way to try to  
14 protect that.

15 And particularly at the Commission where you have  
16 binary decisions, there's a loser and there's a winner.  
17 There's not somebody that half wins in a case or half loses  
18 in the case. So that from my perspective also increases the  
19 motivation for people to try to challenge to find that  
20 error, that overlooked piece of data to try to bring it  
21 before a court and have a court review it.

22 Having said that, I think the Commission has had  
23 a remarkable record in terms of its ability to sustain a  
24 determination, which I think comes back to the time spent by  
25 Commissioners and the staff doing these cases.

1           Obviously every result doesn't please everybody,  
2 otherwise you wouldn't be in litigation. But I think the  
3 fact that so many of the decisions of the Commission have  
4 been sustained over time is a credit to it, and also as  
5 other litigants on the other side of the table would say:  
6 It's the standard of review. And the standard of review in  
7 these cases does give the Commission a head start. It is  
8 somewhat preferential. The courts reviewing these decisions  
9 are not going to put themselves in place of the Commission.  
10 They are going to take a look and see whether the Commission  
11 acted in accordance with the law, whether the determination  
12 is supported by substantial evidence, but they're not acting  
13 as a seventh commissioner.

14           So I think my time is up, so let me stop there.  
15 Thank you.

16           (Applause.)

17           COMMISSIONER PINKERT: Thank you, Jim, and Lynn.  
18 Now we're going to turn to safeguards, and Professor Kara  
19 Reynolds will be talking to us about that. She's a  
20 Professor of Economics at American University. Her research  
21 focuses on the intersection of politics and international  
22 trade policy, as well as the economic consequences of trade  
23 protection. She has published research in leading academic  
24 journals such as *The Journal of International Economics*, *The*  
25 *Canadian Journal of Economics*, and *Contemporary Economic*

1 Policy.

2 Professor Reynolds?

3 PROFESSOR REYNOLDS: Thank you. One aspect of my  
4 bio that wasn't mentioned is that I also spent two summers  
5 as an intern at the Commission. So I would like to put in a  
6 plug for what a wonderful training ground the Commission is  
7 for economists.

8 So safeguard investigations are the other form of  
9 import injury investigations undertaken by the Commission.  
10 And given that it has been nearly 15 years since the  
11 Commission has undertaken a global safeguards investigation,  
12 I wanted to highlight some of the distances between  
13 safeguards and antidumping.

14 While some of that is the same, there are some  
15 very important differences.

16 Safeguards are the only remedies that can be  
17 applied to fairly traded imports. So they are essentially  
18 serving as a safety net for U.S. industries who are  
19 struggling in the face of increased import competition.

20 As the name implies, they're typically imposed on  
21 a near-global basis. And while the injury determinations  
22 undertaken by the Commission are similar, the threshold for  
23 making that injury determination is actually stronger in the  
24 safeguard investigation.

25 So under a safeguard investigation, increased

1 imports have to be a substantial factor causing or  
2 threatening to cause serious injury. And so this is in  
3 contrast to the material injury standard of antidumping  
4 investigations. And both in the legislative history and  
5 legally, meeting that serious injury threshold is supposed  
6 to be harder than meeting the material injury threshold.

7 Now when the Commission makes an affirmative  
8 determination, they also propose to the President what forms  
9 of protection, whether it be tariffs, quotas, or tariff rate  
10 quotas, can help remedy the injury. But it's ultimately up  
11 to the President as to whether that safeguard protection  
12 should be imposed. And there's plenty of cases in history  
13 where the President has opted not to undertake the  
14 Commission's recommendation because the President did not  
15 feel it was in the public interest, and may recommend other  
16 forms of remedy.

17 To give a little bit of historical context of how  
18 we got to today, the first safeguard, or sometimes they're  
19 called "escape clause" provision appeared in the 1942  
20 U.S.-Mexico Trade Agreement. And just three years later in  
21 the 1945, President Truman signed an Executive Order  
22 requiring that all U.S. trade agreements include an escape  
23 clause provision. And so it was under this Executive Order  
24 that the U.S. pressured the first GATT Agreement to also  
25 include a safeguard provision.

1           The first formal legislation in the United States  
2 that really documented how an industry would go about giving  
3 safeguard protection, it gave the Commission the ability to  
4 undertake these investigations, was the Trade Agreement  
5 Extension Act of 1951.

6           Under this initial law, safeguards could only be  
7 awarded to products that had been awarded a tariff  
8 concession in a recent trade agreement. So that differs  
9 from today. I was surprised because I knew how little  
10 safeguard actions had been taken recently, that when you  
11 look at the early history there were actually quite a few  
12 petitions filed under the safeguard law. So between 1951  
13 and 1962 under this first legislation, there was  
14 approximately 10 petitions filed each year.

15           Now a lot of those didn't go forward to a full  
16 investigation. The Commission decided to dismiss them  
17 because there wasn't a good and sufficient reason to launch  
18 a full-scale investigation.

19           So out of the 135 petitions that were filed  
20 during this first 11-year time period, the Commission  
21 recommended action in 33 cases. And then the President  
22 imposed protection 15 times.

23           In the early 1960s, there was a feeling amongst  
24 some policymakers that it was almost unseemly for the United  
25 States to be promoting escape clauses or safeguard

1 protection; that we would be encouraging our trading  
2 partners to renege on some of their own agreements with the  
3 United States.

4 And so the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, in terms  
5 of the safeguard protection, was really designed to limit  
6 the ability of U.S. industries to be awarded safeguard  
7 protection. So it tightened some of those restrictions.

8 The two most prominent changes that they made is  
9 that the Commission had to show a direct correlation between  
10 the tariff concession made and the increase in imports.  
11 Also, the substantial cause, which today is understood to be  
12 no less important than any other cause, was changed to a  
13 major factor. So it considered a higher threshold to meet  
14 that injury determination.

15 Not surprisingly, perhaps, under the 12 years of  
16 this piece of legislation there were actually only 30  
17 petitions filed. So industries understood, perhaps, that it  
18 would be highly unlikely for them to be awarded protection  
19 under the current safeguard legislation. Only five of those  
20 petitions during that time period actually resulted in some  
21 form of safeguard protection.

22 So then you get to the early 1970s and there's  
23 really a feeling that we swung too hard in the other way.  
24 Legislation, the legislative history when you look at the  
25 Trade Act of 1974, you read through Congressional

1 statements, it said the 1962 law has proven to be an  
2 inadequate mechanism for providing relief to domestic  
3 industries. So there was a specific effort to loosen those  
4 restrictions and make it easier for industries to get  
5 safeguard protection.

6 They returned to the "substantial threshold" that  
7 was in the original legislation, and perhaps most  
8 importantly you no longer had to tie the increase in imports  
9 to specific tariff concessions. So now it was enough to  
10 just say there's been this surge in imports that have caused  
11 this serious injury.

12 And this is essentially the same legislation,  
13 with some minor changes, that still governs safeguard  
14 legislation today.

15 So after the passage of this law, you did see a  
16 spike in the number of petitions between 1974 and 1977, but  
17 actually very few of those petitions actually resulted in  
18 protection. And so you saw the number of petitions filed  
19 actually drop off. So since 1974, the Commission has  
20 conducted just 73 global safeguard investigations through  
21 2015, and the last safeguard, full-scale safeguard  
22 investigation was in 2002, and that was with the steel  
23 safeguards. There was a petition that was filed last year  
24 in aluminum that was withdrawn, that didn't proceed to a  
25 full investigation.

1           So one of the questions to ask is: Why are there  
2           so few safeguard investigations compared to other forms of  
3           trade remedies like antidumping and countervailing duty?  
4           It's likely partly due to the higher standards: the serious  
5           injury versus the material injury clause.

6           There's limited periods of protection under  
7           safeguard, so right now you can get safeguard protection for  
8           four years, and possibly extend it for another four years,  
9           but especially historically the antidumping and  
10          countervailing duty actions would be in place for much  
11          longer.

12          And then there is this uncertainty of  
13          Presidential action. It's an inherently more political  
14          process because of the way the safeguard actions are  
15          imposed.

16          I think it is important to note that it is also  
17          relatively rare amongst our WTO trading partners. So since  
18          the Uruguay Round, the WTO members have imposed safeguard  
19          protection 155 times. The U.S. accounted for about 3  
20          percent of those, but that's compared to more than, as Lynn  
21          was mentioning, more than 3,000 antidumping actions being  
22          taken under the WTO.

23          So to conclude my time, I just wanted to mention  
24          how U.S. safeguard kind of fits in with WTO law. The United  
25          States urged for there to be an escape clause in the

1 original GATT language, and so the original GATT language  
2 very much mirrored U.S. legislation and really wasn't  
3 changed until the 1995 Uruguay Round, at which time the  
4 United States also made some modifications to their  
5 safeguard legislation to match what was passed in the  
6 Uruguay Round.

7           Since the Uruguay Round, the United States has  
8 imposed safeguard protections six times. And each of those  
9 have been challenged at the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.  
10 And the Dispute Settlement Body has found that we violated  
11 the WTO Agreement in each of those cases.

12           So each case has differed somewhat, but one  
13 violation that commonly comes up in these WTO disputes is  
14 this concept of, words that I find very difficult to say,  
15 parallelism, where the idea is that you have an option when  
16 you're undertaking a safeguard investigation looking at the  
17 imports. You can look at all imports and what impact it  
18 has, or you can look at a subset of imports, so potentially  
19 excluding your free trade agreement partners, for example.

20           But what early dispute settlement cases, the  
21 appellate bodies have said, and this was in particular a  
22 case, an Argentinian case, their safeguard action, is that  
23 there has to be some parallel. So that if you look at all  
24 imports in your injury investigation and the safeguard  
25 action has to be imposed on all imports. And oftentimes

1 when Presidential action has been taken, our Free Trade  
2 Agreement partners have been excluded from that safeguard  
3 action. And that is what the WTO has taken action with.

4 The Appellate Body has seemed to give some wiggle  
5 room saying that there can be a gap between the imports  
6 considered in the investigation and those covered by the  
7 measure if the WTO member can establish that only the  
8 imports of the countries covered by the measure caused or  
9 threatened to cause serious injury. But it doesn't appear  
10 that countries have found out a way to prove that to the  
11 Appellate Body.

12 Thank you.

13 (Applause.)

14 COMMISSIONER PINKERT: This next chapter that  
15 we're going to talk about is probably my personal favorite.  
16 It's the reflections of members of the Trade Bar. I urge  
17 everybody to dig into that and learn about how litigants  
18 used to roam the halls of the ITC and chat up whomever they  
19 could. I found it very interesting.

20 The two authors of the chapter are Professor  
21 Eckes, whom you've already met, and Mr. Terry Stewart,  
22 Terence Stewart, who is the managing partner of the Law  
23 Offices of Stewart & Stewart.

24 Mr. Stewart has a B.A. from the College of The  
25 Holy Cross, an MBA from Harvard University, and an LLM from

1 Georgetown University Law School. He was an Adjunct  
2 Professor at Georgetown Law from 1995 to 2012, teaching  
3 courses on the GATT and the WTO. His practice focuses on  
4 international trade, notably trade remedies, where he's a  
5 frequent visitor to the ITC, although I don't see him  
6 roaming the halls very much, including antidumping,  
7 countervailing duty, and safeguard escape clause cases, as  
8 well as WTO and FTA negotiations and dispute settlement.

9 So, Professor Eckes and Mr. Stewart.

10 PROFESSOR ECKES: Thank you, Commissioner. I will  
11 be brief and introduce my colleague, but I want to provide a  
12 background for this chapter. Back in September of 1995, the  
13 late Bruce Clubb, a former Commissioner and lawyer at Baker  
14 & McKenzie, suggested establishing a USITC Historical  
15 Society modeled after the Supreme Court Historical Society.

16 The purpose was to encourage study of the  
17 Commission and its predecessor agency, and to heighten  
18 awareness of the history of the Nation's trade policies,  
19 laws, and administration.

20 In several of our meetings, the Board agreed to  
21 pursue a program of collecting oral histories, and initially  
22 it invited Noel Hemmendinger, Eugene Stewart, both  
23 practitioners, and Charles Irvin of the Commission staff, to  
24 share their comments and perceptions.

25 The results were to be deposited in the ITC

1 library and made available to other facilities and scholars.  
2 Bruce Clubb did the initial interview with Noel  
3 Hemmendinger, a lawyer who represented Japanese clients  
4 since the early 1950s. I interviewed Eugene Stewart, who  
5 represented domestic industries over the same period.

6 As we sought to update that project for this  
7 volume, Terry Stewart agreed to conduct several additional  
8 interviews with Joseph Dorn and Richard Cunningham, and from  
9 that record we have then about the perceptions of about six  
10 practitioners offering reflections from the Trade Bar over  
11 an extended period of time that begins in the 1950s.

12 Several themes emerged. One was the openness and  
13 informality of the Commission in its early years. Eugene  
14 Stewart, for example, noted that practice before the  
15 Commission in its early years was more satisfying from the  
16 point of view of petitioners, witnesses, and counsel than in  
17 later years.

18 In the earlier years he said Commissioners gave  
19 abundant time to counsel and witnesses in presenting their  
20 cases. He added that one could simply call at a  
21 Commissioner's office with or without an appointment, be  
22 ushered into the office and invited to sit down and talk  
23 about the case. He said there was nothing untoward about  
24 such discussions because all counsel had the same  
25 opportunity, should they select it.

1           Noel Hemmendinger, who represented importers,  
2           also praised the relative openness and informality of the  
3           proceedings and the opportunity of counsel to cross-examine  
4           witnesses at length.

5           He recalled at Christmas time he would take a box  
6           of candy to the Secretary's office and go around to the  
7           Commissioners' offices and extend his holiday greetings. I  
8           don't know what happened to the candy. Maybe Ken Mason ate  
9           it  
10          all ---

11                           (Laughter.)

12           PROFESSOR ECKES: -- or possibly Bill Allberger  
13           and Bill Leonard, who served on the Commission before rules  
14           changed.

15           Our interviews also turned up much praise for the  
16           Commission's staff, including those in the Secretary's  
17           office, the General Counsel's office, and especially the  
18           Office of Investigations. We include many names in the  
19           chapter that will be in the final published volume.

20           I now want to invite Terry Stewart to offer some  
21           comments about recent practice before the Commission.  
22           Incidentally, Terry and his father, Eugene, have the  
23           distinction of having practiced before the Commission in  
24           nearly two-thirds of its first 100 years. If there is an  
25           institutional memory on the outside, it's Terry Stewart.

1 (Applause.)

2 MR. STEWART: Thanks, Al.

3 I'm going to take a second, because I've had the  
4 privilege in my career to be both involved in both Bar  
5 Associations at the cases before the Commission get appealed  
6 to, and had the privilege of serving of president of each of  
7 those associations, to offer a spontaneous congratulations  
8 from both Bar Associations to the Commission on its 100  
9 years.

10 Obviously for practitioners, the agencies we  
11 appear before are critical. And we thank the great patience  
12 that the Commission and its staff takes with all of us who  
13 appear in cases, as has been said, that are important.

14 The project that Professor Eckes and I had the  
15 opportunity to do is really a reflection on the evolution of  
16 practice at the Commission. He's mentioned a couple of the  
17 issues. The informality of the process versus the much more  
18 formal process, which also dealt with time limits and,  
19 interestingly, Joe Dorn in his comments reflected on the  
20 fact that the Commission used to do a lot more field  
21 hearings, which gives you an opportunity in fragmented cases  
22 in particular to get out and get a broader audience.

23 Now 2,000 steel cases, the 201 case there, did in  
24 fact have field hearings out in Indiana so that workers  
25 would have an opportunity to be heard by the Commission, and

1 that was helpful.

2 I took away from the chapter that Al and I did an  
3 interesting concept that for most of the practitioners who  
4 were interviewed practicing international trade law had not  
5 been what they had started out to do, and that in fact they  
6 basically fell into it. I know from my Dad, my Dad I think  
7 had wanted to be a criminal defense lawyer when he was  
8 college, but ended up parking at what was the predecessor  
9 court to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit,  
10 Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, which dealt with both  
11 customs and patents, and he ended up doing customs and trade  
12 work for the bulk of his career.

13 But the same was true of Dick Cunningham, who had  
14 no intention to be an international trade lawyer, but ended  
15 up getting the opportunity to do a major antidumping case at  
16 Steptoe, and then Joe Dorn got a call from a partner in  
17 Atlanta about whether there was any trade remedies  
18 available. He had never taken a course, but found out that  
19 there was a law called The Trade Act of 1974, and there was  
20 a provision called "The Safeguard."

21 For my Dad and for Noel Hemmendinger and for Joe  
22 Dorn, their initial cases that they did in this area were  
23 all safeguards. I doubt you could find a practitioner in  
24 the last 20 years for whom that would be a true statement  
25 today.

1           Al mentioned the very high regard for both  
2           Commissioners and the Commission staff. That was reflected  
3           by all of the interviews, and I think for those of us who  
4           practice today there's still an extraordinarily high regard  
5           for the Commission staff.

6           I think the difference in level of access to  
7           staff today versus when I started back in the late '70s is  
8           noticeable. It doesn't detract from the quality of the  
9           staff, but it does I think affect the relationship between  
10          the practitioners and the Commission staff in terms of both  
11          the understanding. If you read our chapter, you will see  
12          that Joe got an enormous amount of help from Ken Mason and I  
13          think from Lynn and from others from when he started his  
14          practice.

15          The opportunity to kind of get into the field  
16          really has a lot to do with your access to the people who  
17          are the decision makers, or who are the fact finders at the  
18          agency. So that it is I think both a tribute to the  
19          Commission and its staff that the high quality has been  
20          maintained over the 100 years and perhaps a bit of wistful  
21          thinking on the part of practitioners that the same level of  
22          access isn't true today.

23          The '79 Act and the move to a formal  
24          administrative record, APR access, judicial review, dealing  
25          with two levels of court review and also potential WTO cases

1 obviously has changed the nature of the practice, and has  
2 changed I think the quality of the information.

3 The practitioners would say it has also changed  
4 who appears before you. You went from a relatively small  
5 group of boutique firms, not in all cases but in many cases,  
6 to much larger firm involvement, use of economic consults to  
7 a much greater degree, and obviously much greater depth in  
8 the decisions that are made by the Commission, the records  
9 that are presented by the parties, et cetera.

10 Finally, the chapter looks at a couple of cases  
11 on which parties had, practitioners had comments, the first  
12 of which was the 1980 Auto Case. What was interesting about  
13 that was that you had views both from my Dad who represented  
14 the UAW in that case, and from Noel Hemmendinger who had  
15 been representing some of the Japanese in the case, that the  
16 decision had gone the wrong way and that it had  
17 repercussions.

18 And what comes out of both those cases that are  
19 identified, the '80 case and the '82 steel trade remedy  
20 cases and the '84 steel 201 case, was that in those days the  
21 U.S. had flexibility. There wasn't yet the Safeguard  
22 Agreements in the WTO which bans the VERs and VRAs, and  
23 hence governments could reach political solutions that were  
24 important to the economic development and the economic  
25 progress of the country under the trade rules.

1           That is no longer possible. And it was  
2 interesting that the reflections of parties on both sides  
3 viewed that as a significant loss.

4           So with that, I'll stop. Thank you.

5           (Applause.)

6           COMMISSIONER PINKERT: We have two reviewers,  
7 Professor Chad Brown and Ken Mason. You've already met Ken.  
8 Professor Chad Brown is a Senior Fellow with the Peterson  
9 Institute for International Economics in Washington, D.C.,  
10 and a Research Fellow at CEPR in London. He is formerly a  
11 tenured Professor of Economics at Brandeis University, and  
12 served as Senior Economist for International Trade and  
13 Investment in the White House on the President's Council of  
14 Economic Advisers.

15           He spent a year in residence as a visiting  
16 scholar in economic research at the WTO Secretariat in  
17 Geneva, and most recently he was a lead economist at the  
18 World Bank conducting research and advising governments in  
19 developing countries on international trade policy.

20           So let's start with Professor Brown.

21           (Applause.)

22           PROFESSOR BROWN: So like everybody else, I want  
23 to offer my congratulations to the Commission, and for the  
24 tremendous honor to be here.

25           So my name is Chad Brown and I'm at Peterson, but

1 basically think of me as just kind of an academic. I've  
2 never worked at the ITC, as much as I might have liked to.  
3 I testified before the ITC once about 12 years ago.

4 I did get the opportunity to work very closely  
5 with ITC staff when I was at the White House, at CEA, and I  
6 found that a very valuable experience with the tremendously  
7 important analytical work that gets done.

8 But today I want to talk about trade remedies.  
9 And if there's one thing that, if any of you would have  
10 heard of me and how I've built a career in academic  
11 research, it's my studying of what it is that you guys  
12 actually do here.

13 So what have I done? Well, the main thing that I  
14 have spent the last 10 years or so doing, before I came to  
15 Peterson this summer, was to build something that was called  
16 at the time initially the Global Antidumping Database, if  
17 you've heard of it.

18 So back in the early 2000s there had been a lot  
19 of research on the U.S. and use of antidumping and what the  
20 ITC was doing, and what Commerce was doing, done by some of  
21 my wonderful colleagues out there in the crowd, Professor  
22 Irwin, Professor Moore, Professor Prusa, Professor Reynolds,  
23 but what we noticed was, hey, there were all these  
24 developing countries especially that were starting to use  
25 antidumping, and nobody was studying it yet.

1           And part of that, we thought, was because of  
2 data. And so I went to the World Bank and brought this to  
3 their attention and said, you know, you guys at the World  
4 Bank should start collecting data on this. I was still an  
5 academic at the time in Boston. And my wonderful friends at  
6 the Bank said that sounds like a great idea, why don't you  
7 do it?

8           So they gave me a little bit of money to go out  
9 and hire research assistants, and then I got sucked into  
10 that endeavor for the next 10, 11, 12 years of my life. And  
11 it's turned out I think to be important because, you know,  
12 the major users of trade remedies now. So we no longer call  
13 it just the Antidumping Database anymore, out of recognition  
14 that also CBDs are important, and safeguards are important,  
15 but we couldn't call it The Trade Remedies Database of  
16 course because our friends in Europe don't call this stuff  
17 "trade remedies," they call it "trade defense instruments,"  
18 so we had to come up with a different name.

19           And then we thought, well, you know, there's this  
20 sunset review process, as well, so maybe we should call this  
21 the temporary trade barriers database. Now some people  
22 forget about the sunset review process, but I guess that's  
23 another story.

24           So Temporary Trade Barriers Database. But it's  
25 from that perspective that I wanted to give my two cents

1 about the ITCl And the perspective that bring here is, the  
2 determination of public policy is increasingly reliant on  
3 economic evidence.

4 In order to create economic evidence, we need  
5 data. The model that you have established here at the ITC  
6 is incredibly impressive, and I say this from the  
7 perspective of a data collector. When I went out and  
8 started to collect data on what other countries were doing  
9 in terms of their antidumping, CBD use, safeguard use, it  
10 was shocking. It was easy to see what it is that we do here  
11 in the United States, but pushing this model that we have in  
12 the United States on transparency out there in the world has  
13 been a slog.

14 And so I remember when we first tried to collect  
15 data, for example, on India's use of antidumping, they had a  
16 seven-page injury report or something like this. It was  
17 just shocking. And you guys' is very lengthy. So you can  
18 just imagine how much detail that they actually undertake.

19 The motivation for why this is important of  
20 course is the policymakers and politicians like to run  
21 around and tell you statistics like exports are important.  
22 Why? Because 95 percent of the world's consumers live  
23 outside of the United States, right? Well, we're  
24 increasingly seeing that with trade remedies, as well. An  
25 increasing majority of trade remedy use is happening outside

1 of the United States and it is increasingly affecting U.S.  
2 exporters, and so it's sort of pushing the model that you  
3 have developed here in terms of rigor and transparency.

4 It is increasingly important to understand and to  
5 be able to convince policymakers as analysts that there are  
6 potentially benefits but also costs to some of the policies  
7 that they undertake. They can be distributional effects, as  
8 well.

9 But in order to do that analysis, we need  
10 reliable data. And so being able to take the model of  
11 transparency that you have here and bring it to other  
12 countries as well is I think a testament to the way you run  
13 your shop here.

14 So to conclude, I know that transparency gets you  
15 into hot water at times because it's really easy to nitpick  
16 what it is that you do because you are so transparent, but  
17 it is important. And I remember this also from working in  
18 government. In the TPST Committee meetings especially, it  
19 is frequently a desire to worry about our defensive  
20 interests. You know, in particular saying, well, let's not  
21 raise that at the WTO, or let's not bring this potential  
22 action to the WTO because we do a little bit of the same  
23 stuff here. But what I'm seeing out there in the data is  
24 what other countries are doing is so less transparent and is  
25 so much worse that we can give a little bit in terms of our

1 defensive interests because we have a whole lot of offensive  
2 interesting stuff out there as well.

3 That's a small nitpick. My main point is to just  
4 say congratulations, and thank you for being the beacon of  
5 light. And it's not only the domestic context that we've  
6 talked about that's been the focus of both this morning and  
7 much of the panel so far here, but from the outside world as  
8 well. The job that you all do and the transparency with  
9 which you do the job is an important model for the rest of  
10 the world to follow. So please keep it up.

11 Thank you.

12 (Applause.)

13 MR. MASON: My remarks in this area are going to  
14 be quite different from my distinguished colleagues. I am  
15 not a lawyer, never been a lawyer, never went to law school,  
16 but I got into a job that put me in constant contact with  
17 lawyers. I've gained a lot of respect, and it was a blast  
18 for 22 years to watch them do their thing.

19 Much has been--oh, by the way, we did not eat all  
20 the candy.

21 (Laughter.)

22 MR. MASON: We had help from a certain Vice  
23 Chairman who you can probably figure out who it was.

24 (Laughter.)

25 MR. MASON: When I became Secretary in 1960,

1 transparency was a--never used it as a word. The staff in a  
2 dumping case would write up a staff report, send it to the  
3 Commissioners. The Commissioners would meet in closed  
4 session, decide the case. We had it locked up in my office  
5 until day of release. What was published was a very thin  
6 little publication. It was just the opinions. There was no  
7 background, no staff report; it was so small that when we  
8 sent our records to archives you could put in one box four,  
9 maybe five dumping cases.

10 Then came the Trade Act of '74, making all of our  
11 proceedings on the record. After that, we put four boxes  
12 for one case.

13 (Laughter.)

14 MR. MASON: The record obviously is an important  
15 tool of the participants, so we have a confidential version.  
16 The APO has been mentioned. And there's a public version.  
17 I don't know about the investigative staff or the  
18 Commissioners. This has caused a drastic increase in the  
19 number of pages of paper in my office, but I think it served  
20 a purpose.

21 We also had an Act called The Government in the  
22 Sunshine Act. Under that, what used to be a private meeting  
23 of the Commissioners and myself and, on invitation, members  
24 of the staff. Some cases, the Commissioners felt no need to  
25 call in the staff, but if they had questions they called

1       them in.

2                     Under The Government in the Sunshine Act, we had  
3       to do things like announce the agenda a week in advance. It  
4       was always an open meeting, unless certain criteria were  
5       met. You couldn't add something to the agenda just before  
6       the meeting, which was frequently done before.

7                     And for many things you had to have the sign-off  
8       of the General Counsel that we were doing something legal,  
9       which involved at times people running around looking for  
10      Lynn Schlitt, the General Counsel, so she could certify that  
11      we were all legal.

12                    From my perspective sitting in the meetings in  
13      the public version after The Government in the Sunshine Act,  
14      I noticed something that has been on my mind for all these  
15      years. In the closed meetings the Commissioners had a free  
16      exchange of information and opinions, things like that,  
17      before and during the meetings.

18                    This is all limited under the Sunshine Act. If  
19      two Commissioners or three Commissioners want to sit down  
20      together, they better not talk about the cases.

21                    The collegial atmosphere still is there, but I  
22      think the Commissioners, in my time anyway, were much more  
23      guarded in their comments to each other and their  
24      questioning. And I'm not sure that was a good thing.

25                    (Applause.)

1                   COMMISSIONER PINKERT: I'd just like to thank the  
2 panel. We are going to forego the questioning for this one  
3 so that we can get back on track on our schedule, but thanks  
4 again for a terrific presentation.

5                   (Applause.)

6                   MR. BARDOS: Thank you to the panel, and we're now  
7 moving to the next panel on Intellectual Property, and it  
8 will be moderated by Commissioner Kieff.

9                   (Pause.)

10                  COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Alright, thank you all very  
11 much. We are now going to move into the next panel on  
12 Intellectual Property Proceedings. I am Scott Kieff. I am  
13 a Commissioner at the ITC and I have greatly enjoyed working  
14 in both trade and IP fields, as well as antitrust for my  
15 entire career. So for me it's a fun opportunity to be at  
16 the Commission to mix these different topics.

17                  And it is a special treat to be here for the  
18 hundredth anniversary, and to be with each of you, this  
19 great community of professionals, of colleagues, and to be  
20 in this great building. I think the murals themselves tell  
21 a great story for the Commission, evocative of trade, of  
22 farming, of manufacturing.

23                  I grew up on the South Side of Chicago in Hyde  
24 Park, right on the University of Chicago campus, and there  
25 are a number of murals like this that adorn the underpasses

1 of the, in those days, Illinois Central Railroad that went  
2 along the lakefront. And I always thought a lot about these  
3 murals, because of course as a kid you pay a lot of  
4 attention to the things you see. And these murals I think  
5 give us a chance to think about how innovation, how the  
6 economy, and how the government interact with each other in  
7 these areas.

8 Chairman, now Chairman Williamson, then Chairman  
9 Williamson and I had worked together to prepare a video for  
10 our workforce at the ITC on diversity and inclusion. And I  
11 think that these murals for me as a kid growing up, and for  
12 me as a professional looking at them again, see in them that  
13 diversity and inclusion, a diverse mix of people from  
14 different ethnic backgrounds, different genders, different  
15 ages, working together.

16 And of course that opportunity to bring people  
17 together to exchange and to cooperate is the essence of  
18 trade. I don't need to trade very much with you if we have  
19 the same stuff, if we like the same things. But if we have  
20 different stuff and we like different things, we can get to  
21 know each other and benefit from each other through trade.

22 Whether we ultimately consummate a deal or not,  
23 we can communicate with each other a great deal, and in so  
24 doing become socialized with each other and learn a lot  
25 about each other.

1           And just on the last panel, the discussions about  
2 transparency, it is a feature not a flaw in my perspective  
3 as a former academic to write a detailed opinion and be told  
4 I'm wrong. I think that's great. That helps me figure out  
5 how to write a better one next time, and it helps I think  
6 each of us better understand what about a particular case, a  
7 particular docket, a particular statute, matters to  
8 particular groups of people.

9           So the dialogue between an agency and its  
10 reviewing courts, courts plural, among the courts, between  
11 the different branches of government, that exchange is  
12 itself an opportunity to improve the Commission for its next  
13 hundred years, I hope, to improve the system for its next  
14 100 years.

15           I think that as we dive into the Intellectual  
16 Property Panel, we had a great introduction already from  
17 Commissioner Johanson as he wrapped up his remarks and  
18 talked about foxes, and of course Commissioner Johanson is  
19 not the only Johanson to spend a lot of time talking about  
20 foxes. His Dad is a famous professor who focuses on trusts  
21 and estate law and property law, and of course we all, those  
22 of us who have done property law in law school, start almost  
23 every semester with Pearson vs. Post, a case about property  
24 rights and foxes.

25           And that notion of getting property rights in

1 something that exists out there in nature is what  
2 intellectual property is all about. Because of course  
3 ideas, the state of the world, that exists before we find it  
4 out. We're not making something new. What's making  
5 something new is the act of bringing it to our new use. And  
6 that opportunity for societies like ours to give property  
7 rights in this intellectual set of assets is what this panel  
8 is all about.

9

10 So the wonderful biographies that barely begin to  
11 scratch the surface of the incredible talent we have on this  
12 panel, are available for you. So I won't elaborate them,  
13 but I will just briefly introduce our panelists.

14 We have a paper, a chapter for the book,  
15 presented by a team from the Adduci Mastriani & Schaumberg  
16 firm. The authors include Ms. Sarah Hamblin, Jim Adduci,  
17 and Deanna Okun, who of course is not only a lawyer who  
18 practices before the Commission, but a former member and  
19 chair of the Commission.

20 We then have two comments to be presented, one by  
21 Mr. Yaworski, who is a former Assistant General Counsel, and  
22 Ms. Roberts, a practitioner, a lawyer at the Steptoe &  
23 Johnson firm.

24 So without further ado, let me turn it over to  
25 the paper presenters, the chapter authors, as a team.

1 Please.

2 MS. HAMBLIN: As someone said earlier, none of us  
3 have any watches anymore, so I have my phone out here to  
4 keep time.

5 So my name is Sarah Hamblin. I work at the law  
6 firm of Adduci, Mastriani & Schaumberg, and I have the  
7 privilege today for our group of giving you a bit of an  
8 overview of the chapter that we wrote. It is going to be a  
9 bit of a speed course, so bear with me.

10 The chapter became longer and longer as we went  
11 along, so we're going to address some of the structure, and  
12 then a couple of the highlights.

13 So basically the chapter is on the intellectual  
14 property investigations or, more broadly, unfair import  
15 investigations under Section 337. It is divided into four  
16 sections, starting, as you would expect, with the statute,  
17 covering the legislative history from the beginning through  
18 the '94 revisions.

19 The next major section is the Commission's  
20 implementation of the statute, which is divided into two  
21 areas. As you would expect, it is broken at 1974, so it's  
22 everything from 1922 to 1974, and then '74 and beyond.

23 As we all deal as lawyers with rules every day,  
24 there's a section on the rules. That was a fairly  
25 interesting section to write. We went a little bit down the

1 rabbit hole looking for Federal Register Notices, and some  
2 of them predate the Federal Register.

3 And then the last section is looking a little bit  
4 more at the substance of litigation under Section 337, the  
5 core elements. You know, even though there's been changes  
6 over the years, the core elements have remained the same.

7 So starting with the first section, Section 337,  
8 you know, we're not 100 years yet, or so it seems when you  
9 start thinking about it. But when you take a higher view,  
10 you know, the prehistory of Section 337 was percolating  
11 along, you know, right around the time of the Tariff  
12 commission.

13 So the Federal Trade Commission, you know, came  
14 about in 1914. And people were talking already about unfair  
15 competition at that time. The Revenue Act of 1916 brought  
16 in antidumping, which was at least one form of unfair  
17 competition, and there is some, you know, some history there  
18 that's relevant to us, if for not other reason than it  
19 wasn't addressing all forms of unfair competition in  
20 general, or it wasn't addressing it in import trade.

21 The Commission, as one of its early investigative  
22 duties, had a request from Ways and Means for a report  
23 that's now referred to just as the 1919 report, but it was  
24 an investigation of dumping in various areas. And it also  
25 recognized in that report the lack of coverage of unfair

1 competition in import trade other than dumping, as well as  
2 some difficulties with injury and dumping as well.

3 That report had some influence in crafting the  
4 first section, 316, that came about in 1922. It is  
5 referenced in the legislative history, actually. Section  
6 316 is the precursor to Section 337. It was brought about  
7 by a Senate amendment, and we all heard about Senator Smoot  
8 earlier. There's some very colorful legislative history  
9 involved there.

10 That report is routinely referenced when we talk  
11 about Section 316. So the section that we work under,  
12 Section 316, existed through the '20s. And then in 1929,  
13 Congress came about and took a large-scale revision. So  
14 that's the Trade Act of 1930 that we're most familiar with  
15 today.

16 In the '40s, not a lot was going on. A lot of  
17 time was taken up by the War. Through the '50s and '60s,  
18 Section 337 investigations continued, not at a high level;  
19 there's only a few every year, but they continued.

20 It's really in the '70s that the trade gap and  
21 lobbying sort of reinvigorated people's thoughts about  
22 Section 337. And then Section 337 was significantly  
23 overhauled in 1974, as we all know.

24 I'll just give you a couple of highlights. The  
25 major shift in the '74 comes from being a statute in which

1 the President is responsible for implementing the violation,  
2 and the Commission gives advice, to flipping basically over  
3 so that the Commission would institute a remedy and the  
4 President would have the opportunity to review.

5 I really am going to flip through quickly because  
6 I'm already over my time. In terms of the rules, they start  
7 at 1922 with the statute. My colleagues are going to talk a  
8 little bit more about the domestic industry and some of the  
9 changes after the '74 Act.

10 And with that, I am going to stop with my time  
11 and look forward to the rest of the panel.

12 (Applause.)

13 MR. ADDUCI: Well thank you, Commissioner.

14 As Yogi Berra said about baseball, I can say  
15 about the statute, Section 337 has been very, very good to  
16 me.

17 (Laughter.)

18 MR. ADDUCI: And that's why it's a particular  
19 pleasure and honor to be here today to celebrate the  
20 Centennial of this agency. It's the agency where I began my  
21 career, and where I made so many dear friends, many of whom  
22 are here today.

23 Now in 1976--I'm going to talk a little bit about  
24 the evolution of the Office of Unfair Import Investigations--  
25 --in 1976, which is the year I arrived at the Commission as

1 an attorney advisor to one of the Commissioners, the  
2 Commission decided to undertake an across-the-board  
3 reorganization of all the Commission offices, including the  
4 Office of the General Counsel.

5 My Commissioner, Al Ablondi, was given lead  
6 responsibility for recognizing the legal offices, or  
7 reorganizing, rather, the legal offices, including the  
8 General Counsel's office. And I, as his 26-year-old  
9 assistant, was tasked with representing him in that effort.

10 During the reorganization of 1976, questions  
11 arose about the role of the General Counsel's office and  
12 Section 337 investigations. Now there's a political back  
13 story to all this in terms of the creation of OUII and what  
14 happened with the General Counsel's Office, and perhaps we  
15 can get into that at a later time under the confidential  
16 business, or under the protective order--

17 (Laughter.)

18 MR. ADDUCI: --but anyway, the issue was whether  
19 the General Counsel should maintain the dual functions as  
20 both the legal advisor to the Commission and as an  
21 investigative and evocative role at the Commission,  
22 interacting with the private parties as he did, they did,  
23 before the '74 Trade Act.

24 This concern of the Commission found support in  
25 the APA, which prohibited the decision makers--that is, the

1 Commissioners--and its legal advisors from having ex parte  
2 communications with the private parties who, following the  
3 1974 Trade Act, as you know, had a much larger role in  
4 Section 337 investigations.

5 As a result, in 1976 the Commission created the  
6 Office of Legal Services, the so-called OLS, which handled  
7 the investigative role in Section 337 investigations, and  
8 they recruited--they had party status, as you know--and they  
9 recruited many of the attorneys to the Office of Legal  
10 Services from the General Counsel's Office.

11 A gentleman named Harold Brandt, who was  
12 recruited from the Federal Trade Commission, became the  
13 first director of OLS and served from 1977 to 1978. The OLS  
14 was placed under the new Office of Operations, also created  
15 by the reorganization, named the Unfair Import Investigation  
16 Division. And in 1985, it was elevated to becoming a  
17 separate office, becoming what is to this day known as the  
18 Office of Unfair Import Investigations.

19 Today, OUII serves three primary functions.

20 First, it offers complainants an opportunity to  
21 sit down and review the draft complaint, the so-called  
22 pre-filing review. This advice is neither binding on the  
23 complainant, nor is it required, but certainly from a  
24 practitioner's point of view it is very much to be  
25 encouraged and done.

1           Second, the OUII examines complaints for legal  
2           sufficiency and compliance with the T-10 rules, and makes  
3           recommendations to the Commission on whether or not to  
4           institute an investigation.

5           Third, following institution it becomes a party  
6           to the case, participating fully in discovery, taking  
7           positions on all the legal issues, and participating in  
8           prehearing, hearing, and post-hearing briefing stages of the  
9           investigation. And again, another practitioners note:  
10          Because ex parte communications with the OUII attorney  
11          assigned to the case are permissible, and because there  
12          tends to be a very high correlation between the positions  
13          taken by the staff attorney, the OUII attorney, and that of  
14          the ALJ's, as a private party it is highly advisable to  
15          communicate early and often with the OUII attorney during  
16          the course of the investigation.

17                 I look forward to answering any questions later  
18                 on. Thank you.

19                         (Applause.)

20                 MS. TANNER OKUN: So my watch is my phone, right?  
21                 So, you know, you can use that as well as anything else  
22                 these days, and all the wearable technology that the  
23                 Commission will probably see some more cases on in the  
24                 coming years.

25                         Good afternoon. It's a great honor to be here to

1 help the Commission celebrate its 100th birthday. I was on  
2 the Commission long enough to celebrate a couple of  
3 significant birthdays, not as significant as the Centennial  
4 Celebration, but certainly I have fond memories of being at  
5 the Commission and sharing those times. And I certainly  
6 think that this is a terrific opportunity to recognize the  
7 important role the Commission has played, and I really want  
8 to join all of those who have been here today to say thank  
9 you both to the tremendously hard-working staff. The  
10 Commission has many people who have served, and celebrate  
11 many more birthdays at the Commission than I did, and that  
12 continue to play such an important role, and then to  
13 incorporate new staff as the mission of the Commission  
14 continues to evolve. And then also just again to say thank  
15 you to all my former colleagues and to the current  
16 Commissioners for the work they do as public servants in an  
17 important role.

18           So while we might not have President Obama  
19 bringing you down to the White House to see who the next  
20 Commissioner is, as one of the earlier panelists talked  
21 about the role of Commissioners near the formation, I think  
22 that if you listen to the debates going on today we know  
23 that there's an important role for facts and economic data  
24 to play a more important role in our dialogue.

25           So I hope as we look forward to what the

1 Commission can do in the next hundred years, that that is an  
2 area where both Congress and the President will look for  
3 ways to have the objective data that the Commission,  
4 objective works of the Commission, play a larger role in the  
5 dialogue.

6           So turning to the chapter on Intellectual  
7 Property, and more broadly Unfair Acts, I really appreciated  
8 Commissioner Broadbent's comments this morning to the  
9 earlier panel when she asked them who should be--who would  
10 you make the founding father of the Commission, or founding  
11 fathers. Perhaps because I just returned from seeing  
12 Hamilton for the first time and have been listening to the  
13 soundtrack all day, but it did strike me in listening to  
14 that question that when the Commission decided to celebrate  
15 the Centennial by having a book written by others, they  
16 might have been listening to the soundtrack for Hamilton of  
17 "Who Writes Your Story?" Right?

18           But what do you say about the people who write  
19 the story about the Commission will be how it is remembered.  
20 So this is an important endeavor and I hope that our chapter  
21 contributes to that dialogue, and that you'll have an  
22 opportunity to read it. I learned things as we went through  
23 the history, and I think it's going to be, and probably  
24 because I guess the Commissioners and others have had a  
25 chance to see all the chapters together, that will be a nice

1 way to put them together. Because you have this political  
2 undertone to everything, and yet for our chapter we tried  
3 very much to focus on, you know, what did the statutes say?  
4 What did they get changed to? And there is some discussion  
5 about the politics in some of these other chapters, but it  
6 is very much what happens in the Commission at many levels  
7 where you have the Congress and the politics, and that's  
8 important.

9 But then that gets put into a statute that you  
10 then have Commissioners who are appointed through a  
11 political process, but brought to the commission to be  
12 nonpartisan in interpreting that.

13 So we will talk about that a little bit later in  
14 the Chairman's chapter, but I think that it is an important  
15 perspective to read the book with that in mind and to read  
16 our chapter with that in particular.

17 I am just going to spend a couple of minutes  
18 talking about the domestic industry section, or the domestic  
19 industry part of the statute. And I appreciated Jason  
20 Kearns this morning talking about when Congress has over the  
21 last several years thought about whether there should be  
22 additional legislation to change the statute, and that  
23 dialogue continues.

24 His remarks were, he said that Congress has been  
25 reluctant to legislate on 337, and know that the creative

1 thinking of the Commission in taking the statute as the  
2 Congress wrote the statute, but undertaking what it could do  
3 with the statute to address what were some of the  
4 criticisms.

5           So I'll focus on that somewhat briefly, because  
6 if you listen to all the panels talking about why was the  
7 Commission created, you heard again and again this emphasis  
8 on manufacturing. How could they protect the domestic  
9 manufacturing, the domestic industry? And that clearly is  
10 the focus. It is a trade statute at heart, and I think for  
11 those of us who have done both antidumping and trade work  
12 and been on the Commission, and then to do Section 337 work,  
13 there is sometimes a little bit of a disconnect because  
14 there's so many patent cases, and every company just wants  
15 to bring a case and win on its patent, and win on  
16 intellectual property.

17           And I find one of the things I'm doing most often  
18 is saying, you know, this is a trade statute. And remember,  
19 you have to meet these threshold provisions, including  
20 domestic industry.

21           So it wasn't litigated that much in its early  
22 history. So in some ways this isn't a historical issue in  
23 the sense that there was a statute, you had to have a  
24 domestic industry, you proved it through your investments in  
25 capital and labor, and then as so many of us know because we

1 talk about it so much, the 1988 Act is what changes it to  
2 recognize that manufacturing is no longer the only thing  
3 that's important to the U.S. economy. And if you're  
4 protecting the U.S. economy you're also protecting  
5 intellectual property.

6 So Congress amends the statute at that time to  
7 allow for intellectual-based domestic industry be proved  
8 through research and development, engineering, and  
9 licensing, or licensing as we all know.

10 That continues to be litigated today. As  
11 different business models have evolved, the Commission has  
12 struggled, and it struggled when I was on the Commission. I  
13 think there were, as practitioners know, several important  
14 cases in 2011. We all like to refer to the numbers in  
15 Section 337, which was a little bit different than Title  
16 VII, but the 650 investigations, the 694 investigations are  
17 really important steps by the Commission to address the  
18 domestic industry statute and how it should be applied to  
19 these different business models.

20 And that continues to happen. The Commission, in  
21 being creative as Jason also said, has also used its  
22 administrative rulemaking to address these issues. The  
23 Committee instituted a 100-day pilot program where a case  
24 could be referred to deal with dispositive issues, including  
25 domestic industry. And the Commission has had the

1 opportunity to do that once.

2 So I just touched on it briefly. There's more in  
3 the chapter itself, so be sure to read the chapter on all  
4 these different issues. But I think it is indicative of how  
5 the Commission has evolved under a statute that started in  
6 1916 and has evolved, and the Commission has evolved with it  
7 in terms of its legislative--interpreting the legislation  
8 and its own administrative rulemaking. And I will look  
9 forward to questions on that and any other issue.

10 (Applause.)

11 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Thank you.

12 Ms. Roberts, Stephanie Roberts, from Steptoe.

13 MS. ROBERTS: So I'd like to thank everybody for  
14 being here, and I appreciate the honor of speaking today.

15 So I'm not going to focus on any specific aspects  
16 of the chapter. I reviewed it. I just wanted to focus on  
17 things that I found interesting in the chapter.

18 I don't have the same I guess amount of  
19 experience as some of my other colleagues in this area.  
20 I've only been doing Section 337 for the last seven years.  
21 My first litigation case ever was an ITC case, and loved it,  
22 and thank you, Barbara, and your team, for teaching me what  
23 domestic industry was.

24 So overall, the chapter I thought was really  
25 good, it gave you a good view of the history of the ITC, the

1 evolution of the rules, things that you don't realize just  
2 coming into the practice a few years ago.

3 So it was very interesting I thought to see how  
4 the rules evolved from the '20s. Specifically, the chapter  
5 went into the Presidential involvement. And so in the early  
6 days you argued your case in front of the Commission and the  
7 President--or the President's representative. And now  
8 there's just a Presidential review period. So it was  
9 interesting just to see the difference in that.

10 I thought the chapter did a good job of going  
11 into some of the important aspects of ITC actions. So there  
12 was a lot of discussion on importation, and talking about  
13 specific cases that have shaped, you know, the importation  
14 requirement, and then the articles that are being imported.

15 You know, Deanna touched on the domestic  
16 industry, and I thought the chapter did a really good job  
17 going in depth with all of the cases that have really  
18 defined what the domestic industry requirement, or the  
19 economic prong of the domestic industry requirement is  
20 focused on at this point.

21 There were also--there was an in-depth  
22 discussion, or a discussion of the injury requirement, and I  
23 thought it was interesting that it really hasn't changed for  
24 non-federally registered IP rights. And it's largely  
25 remained the same. So I thought that was interesting.

1           The chapter did a really good job as well of  
2 going into the creation and the rule that OUII has played in  
3 all of the investigations and their importance in the  
4 Commission.

5           Another thing that I thought was really  
6 interesting was a discussion of the nonpatent-related  
7 investigations. I know most of the investigations are  
8 patent-related at the ITC, but it seems that the nonpatent  
9 investigations have been making a comeback. And so the  
10 detail that went into it in talking, you know, specifically  
11 about the trade secrets and how the law has evolved in the  
12 ITC around that.

13           That's it.

14           (Applause.)

15           COMMISSIONER KIEFF: And our last reviewer is Mr.  
16 Timor Yaworski, formerly of the Office of General Counsel,  
17 who I believe prefers Tim.

18           MR. YAWORSKI: Very good. Thank you.

19           Well Section 337 is, as of this year, 94 years  
20 old, which is just a few years younger than the Commission  
21 itself. So what do you say in five minutes about 94 years  
22 of history? You can't really do it.

23           I do commend to you the chapter in the  
24 forthcoming book which is well written, and it is very  
25 thorough. But I think if one does step back and attempt to

1 look at the sweep of the 94-year sweep of the statute, the  
2 salient feature is of course the Trade Act of '74.

3 Now there are significant amendments after that,  
4 but I think the '74 Trade Act really was the -- the  
5 amendments that have been made to 337 put the statute on the  
6 map.

7 For one thing, it made Section 337 subject to the  
8 quasi-judicial provisions of the Administrative Procedures  
9 Act, hence the need to create an Office of Legal Services,  
10 as Jim Adduci mentioned, and the need to establish an Office  
11 of Administrative Law Judges, with initially a single ALJ,  
12 Myron Rennick. I discovered, much to my surprise, that his  
13 law clerk way back when was Robin Javanick, and he is here  
14 today. In fact, I think he works for -- there he is -- I  
15 think he works for the Commission.

16 But I started in D.C. in '76--again, same as Jim  
17 Adduci. The General Counsel at that time was Russell  
18 Schumacher, who was mentioned this morning as the principal  
19 drafter of the TSUS, which is the Tariff System that the  
20 United States used I guess from '63 to '89, prior to the  
21 Harmonized System.

22 Russ was a brilliant man, but his background was  
23 in Customs. He came from the Customs Bureau, and his  
24 interest was really in Tariff affairs. So when the statute  
25 was amended, one of the things it did was it allowed the--it

1 permitted the Commission to represent itself in court,  
2 rather than having to go through the Department of Justice.

3 Now this was simply an area where Russ Schumacher  
4 wasn't comfortable, so we brought in, or the Commission  
5 brought in the late Mike Stein from the Justice Department  
6 to handle litigation. And he eventually succeeded Russ  
7 Schumacher as General Counsel.

8 About the same time, we brought in Jeff Lang from  
9 private practice, and Jeff of course went on to a very  
10 illustrious career at the USTR.

11 So the statute really got a jump start in '75. I  
12 think the effective date was 1/1/75, and it's sort of been  
13 onward and upward ever since. The 337 caseload was quite  
14 heavy, I thought, when I retired in '04, and I'm told it's  
15 worse today, although there was I guess a couple of years  
16 where the caseload declined slightly. But the general trend  
17 is upward.

18 And one can only wonder what the statute will  
19 look like in 100 years. Will it still exist? Will the  
20 Commission still exist in 100 years? I guess our great  
21 grandchildren will live to see it.

22 Finally, I just have a brief personal aside,  
23 which doesn't have anything to do with 337. My father, who  
24 was an economist by trade, worked at the Commission from  
25 1947 until 1969. He was a chief of one of the commodities

1 divisions back when the commodity industry analysts played a  
2 much more centric role in the Commission than they do today.

3           Anyway, as a small boy in the late--and you can  
4 see what I look like, so I'm a long way from being a small  
5 boy--in the late '40s and early '50s, I used to come and  
6 visit him. And I remember, this is when we were in the 7th  
7 and E Street building that Al Eckes mentioned. I remember  
8 you could walk up the stairs, in the front door, and just go  
9 anywhere you wanted, to see your father, or whatever.

10           And I have to--I can't help but comparing that,  
11 contrasting that to the last time I tried to get into the  
12 Commission building. I think it's easier to get into Fort  
13 Knox than it is to get into the Commission.

14           Thank you, very much.

15           (Laughter and applause.)

16           COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Thank you, each, very much.  
17 Let me ask us, as we turn to an opportunity for some dynamic  
18 exchange and dialogue with this panel, let me also ask for  
19 the record if you will for the first panel about the history  
20 of the Commission a question that maybe someone can answer  
21 in the book. But that question is:

22           It is impossible for me, and I think anyone else,  
23 to work at the Commission without coming away with a sense  
24 that the staff is just incredibly bright, and collegial, and  
25 cooperative, and straight down the middle of the strike

1 zone. And that's great. Okay. But I just think it's  
2 possible that people in other government agencies also are,  
3 and yet it turns out as people they may be the same, but as  
4 groups they act differently.

5           The ITC as a group maintains that neutral  
6 collaborative, analytical favor in a way that is distinct  
7 inside Washington. And so the question is whether it is the  
8 structure of the Commission, which is not common to the  
9 other three-letter commissions that share the 100-year  
10 history, does that structure help explain that  
11 collaborative, analytical, neutral approach?

12           And if so, who gets the Nobel Prize for coming up  
13 with that structure? My understanding was: Taussig. But I  
14 may be wrong. And my understanding was, roughly in the  
15 writings in the post-Civil War era there was some explicit  
16 discussion about how to implement that collaborative,  
17 neutral, analytical approach.

18           So that's the question I would love the answer to  
19 ponder, because I think it's been a key to the success of  
20 the Commission. For this panel, if we could start with the  
21 question, why do private parties pick the ITC as a place to  
22 bring their unfair competition and intellectual property  
23 cases?

24           MR. ADDUCI: My experience--is this on?--is it's  
25 quite straightforward. The Commission offers at least three

1 things that are not found elsewhere.

2 It's the speed. It's the automatic injunction,  
3 if you win, which post-eBay is no longer the case in  
4 District Court. And it is the expertise of the judges. We  
5 have six individuals who do patent cases nonstop, so they  
6 are, as we say, patent savvy supported by very knowledgeable  
7 and experienced staff. That same expertise extends to the  
8 General Counsel's office, and to OUII. And, I might say, to  
9 most of the Commissioners as well.

10 So particularly for companies, complainants, that  
11 have products with a relatively short shelf life like cell  
12 phones, the ITC is the place to come. You get relief in 16,  
13 17 months, and you get a fair and predictable shake from the  
14 judges and the Commission. So that's why people are coming  
15 to the ITC, and I hope they continue to do so.

16 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Any other thoughts on that  
17 question?

18 (No response.)

19 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: So how about another question  
20 related to that. Which is, then, this--you hinted at it in  
21 your answer--but there is of course in the 337 side of the  
22 shop at the ITC really a two-stage process.

23 There's the process before the administrative law  
24 judge, and then there's the process before the Commission  
25 whether to and how to review the administrative law judge's

1 initial determination.

2           It is often discussed at Bar Association events  
3 that that second phase operates to the Bar as something akin  
4 to a black box. It's a set of 200-page documents go in,  
5 usually petitioners brief, respondents brief, an ALJ  
6 opinion, sometimes some input from OUII, and then a few  
7 months later after silence comes a 200-page Commission  
8 decision that of course because we are a six-member  
9 Commission with each member having two hands, at least 12  
10 views in this 200-page document on the one hand. On the  
11 other hand, times six.

12           So the Bar has often expressed a degree of  
13 concern about that black-box period, and that black-box  
14 process. There's been already discussion about the  
15 Government in the Sunshine Act, and the Administrative  
16 Procedures Act, and about various constraints on how  
17 Commissioners can interact with each other, and how the Bar  
18 can no longer walk the halls and provide boxes of candy.

19           Aren't there other opportunities for a way to  
20 bring Sunshine into the black box to allow for dynamic  
21 exchange among Commissioners, allow for dynamic exchange  
22 between Commissioners and the Bar, in a way that would, dare  
23 I say, comply with all of those legal rules?

24           So it seems to me a hearing akin to an oral  
25 argument could accomplish that outcome. Do any of you have

1 views about the pluses and minuses of some type of open,  
2 collaborative, on-the-record conversation that would be akin  
3 to an oral argument, hopefully not terribly long, hopefully  
4 easy for the parties to prepare for so that it doesn't add  
5 to the cost, hopefully easy for the Commission so it doesn't  
6 add delay. Certainly for me as a decision maker I can tell  
7 you I can make a much easier decision about what matters to  
8 you as a lawyer if I can look at you and talk to you, rather  
9 than just read your 200 pages. And I suspect you can get a  
10 lot from the questions I might ask if you were looking at  
11 me, too.

12 Is it so bad that we talk together? Is that  
13 possible?

14 MS. TANNER OKUN: I'll start. Obviously others on  
15 the panel have a lot of expertise that they can add to that,  
16 but having left the Commission and not been out for that  
17 long, I do get that question a lot from our clients about  
18 what actually goes on once we turn in all this material, as  
19 Commissioner Kieff said, and what should we expect?

20 When I was on the Commission, I think that I was  
21 interested in whether the Commission should have more oral  
22 arguments. As many of you who do 337 know, there was a big  
23 hearing in the 543 versus Qualcomm, and, you know, that may  
24 not be the best way to move forward if one were to have oral  
25 arguments on a regular basis. So I think there is an

1 opportunity that an oral argument could present for the type  
2 of dialogue that you've talked about.

3 I think one thing that I'm interested in now,  
4 having left the Commission, is right now the dialogue in  
5 some ways are the Commission questions. So you petition for  
6 review, and Commission questions come out. Not that there  
7 haven't -- not while I was there, there were oftentimes when  
8 the Commission was asked a lot of questions, but there are a  
9 lot of questions being asked now. And so I guess for some  
10 on the outside the question is: What does that mean? Does  
11 it mean more individual Commissioners are asking questions?  
12 And what does that mean for us in briefing? And should we  
13 be thinking about that in terms of who might be asking these  
14 questions, and what does that mean? And what is the role of  
15 the General Counsel's Office?

16 So there is some uncertainty even with questions  
17 being asked that you're answering.

18 On the other hand, because the Commission writes  
19 such a thorough opinion, I think for many clients there is  
20 certainty that you are getting a review. You know what it  
21 is. It's briefed. And at the other side you'll have an  
22 informed opinion come up which you would be able to appeal.  
23 And therefore if you introduce oral argument, do you  
24 increase or decrease your chances?

25 So I think that is an open question when it's not

1 clear how, if the Commission were to regularize oral  
2 arguments what they would look like, how the questions would  
3 be posed. Would you be answering the same questions you  
4 would have anyway in a written form?

5 And so I think that is part of the question. I  
6 also think it ties in--you mentioned The Sunshine Act, and  
7 that was mentioned earlier this morning. And when I was on  
8 the Commission I know some of my former colleagues are here.  
9 We, you know, chafed a little bit, some of us, under The  
10 Sunshine Act, thinking that in a quasi-judicial sense you  
11 would have better opinions come out if Commissioners were  
12 able to circulate something akin to a bench memo before a  
13 vote so that the differing opinions could be resolved  
14 earlier.

15 But I'm happy to hear from others. But those are  
16 my views on it could be helpful, but clients do have  
17 questions. And just one final thing. On cost, it does  
18 matter. I mean, you know, some clients, if they come to the  
19 ITC they're there because, you know, this is an important  
20 case and they're willing to commit the resources. And if  
21 you tell them a hearing is going to help them, they're going  
22 to go through a hearing. There are others, you know, in  
23 particular of course respondents who don't want to be there,  
24 where an oral argument could add--you know, you'd have to  
25 think about how to structure that. And I think the

1 Commission has done a lot of good things on the  
2 administrative side to try to cut down the cost on  
3 discovery.

4 There's always more that can be done for some of  
5 these cases, but I think all that the Commission should take  
6 into account if it's going to change what has been its  
7 practice to rarely have an oral argument.

8 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Other thoughts?

9 MR. YAWORSKI: Two possible issues. One is will  
10 oral argument cause a delay in the issuance of the final  
11 decision? If it's just being grafted onto the present  
12 proceeding, I would think that would be inevitable. If  
13 there's some way to tweak the whole process so that you're  
14 not losing time, that's a different kettle of fish. But the  
15 statutory deadlines have been eliminated, but I think the  
16 legislative history indicates that Congress still wants  
17 these cases done expeditiously.

18 Plus, if you're a complainant and you hold a  
19 patent and the clock is ticking on that patent, you want the  
20 exclusion order sooner rather than later.

21 The other issue is, how shall I say, Commission  
22 amenability to preparing for these hearings. To do a good  
23 job of prepping for an oral argument requires time and  
24 effort. And when I was at the Commission it was my  
25 experience that most Commissioners decided that they could

1 spend their time better in other ways, and they're not  
2 really enthusiastic about the idea of oral argument.

3 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: One other?

4 MR. ADDUCI: For me, it's easy. I would welcome  
5 that development. I think you can build it into the  
6 procedural schedule and not extend the proceedings. I know  
7 personally I feel that I learn a lot more, and that I can  
8 influence people more easily eye to eye than through a raft  
9 of papers.

10 It also gives the private parties the opportunity  
11 to identify the critical pivotal issues. Judge Luckern  
12 would say, the jugular issues in the case. And get the  
13 Commission and the Commissioners focused on those issues.

14 So I would welcome it.

15 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Well certainly if the Bar  
16 wants to ever explore that, it sounds like there's an  
17 opportunity for dialogue perhaps through the Bar on that  
18 one.

19 How about the part of the 337 docket that is not  
20 just about patents? What would not--there's of course trade  
21 secrets, and the new Federal Trade Secrets Act. There are  
22 trade market cases. There are of course antitrust  
23 availability at the ITC. What do you think?

24 MS. ROBERTS: Well I mean I think it's definitely  
25 been used a lot more. Obviously we're all familiar with the

1 Steel case. So, you know, I -- and I think that's, the  
2 Steel case is bringing up a lot of issues that really  
3 haven't been addressed at the ITC lately. You know, I think  
4 it's good to have the non-, you know, patent-related  
5 investigations as well. And, you know, just to do something  
6 different and also protect other rights that are also  
7 important. Not everything is about patents, so...

8 MS. TANNER OKUN: And again, I think one of the  
9 things that this going through the history of the ITC helped  
10 one think about is just, you know, because at its root it is  
11 a trade statute that was designed to protect domestic  
12 industries. And these unfair acts were written--it was  
13 written very broadly. And so, you know, it's kind of you  
14 read it and the statute has just evolved. I mean, it became  
15 a patent statute for some oddities, and there are many other  
16 ways where it might be a really good forum in terms of the  
17 things that Jim had mentioned why a client might want to  
18 come there. You have an expert agency. It's expeditious.  
19 And there's certainty at least what the remedy will or won't  
20 be. That can be very attractive, where District Courts are  
21 clogged up with all kinds of other stuff, and judges who may  
22 or may not want to see this type of case.

23 So I think that, you know, maybe practitioners,  
24 we haven't been creative enough on the outside to think  
25 about other places where our clients might think about using

1 337 versus some other statute.

2 MS. HAMBLIN: You know, I was just going to--I  
3 mentioned earlier in the introduction about some of the  
4 colorful legislative history. And one of the things that  
5 Senator Smoot said, and I don't have the exact words in  
6 front of me, but what Section is broad enough to address any  
7 form of unfair competition and beyond antidumping. And I'll  
8 refer you to the chapter for the exact words.

9 And just to give you some examples, even though  
10 patent predominates, you know, the Commission has seen  
11 common law trademarks, passing off, falling off, unfair  
12 advertising, you know, a wide range. I think any generally  
13 recognized form of unfair competition would be fair game for  
14 Section 337.

15 COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Let's pivot off that, then,  
16 and ask for free advice--always worth the price you pay for  
17 it, but why not ask for it--in the 337 patent docket as of  
18 late, in the last decade, some of the cases that have  
19 attracted so much popular attention, all the way up to the  
20 Presidential review, have been cases in which our sister  
21 agencies in the government, including for example the  
22 Federal Trade Commission, have welcomed the opportunity to  
23 provide their input to us about how to think about the  
24 unfair competition--their view about unfair competition with  
25 respect to patents.

1           The Federal Trade Commission and the Department  
2 of Justice have recently announced that they intend to  
3 promulgate new guidelines about the interface between IT and  
4 antitrust. Should we return the favor? Is it part of our  
5 obligation to provide input on that topic when asked, as we  
6 as members of the--

7           MS. TANNER OKUN: I'm holding the mike so I'll  
8 start, but others please join in. Again, I think that the  
9 Commission should never forget that it is an expert agency  
10 and it does have a view on these things.

11           I say that. However, when I was on the  
12 Commission I didn't much like when the FTC sent in their  
13 advice, because they made it sound like they were the  
14 experts and we weren't, so I'd have to listen to them, but  
15 the statute actually tells you you're supposed to listen to  
16 all these folks.

17           So I don't know. I actually haven't looked at  
18 whether other agencies have the same statutory outreach to  
19 us that we have to them, and Congress set it up that way,  
20 but maybe we should--maybe the Commission might want to tell  
21 Congress that, you know, if you want us to give input, if  
22 you want the Commission to give input, you could add that to  
23 the FTC regulatory language.

24           No one wants to touch that.

25           (Laughter.)

1           COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Other questions from the  
2 audience for the panel about 337? What do you see--sorry,  
3 do we have--Yes, please. Please, we have a microphone.

4           MR. BUSEY: Alright, we're on? Hi. Brian Busey,  
5 Morrison & Forester. Thanks for the interesting panel  
6 discussion.           One trend that I comment from on  
7 the panel is just we in the private Bar see a lot of change  
8 between the relationship between the ITC and the Federal  
9 Circuit. And obviously there have been many decisions in  
10 the last several years that raise the question about whether  
11 the Federal Circuit, at least in some parts of the Federal  
12 Circuit, developed kind of an adversary relationship with  
13 the Commission, and with respect to deference to its  
14 expertise and so forth.

15           So I'd just like any comments that you might have  
16 on that.

17           MR. ADDUCI: Well I think, Brian, you and I can  
18 both think of at least a couple of cases in the last year  
19 where there should have been a lot more deference given to  
20 the ITC.

21           Yes, I think the Federal Circuit has been more  
22 critical of the Commission than it has in the past. The  
23 Commission has always enjoyed about an 85 percent affirmance  
24 rate. I don't know what the numbers are now, but it has  
25 changed.

1           So, yes, I think greater deference is in order.

2           COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Other questions for the  
3 panel?

4           (No response.)

5           COMMISSIONER KIEFF: What do you think, if you  
6 have questions, get my attention, and in the meantime we  
7 will keep the dialogue going.

8           What do you think are going to be the next 10  
9 years? Let's be modest. Let's take a tenth of the history  
10 looking backwards and map it forwards. What do you think  
11 the next 10 years are going to be like in the 337 docket?

12          MR. ADDUCI: I can tell you what I hope it will  
13 be.

14          (Laughter.)

15          MR. ADDUCI: And that will be a great deal more  
16 nonpatent based investigations. I don't want to see any  
17 diminution in the use of the statute for IP violations and  
18 allegations of violations, but the statute is very  
19 under-utilized. The breadth of the statute extends to far  
20 more than just patent, trademark, copyright. I mean, you  
21 can think of a plethora of other unfair acts that the  
22 Commission could take jurisdiction of: fishing rights,  
23 violation of child labor laws. The last goes on. I know it  
24 sounds silly, but it can work.

25          And so I hope the next 10 years will see a lot

1 more nonpatent, or different kinds of cases other than just  
2 patent.

3 MS. TANNER OKUN: Just to add one thing. I  
4 certainly think the role of international intellectual  
5 property has grown, and we see that in cross-border trade,  
6 and we see it in all these companies. So it seems like the  
7 Commission's mission grows with that and it will be a place  
8 for companies to continue to look to the ITC as one form of  
9 relief.

10 I think that is only true if the Commission holds  
11 to what Congress has, previously at least, said about having  
12 an expeditious time table. Because if it gets bogged down  
13 like every place else, I think it will be much harder for  
14 companies to want to commit the resources necessary to see  
15 the ITC as being effective, particularly for technologies,  
16 wearable technologies, any of these technologies that have a  
17 short shelf life. So I think those are important things to  
18 keep in mind in terms of the mission.

19 And then of course Congress makes the ITC.  
20 Congress can break the ITC. I think, you know, if there are  
21 changes to the statute, some that have been contemplated,  
22 not speaking on behalf of any of our clients because they're  
23 on many sides of it, but for me personally I think that  
24 Congress could change what the Commission is doing. And  
25 then the Commission just has to do that. I mean, that is

1       their right. It is a body created by statute, but I do  
2       think that companies, practitioners, and others need to  
3       think about that as they look ahead.

4               MR. YAWORSKI: In other words, don't get too  
5       creative.

6               (Laughter.)

7               COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Well please join me in  
8       thanking this great panel. Thank you all, very much.

9               (Applause.)

10              MR. BARDOS: Thank you. And we're now ready for  
11       the next panel, which is on Industry and Economic Analysis,  
12       moderated by Commissioner Schmidtlein.

13              (Pause.)

14              COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright, well I guess  
15       we should get started so we can stay on schedule.

16              So, good afternoon. If everyone could take their  
17       seats--and the light, I guess the prior panelists all know  
18       this, but the light is blinding up here. I cannot see  
19       anything.

20              So my name is Rhonda Schmidtlein, for those of  
21       you who don't know me, and I have been a Commissioner now  
22       for two-and-a-half years. And I have to say that all of  
23       this talk about 100 years has brought to my mind this  
24       country song, and I will admit that I am a country music  
25       fan. I grew up in a small town in rural Missouri. And so

1 we always listen to country music, and there's a song by  
2 Kenny Chesney that, the name of it is "What's The Secret to  
3 Life?" And his main refrain in that song is "Don't blink.  
4 A hundred years goes faster than you think."

5 And so I certainly feel that way about my time  
6 here at the Commission. It's hard to believe that it's  
7 already been two-and-a-half years. So I should feel like a  
8 veteran, but I still sort of feel like a newbie.

9 In any event, I'm very pleased to be moderating  
10 the panel this afternoon on the current and historical  
11 activities of the Commission related to its economic and  
12 industry analysis. I'm guessing all of you would agree with  
13 me when I say that the expertise, objectivity, and  
14 commitment of the ITC's economists and industry experts have  
15 garnered widespread respect throughout the trade community.

16 I have been told that we have more economists and  
17 industry experts than any, including more Ph.D. economists  
18 focused on trade than any other U.S. agency. And I suspect  
19 that if we were to check, we would find that that is true of  
20 any organization anywhere in the world. I can't think of  
21 another organization that has as many economists and  
22 industry analysts looking specifically at the effects of  
23 trade as the USITC.

24 I know I speak for all of my colleagues when I  
25 say we are very proud of the ITC's long history of providing

1 objective and innovative reports, and the role that the  
2 agency plays both here at home and globally in helping to  
3 develop the tools that allow us and others to improve  
4 economic research methods.

5 Today we are honored to be joined by the folks  
6 who authored four different chapters of our Centennial Book  
7 related to this topic, and I'm going to go ahead and  
8 introduce them now. And then they are going to get up, one  
9 by one, as the prior panelists have done.

10 Here to my immediate right we have Thelma Askey.  
11 She is a former Commissioner who has spent her long and  
12 distinguished career analyzing economic and trade issues  
13 both in terms of the U.S. economy and foreign markets, with  
14 a special expertise in developing countries.

15 To her right we have Catherine Field, who started  
16 her career here at the ITC and then, as Ambassador Froman  
17 commented on this morning often happens, was stolen by USTR  
18 and remained there as a revered and I dare say feared  
19 negotiator and lawyer. And I worked with her, so I can  
20 attest to that.

21 To her right is Neena Shenai, who is currently--  
22 and I apologize if I get this wrong--Principal Globe Trade  
23 Counsel at Medtronics, and she prior to that worked for Ways  
24 and Means and Senate Banking. She is a reviewer of the  
25 chapters.

1                   To her right is Dr. Michael Ferrantino. Dr.  
2                   Ferrantino, who is now at the World Bank, spent almost 20  
3                   years with the Commission as the Lead International  
4                   Economist, and was a key person in developing many of the  
5                   ITC's economic models that we still apply today.

6                   To his right we have Dr. Moore, I believe  
7                   Professor Moore--around the corner there. Professor Michael  
8                   Moore is at GW's Elliott School of International Affairs.  
9                   He has published extensively on international trade policy  
10                  issues with a particular focus on WTO commitments.

11                  And to his right is Doctor--or Professor Thomas  
12                  Prusa, who is a Professor of Economics at Rutgers  
13                  University. And his research has focused primarily on ITC  
14                  decision making, and I know he has appeared many times  
15                  before the Commission.

16                  So we are going to begin with Commissioner Askey.  
17                  And then at the end of all the presentations, I will ask a  
18                  few questions and then we'll open it up to any questions  
19                  from the audience.

20                  MS. ASKEY: Hello everyone. The light is a little  
21                  bit strange, but I think I can see my notes. But anyway,  
22                  it's a pleasure to be here. It's an exciting opportunity,  
23                  and it's certainly an effort well worth the time I think for  
24                  all of us to contribute to this important book.

25                  Oh, about 100 years ago when I first was dragged

1 into the trade field, as a very junior Ways and Means  
2 staffer, I was sent to Geneva. And of course that was a big  
3 plus. But the reason I was sent to Geneva was to sit and  
4 listen to the conversation, along with my ITC counterparts  
5 and the U.S. Customs Service counterparts, hearing the  
6 international discussion on why this item should be  
7 classified as in the Harmonized System as a chemise, rather  
8 than a blouse, or a vest.

9 (Laughter.)

10 MS. ASKEY: So that was my introduction to the  
11 trade field, was to kind of listen to this long conversation  
12 about the transfer from various tariff schedules to a  
13 Harmonized System, which of course was very important in its  
14 outcome but it was certainly a challenge when it was going  
15 on.

16 But of course my part of the chapter is on the  
17 Congressional relationship with the ITC. And of course it  
18 is a crucial relationship. And it has developed over time,  
19 but it does--it leads to important things, more than that  
20 probably, but two big categories of things.

21 One is to allow Members of Congress to have a  
22 fundamental basis in data and information collection that  
23 allows them to make a solid, intelligent decision about what  
24 t codify in the statute and how the legislation should  
25 proceed, and how to support USTR and other agencies involved

1 in trade, but particularly USTR in implementing trade  
2 negotiations.

3 And then of course the complement to that is that  
4 it gives them a political underpinning for supporting these  
5 trade agreements, and for implementing trade legislation at  
6 a time, which has always been the case in my career, where  
7 it's not always easy to convince the public that free trade  
8 and logical trade rules are the way to go, and are  
9 fundamentally important for the U.S. economy. So it has  
10 both the political and a data rich role.

11 The role of the Congress of course has been what  
12 drives the relation--what has driven the relationship  
13 between the Congress and the ITC on information-gathering.  
14 And I think we've talked about this today a little bit in  
15 earlier meetings, but the role of the Administration and the  
16 Congress in the trade negotiations as they proceeded had a  
17 lot to do with the demands by the Congress on the ITC for  
18 solid information, and that kind of informational exchange.

19 It really, although there were trade agreements--  
20 Trade Acts prior to '74, it really took its root in the '74  
21 Act when we had this broad discussion of just how Congress  
22 was going to assert its role. And Harold Dumas of the Ways  
23 and Means Committee, along with Charlie Vanik, and Barber  
24 Conable, were very interested in asserting the role of  
25 Congress in this process so that the Administration would

1 not be in a position of negotiating trade agreements,  
2 particularly agreements that included elements beyond  
3 tariffs, without a very strong role of Congress. And of  
4 course the House had a particular interest because revenue  
5 measures, under the Constitution, have to originate in the  
6 House.

7 But the Senate was asserting its role as well,  
8 because although they do advice and consent of any treaties,  
9 if that were the route to go, they would be giving up quite  
10 a bit with respect to procedural aspects of trade  
11 agreements. And all of this took its current form, really,  
12 in the '74 Act.

13 So you have the--but the evolution of the  
14 importance of trade agreements informed those decisions  
15 also. You know, in '47 when the GATT very fundamentally  
16 came into being, you had only 23 nations talking about,  
17 about \$10 billion worth of trade effects with respect to the  
18 General Agreement on Tariff and Trade.

19 You moved to the Kennedy Round in '62 and, you  
20 know, Kennedy took an initiative and wanted to further cut  
21 tariffs by 50 percent, and asked for authority to do that.  
22 And that was the Trade Expansion Act of '62.

23 But when the Kennedy Round was approved in '67,  
24 you had 66 nations covering about 80 percent of world trade,  
25 \$40 billion in tariff effects, and the expansion of trade

1 agreements into other fields like antidumping, special and  
2 preferential treatment for developing countries and--excuse  
3 me, in the '62 Round you first had Trade Adjustment  
4 Assistance introduced.

5 So you can see already the expansion of trade  
6 agreements and their importance to world trade in these  
7 multilateral trade negotiations. And I'm focusing here only  
8 on the multilateral ones, but remember for the U.S. and  
9 others there were many bilateral negotiations going on, and  
10 of course key among them were U.S.-Canada, U.S.-Mexico, and  
11 eventually the NAFTA Round.

12 But the U.S. pursued bilateral negotiations,  
13 unlike many other countries I think, with the multilateral  
14 negotiations in mind. They were precursors to multilateral  
15 negotiations.

16 Then we moved to the Tokyo Round, '73-'79. You  
17 now have the 102 countries, \$300 billion in tariff  
18 concession effects, and more non-tariff measures included,  
19 dumping, subsidies, framework agreements, et cetera.

20 Then when the Uruguay Round was signed in  
21 Marrakesh in 1994, you had 111 countries, and you had an  
22 extreme expansion of trade agreements into services, Ag  
23 subsidies, intellectual property rights, dispute settlement,  
24 and the WTO was born as a--following GATT, cut tariffs 40  
25 percent and continued special and preferential treatment for

1 LDCs.

2           Senator Brock, who was USTR at the time, thought,  
3 okay, let's keep point. You know, we have all these  
4 procedures in place, let's have a continuous round of  
5 negotiations going on, because we achieved so much in the  
6 Uruguay Round with respect to procedural aspects.

7           He was not quite successful in that effort, but  
8 eventually we did begin the Doha Round, and 159 countries  
9 are participating, and it has of course a very ambitious  
10 agenda: labor, environment, trade facilitation, competition,  
11 investment, transparency, patents, et cetera. I think a  
12 question does come into play at some point of are they  
13 sinking of their own weight? Perhaps we need to get back to  
14 narrower trade agreements.

15           But in any case, we still have a broad effort.  
16 But it makes it all the more important for Congress to  
17 insert its role with respect to USTR, the negotiators, and  
18 with respect to the Commission, its supplier of information.

19           And Congress also required the USTR to rely  
20 heavily on the ITC with respect to information, so that we  
21 were proceeding on some basis that reflected a solid factual  
22 basis. But the '74 Act is really where this effort and this  
23 delineation of roles in the negotiation, with Congress  
24 asserting a very, very strong element into that process, and  
25 relying quite heavily on the ITC for information.

1           Obviously it's not been a totally clear and easy  
2 path. There's conflicts that emerged in efforts to achieve  
3 outcomes. Everybody looks to the legislation, of course,  
4 and tries to write in as much detail as they can to get  
5 particular outcomes, including legislative history.

6           Then of course we look to the ITC and try to kind  
7 of construct their investigation into their particular way.  
8 They have particular outcomes, I think, too. In some  
9 respects, do we ask the ITC to investigate in depth? Or  
10 even at all? If you're looking at particular elements of  
11 the trade law, then you're thinking about particular  
12 outcomes that you might want to achieve.

13           Do you ask the ITC to evaluate everything in  
14 depth? And I think it's a real compliment to the ITC in the  
15 face of different objectives by different Members of  
16 Congress, different Commissioners, different elements in the  
17 public sector. The ITC has really shone through, I think,  
18 with respect to its analysis and the relationship between  
19 the ITC and the Congress on this exchange of information.  
20 Because they are respected, both nationally and  
21 internationally. They have created modeling that's been  
22 top-of-the-charts. And they have consistently provided  
23 information that is unbiased, down-to-earth,  
24 straightforward, here's the facts, just the facts, ma'am.  
25 And Congress has responded, as much as the conflicts of

1 particular policy objectives occur all around us. I think  
2 the respect that Congress has for the ITC, the respect that  
3 USTR has for the ITC, has always restrained Congress in  
4 trying to manipulate the ITC--and "manipulate" may be too  
5 strong a word--but push and pull about data.

6 Sam Givens was quoted earlier. You know,  
7 everybody's entitled to their own data. But the ITC has  
8 made sure that the data it provides Congress, and Congress  
9 has made sure I think, too, that the data it expects from  
10 the ITC is the unvarnished and objective data that we can--  
11 that they can rely on, Members of Congress can rely on, when  
12 it makes very, very tough decisions to implement trade  
13 agreements, or even to proceed with them, and how to proceed  
14 with them. It is very well informed by the data that the  
15 ITC collects and presents.

16 (Applause.)

17 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Thank you, very much.  
18 Next we'll move to Ms. Field, who will discuss the ITC's  
19 assistance to the Executive Branch.

20 (Applause.)

21 MS. FIELD: Okay, alright, let me join others in  
22 doing two things: thanking you for inviting me. It's good  
23 to be back to see old friends and colleagues. And second,  
24 to endorse the ITC as a great place to start your career in  
25 international trade. I have lots of fond memories here.

1           To try and condense the chapter into a few  
2 minutes is a difficult effort, but I am going to try here.  
3 I will say that the Commission provides the Executive Branch  
4 with information and analysis and its effect on specific  
5 industries and the U.S. economy as a whole under a number of  
6 authorities.

7           Some of the Commission's reports have a special  
8 status under trade law. Commissioner Askey touched on that  
9 a bit. Congress has made receipt of Commission reports and  
10 analysis a precondition for the President to proclaim  
11 changes to tariffs, to implement bilateral and multilateral  
12 trade agreements, to implement U.S. tariff preference  
13 programs, and to make other changes in U.S. tariff schedule.  
14 And the Commission's reports are also part of trade  
15 promotion authority procedures.

16           Much of the statutory foundation for the  
17 Commission's mandates were set out in the Revenue Act of  
18 1916. And although those authorities, and in particular  
19 their use, have evolved over time, the core has remained  
20 responsibly--remarkably, I'm sorry, constant.

21           The three authorities in the 1916 Act require the  
22 Commission to investigate the effects of Customs laws and  
23 tariff-related issues on U.S. industry and labor, to  
24 investigate tariff relations with other countries such as  
25 the volume of imports compared to domestic production and

1 consumption, and the cause and effects of foreign  
2 competition on U.S. industries. And, to put at the disposal  
3 of the President, the Ways and Means Committee, and the  
4 Senate Finance Committee all information at its command and  
5 make such investigations and reports as requested by the  
6 President, either of these committees, or either Chamber of  
7 Congress.

8           Sound familiar? It should. All are from the  
9 1916 Act, and all have some progeny in more recent tariff  
10 laws. The 1916 Act also required the Commission to make an  
11 annual report to Congress consisting of a statement of the  
12 Commission's methodology, its expenses, and a summary of  
13 each report that it issued each year, during the year.

14           The reports are a tremendous resource, both then  
15 and now. To go back to touch on some of the history, the  
16 focus of trade tariff policy at the time the Commission was  
17 created was on enhancing the U.S. industries' ability to  
18 compete with imports on the domestic market.

19           In the Tariff Act of 1922, Congress authorized  
20 the President to implement a so-called "Flexible Tariff"  
21 based on the idea of using the tariff to equalize the cost  
22 of production of domestic goods with that of imports from  
23 the principal competing country.

24           The Commission needed to complete an  
25 investigation of the differing cost of production before the

1 President could change the tariff. The President was also  
2 authorized to increase or proclaim new tariffs if he  
3 determined that a foreign country was engaged in  
4 discrimination against U.S. commerce.

5 Again, the Commission was tasked with  
6 investigating and providing a factual basis for this action.  
7 The authorities provided in the 1922 Act were used  
8 frequently. In its 1929 Annual Report, the Commission  
9 stated that since 1922 it had completed 183 reports and  
10 special surveys under the authorities of the 1922 Act.

11 The next significant revision of U.S. tariff law  
12 was the Tariff Act of 1930 which included section 332. The  
13 language in section 332 is very similar to that that I read  
14 out from the 1916 Act, and section 332(g) remains the basis  
15 for today's requests for the Commission to investigate  
16 various matters, requests from the Senate Finance Committee,  
17 the Ways and Means Committee, and the USTR.

18 Initially, the committees in Congress were the  
19 source of requests for Section 332 investigations. The  
20 Executive Branch did not make its first formal request for  
21 an investigation under section 332 until 1940. And it was  
22 not until 1965 that the Executive Branch began to request  
23 the Commission to conduct investigations on a regular basis.

24 Starting in 1934, however, interaction between  
25 the Executive Branch and the Commission began taking place

1 in a very different context. Enactment of the Reciprocal  
2 Trade Agreements Act marked a historic change in the  
3 Executive Branch's authority with regard to tariffs. In the  
4 RTAA, Congress authorized the President to enter into trade  
5 agreements with foreign governments, cut tariffs up to 50  
6 percent, and to proclaim those cuts without further  
7 Congressional action. This was a major change.

8 Section 4 of the RTAA required the President to  
9 provide the public with reasonable notice of the intention  
10 to negotiate an agreement, and an opportunity for interested  
11 persons to provide views to the President.

12 Before concluding an agreement, the President was  
13 required to seek information and advice with respect to the  
14 proposed agreement from the Commission, the Departments of  
15 State, Agriculture, and Commerce, and other sources as  
16 appropriate.

17 The authority granted under the RTAA was  
18 time-limited, three years. However, Congress repeatedly  
19 extended that authority up until 1962. Negotiations were  
20 typically bilateral with the principal supplier of a  
21 particular good, and any tariff cuts were then--that were  
22 agreed, were applied on an MFN basis.

23 Under the RTAA and its extensions, the Executive  
24 Branch concluded and implemented trade agreements with 29  
25 countries between 1934 and 1946. Then in November, 1946,

1 the Secretary of State announced the President's intent to  
2 enter into negotiations with, quote, "various countries."  
3 Unquote.

4 These negotiations resulted in the General  
5 Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the GATT. Between 1948 and  
6 1994, the United States engaged in several rounds of  
7 negotiations under the aegis of the GATT.

8 The result of these negotiations were implemented  
9 through special procedures. Starting with the Trade Act of  
10 1974, the requirements of the Executive Branch had to meet  
11 to obtain application of these special rules for  
12 consideration and approval of trade agreements change and  
13 became far more complex than those that applied to the early  
14 GATT negotiations.

15 This was in part because of a change in the focus  
16 of the negotiations to include non-tariff measures.  
17 Congress acted to ensure that it was consulted and informed  
18 on the proposed agreement before, during, and after its  
19 negotiation.

20 As of last year, the requirements to use what is  
21 now known as "Trade Promotion Authority Procedures" are set  
22 forth in the Congressional Priorities and Accountability Act  
23 of 2015, TPA.

24 TPA procedures require compliance with Section  
25 131 of the 1974 Act under which the President must seek

1 advice from the Commission on the probable economic effect  
2 of reduction or elimination of tariffs on industries  
3 producing like or competitive articles, and on consumers.

4 The Commission was required to provide its advice  
5 within six months after receipt of a request, and receipt of  
6 the commission's advice, or expiration of that time period,  
7 is a prerequisite to making a formal tariff offer in  
8 negotiations.

9 Section 105 of TPA requires the President to  
10 request advice from the Commission on the probable economic  
11 effects of a tariff reduction on import-sensitive  
12 agricultural products before initiating tariff negotiations  
13 on those products.

14 While the President is required to seek the  
15 Commission's advice regarding tariff modification, seeking  
16 advice on non-tariff matters is discretionary. The  
17 Executive Branch, however, had sought such advice for  
18 example in connection with the multilateral negotiations on  
19 trade and services, TSA.

20 Under TPA, the President is also required to seek  
21 advice from the Commission near the end of the negotiations.  
22 Not later than 90 days before the President signs the trade  
23 agreement, he must provide the terms of the agreement as  
24 they exist at that time, and ask the Commission to prepare  
25 and submit an assessment of the agreement to the President

1 and Congress.

2 In May of this year, the Commission submitted its  
3 assessment of the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement.  
4 Needless to say, the Commission's analysis of the effect of  
5 this agreement on particular industries and the U.S. economy  
6 is far more complex and focused more on non-tariff measures,  
7 such as intellectual property rights, services, technical  
8 barriers to trade, investment, and other non-tariff matters,  
9 than its reports on early free trade agreements.

10 Although trade negotiations and Section 332  
11 investigations are often the focus of public attention, the  
12 Commission's economic analysis and recommendations to the  
13 Executive Branch play an important role in other contexts.  
14 These include implementation of U.S. tariff preference  
15 programs, especially the Generalized System of Preferences,  
16 and the African Growth and Opportunity Act, AGOA, on issues  
17 such as the eligibility of products for treatment under the  
18 particular program, and requests for waivers and competitive  
19 need limitations.

20 The Commission also has a significant role in the  
21 implementation on the convention on the Harmonized Commodity  
22 Description and Coding System. We talked about that a  
23 little this morning. And provides recommendations to the  
24 President under Section 205 of the Omnibus Trade and  
25 Competitiveness Act of 1988.

1           The Commission also has an important role in  
2 connection with the President's use of the consultation and  
3 layover provisions that you find in the Uruguay Round  
4 Agreements Act, and the legislation implementing each of our  
5 free trade agreements.

6           The authority is used, for example, to implement  
7 the WTO Sectoral Agreements such as the Pharmaceutical  
8 Tariff Agreement. It is also used to implement agreements  
9 to change rules of origin in our FTAs, or to accelerate  
10 tariff cuts under those agreements.

11           The President must receive advice from the  
12 Commission on the proposed action, and submit that advice to  
13 the Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees as part of  
14 the package that is the basis for consultations with  
15 Congress.

16           In summary, although the Commission's  
17 responsibilities and procedures have evolved over the last  
18 100 years, the core principles of objectivity, transparency,  
19 and responsiveness to the requests for its analysis have  
20 remained constant.

21           The Executive Branch considers the Commission to  
22 be an invaluable resource to the President, USTR, and other  
23 agencies that make and implement U.S. trade policy.

24           Thank you.

25           (Applause.)

1                   COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright, thank you very  
2 much. Next we will hear from Dr. Ferrantino, who will  
3 discuss the chapter that he co-authored with Bob Koopman.

4                   MR. FERRANTINO: So I am going to be using my  
5 phone as a timer. And despite what has been said earlier--  
6 well, if I can figure out how to do it--okay, there we go.  
7 Never mind. I'm just going to try to be on time. And, by  
8 the way, a phone is not a phone in the SICT 3. This is a  
9 radio transceiver.

10                   (Laughter.)

11                   MR. FERRANTINO: And you'd be surprised how many  
12 countries trade in them. It is very humbling and a great  
13 thing to be here to join in the celebration for this  
14 institution, and I say this not only on behalf of me but on  
15 behalf of my co-author, Bob Koopman, who did the heavy  
16 lifting and the drafting of this chapter. Most of you here  
17 will remember Bob as the long-time Director of Economics and  
18 Director of Operations, now the Chief Economist at the World  
19 Trade Organization. And he sends his greetings.

20                   So I think a lot more people do economic analysis  
21 in the Commission than think of themselves as that. And it  
22 goes far beyond the, you know, people who have the job title  
23 of "economist."

24                   And so if you ask yourself, what are the  
25 circumstances under which you really need an expert? I

1 would identify the circumstance in which somebody thinks  
2 they're an expert and has no idea what's going on.

3 (Laughter.)

4 MR. FERRANTINO: And I've had this experience  
5 myself. One of the most frustrating experiences in my life  
6 was having a months' long conversation with the Internal  
7 Revenue Service, which was fine to the extent that I got a  
8 lot of money, but at the end I found myself shouting at the  
9 telephone: Excuse me? I have a Ph.D. in economics from Yale  
10 University. Why is it that I cannot understand from reading  
11 all your instructions what number to put in this box?

12 (Laughter.)

13 MR. FERRANTINO: And was given no coherent answer  
14 to that question. Now I think that Frank Taussig was having  
15 a day like this ---

16 (Laughter.)

17 MR. FERRANTINO: -- in 1910. As has been  
18 mentioned, he was not only a graduate from Harvard, he was a  
19 Professor of Economics at Harvard, and was supposed to be  
20 the world's leading expert on the tariff.

21 And the experience he was having was that when he  
22 read the results of Congress's most recent action on the  
23 tariff, he couldn't actually tell which tariffs had gone up  
24 and which ones had gone down. And as a result of that, he  
25 ended up displaying a lot of the traits which I think are

1 now briefed strong in the Office of Industries, and the  
2 Office of Investigations, all over the Commission. And he  
3 wrote a piece on this which appeared in Volume One, number  
4 one, of the American Economic Review in 1911, and it was  
5 called "How Tariffs Should Not Be Made."

6 (Laughter.)

7 MR. FERRANTINO: And at the end of this piece, he  
8 comes out in favor of establishing a permanent body, which  
9 happened five years later, in order to systematically do the  
10 things that he's just done with great frustration. He picks  
11 out four products that seemed to him particularly puzzling.

12 And by the end of it, he has done the equivalent  
13 of a competitive assessment of an industry in which it  
14 expected to do a miscellaneous tariff bill, and even a value  
15 chain analysis. And he's done this in this sort of spirit  
16 of muck-raking journalism, which is what you actually used  
17 to have in the American Economic Review in those days. Not  
18 a single equation. Not a single regression table.

19 So he's very curious about the tariff on  
20 manufactured steel, okay? And he wants to know what's  
21 happened to it. And he notices that the duty that's been  
22 written in the schedule for structural steel hasn't changed  
23 much, but they've added some language that the tariff line  
24 is for beams, girders, joists, angles, blah, blah, blah, and  
25 what Congress has put in there is the phrase "not assembled

1 or manufactured or advised beyond hammering, rolling, or  
2 casting." That is the action of Congress.

3 And he thinks to himself, you know, I wonder what  
4 happened to the tariff in those items that were assembled or  
5 manufactured or cast, all those fabricated steel? And he  
6 scratches his head, and he thinks, and he says: You know  
7 what? This must kick them into this category "manufacturers  
8 of iron and steel not otherwise provided for."

9 And the duty there is 45 percent. And so he  
10 finds that when the whole debate in the House and all the  
11 testimony has been to leave the tariff the same or cut it,  
12 in fact for this huge category of goods it's been raised.

13 So he calls the Treasury and says: Are you really  
14 charging 45 percent? Yeah, yeah we are. And then on his  
15 own motion, he starts to call people in the private sector,  
16 as I would imagine one of our industry analysts would do,  
17 and said: So could there be any supply from Europe?

18 Well, no, there couldn't because they don't even  
19 understand the blueprints and designs for American steel  
20 forms there. Oh, really? And he contacts four or five  
21 other people and comes up with an assessment. And then he  
22 does this several times to show you that the tariff is not  
23 transparent and at every point is not only doing all this  
24 economic analysis, but calling out all these special  
25 interests.

1           Look how strange the tariff on cotton gloves is.  
2           And at just that price point it cuts. And it cuts for the  
3           type of white gloves which are worn by the U.S. Marines, and  
4           by police on dress occasions, which the government is buying  
5           a million of.

6           And this guy, who happens to be a friend of this  
7           Congressman in New Hampshire, is making a lot of these. And  
8           I really would think it would be great if every new analyst  
9           read *How Tariffs Are Not Being Made*.

10          But, so now that I've sort of emphasized that  
11          everybody here is doing economics work, you expect me to say  
12          something about the geek stuff. That's why I'm here. And  
13          this being the 100th anniversary of the Commission and the  
14          50th anniversary of Star Trek, this day, but not this year,  
15          is the 25th anniversary of the Office of Economics Working  
16          Paper Series, which started in 1991. And I think this is a  
17          good place to look at this history.

18          Because what we had was a bunch of people in  
19          economics which were very sort of ivory tower oriented. It  
20          was Joe Francois and David Rosenholtz, and Carmen Reinhart,  
21          and they developed a set of tools, *The Partial Equilibrium*  
22          *Analysis*, *The Compass Model*, which for quite a while was  
23          actually used in Commission Title VII investigations.

24          And then the U.S. model, the first General  
25          Equilibrium Model. And then not long after that, we had the

1 global models. And it turns out that these tools were  
2 introduced not too much for NAFTA and the Uruguay Round. A  
3 lot of people were using those, and in our commissions we  
4 were--our studies, we were reporting on other academics'  
5 results.

6 There was maybe one NAFTA model in a working  
7 paper, but we were called on to use the General Equilibrium  
8 Models for the first time in a context which was guaranteed  
9 to make a lot of people unhappy. And this was due to 2.332  
10 letters that came from USTR Carla Hills toward the end of  
11 the Bush 41 Administration.

12 The first one was the one that established the  
13 Import Restraint Study which essentially said imagine that  
14 the United States unilaterally disarms from all of its  
15 statutory duties. What would be the effect of that?

16 And so you end up coming up with a broad number.  
17 Well, if we adopted unilateral free trade it would increase  
18 welfare by about \$18 billion. It would be in those days  
19 when the tariffs were higher. And it would displace about  
20 200,000 workers from one industry to another. But it showed  
21 where, what Bob Koopman would say, "the big dead animals,"  
22 here in textiles, here in apparel, here in sugar, here in  
23 dairy, and so we got a lot of comment from industry on, oh,  
24 this can't possibly be the correct data. We have a  
25 narrative about ourselves which is not like the one being

1 presented in this study.

2 But as this was repeated every two years, which  
3 is what the request was, people began to understand what  
4 we'd be doing. Then there was the other request from Carla  
5 Hills, the one-time one, look at the economic effects of  
6 antidumping countervailing duty orders and suspension  
7 agreements.

8 In other words, what is the economic effect of  
9 the operation of Title VII? And this was the model we had.  
10 It made sense to us as economists, and what do we think?  
11 When you cut duties, yeah, there's some redistribution from  
12 producers to consumers, and an increase in overall welfare.

13 And so the economists ended up reporting the  
14 result that the operation of Title VII was doing \$2 billion  
15 worth of economic damage a year. And since the Commission  
16 itself only had a budget of \$40 million at that time, that  
17 was factually quite impressive.

18 (Laughter.)

19 MR. FERRANTINO: And it was a very difficult study  
20 to get out the door.

21 (Laughter.)

22 MR. FERRANTINO: I think it was a -- I think it  
23 may have been coincidental that the modelers developed those  
24 studies--Bruce Blonigen, Joe Flynn, Michael Galloway, they  
25 all shortly afterwards decamped to other institutions. They

1 got better data, and reported: No, the ITC actually does \$4  
2 billion worth of economic damage a year.

3 (Laughter.)

4 MR. FERRANTINO: And they got a lead article in  
5 the Journal of International Economics and lived happily  
6 ever after.

7 I think one of the things which has made the ITC  
8 a thought leader and a methodological leader in the things  
9 that we do is just the way that Section 332 works. Our  
10 three customers can ask us any question about international  
11 trade, and they don't have to ask us whether we have a  
12 method to answer it. They can wake up one day and say, hey,  
13 if China adopted intellectual property standards the same as  
14 the United States, what would be the effect on us?

15 Hey, what about, like is Europe out-competing us  
16 in terms of small and medium sized enterprises? You know,  
17 on technical assistance. We could be asked can you analyze  
18 a climate change agreement. And many times the question  
19 will say, huh? Okay. But then we come up with an answer to  
20 this in 12 months. It's a technology-forcing event. It's  
21 like, you know, President Kennedy saying: Get a man on the  
22 Moon by the end of the decade. And then you have a lot of  
23 surprises in the answers that you have to come up with along  
24 the way because they're obvious at the start.

25 And I think what has now happened in--under the

1 Trade Act of 2002 and its successor, and the set of analysis  
2 that has led to the TPP, is that now we have a ratcheting  
3 effect. We have a Congressional mandate to analyze  
4 everything that's done in these ever more complex trade  
5 agreements that have state-owned enterprises, and SPS  
6 measures, and everything else in them. And at the same  
7 time, then we have to constantly improve our game, right?

8 And so you end up getting people who are really  
9 good at what they do. And you did such a good job on the  
10 Trans Pacific Partnership, and brooked so many new pathways,  
11 that people noticed the project leader on that study, Jose  
12 Signoret, and my institution stole him as soon as we could.  
13 And we're looking forward to having him.

14 Thanks, very much.

15 (Applause.)

16 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Okay, thank you very  
17 much, Dr. Ferrantino. And now we'll have Professor Moore.

18 PROFESSOR MOORE: Thanks very much. Well, it's a  
19 pleasure to be here. I'm going to be brief, because I don't  
20 have much time. And I never know whether people invite me,  
21 with a name like "Michael Moore" to talk about trade --

22 (Laughter.)

23 PROFESSOR MOORE: -- because it's about my new  
24 film, which I've got nothing to report. I'm actually  
25 interested in trade issues from a more academic standpoint.

1           If you Google Michael Moore and trade, you'll get  
2 the Director. If you Google Michael Moore and GWU in trade,  
3 you get Michael Moore the Director. If you Google Michael  
4 Moore GWU Trade and Antidumping, I show up.

5           (Laughter.)

6           PROFESSOR MOORE: So I'm proud of that. So I've  
7 got just a few minutes here, but I want to just talk about  
8 some broad patterns in these fact-finding investigations by  
9 the Commission since especially 1930 when I started looking  
10 at the 332 investigations.

11           So just very briefly -- I should say before that,  
12 that I knew absolutely nothing about the process in general.  
13 I was aware of individual investigations that I found very  
14 interesting, important for my own work, but I hadn't looked  
15 at the investigations more broadly.

16           And I think there are some very interesting  
17 patterns, if you go back to 1930 and look at who asked for  
18 the investigations, what questions that they answered, and  
19 the techniques that were used.

20           And my contention is that you can see the broad  
21 changes in the U.S. economy, the broad changes in the U.S.  
22 trade policy process, and also the expanding economics  
23 profession's tool kit. And I think that's pretty cool.  
24 Just by looking, in my home in Santa Fe, New Mexico, at  
25 stuff online, look at all these reports from the comfort of

1 my home in Santa Fe, New Mexico, one thing that's very  
2 interesting about this process is that, unlike the  
3 antidumping and 337 investigations and safeguards,  
4 countervailing duty, which are generated by the industry,  
5 these cases, or these investigations, are requested by  
6 either the House, the Senate, the President, or sometimes by  
7 the ITC itself.

8           And so you see a kind of revealed preference  
9 about what these different organizations think is important.  
10 In the early days, it was very much in the first couple of  
11 decades, it was about defensive interests, import-competing  
12 industries. Especially agriculture, from 1930 to 1950, 17  
13 332s about agriculture, only 4 about manufacturing.

14           The way this process was being used was a  
15 particular Congressman or Senator is concerned about  
16 agricultural products. If you go forward to in recent  
17 years, it's about digital trade, the broad economic effects  
18 of a massively complicated agreement like TPP on the U.S.  
19 economy. Not just on import-competing interests, but about  
20 export interests, about U.S. foreign direct investors, about  
21 services, an incredibly interesting set of topics that would  
22 have been unimaginable in the first decades of the 332's  
23 use.

24           Also, the requests are quite different. From  
25 1930 to 1970, Congress--either the House or the Senate --

1 had 26 requests. There were 26 requests for the first 40  
2 years. Office of the President, 8, Congressional driven.  
3 2002 to 2015, Congress asked for 40; the President asked for  
4 119; and mandated, now as part of the TPA, 81.

5 So what you have is a kind of revealed preference  
6 about who really cares about trade. And now the President  
7 is pushing the process, but with Congress mandating certain  
8 types of requests, which have actually already been  
9 mentioned here.

10 Very briefly on the techniques that are used. In  
11 the early days it was a counting exercise. It was the  
12 comparison of U.S. costs versus foreign costs. Frankly, I  
13 have no idea how they got foreign costs in order to make  
14 this request. I know that facts available in investigations  
15 of the Department of Commerce are rife with problems. But  
16 anyway, that's what they used to do at the Commission.

17 It evolves in the 1980s in a dramatic way. The  
18 late 1980s, you start to use input/output tables. You start  
19 to use simulations, computable partial equilibrium models.  
20 Now computable generatable computer models. On methods that  
21 were completely unavailable in the early decades of the  
22 Commission, weren't available to the economics profession.  
23 So as Michael was saying, you've seen this increasingly  
24 complex methodological toolkit that's developed in the  
25 Commission, in the profession, to answer the increasingly

1 complex issues that face the U.S. economy.

2 And I would say, broadly speaking, this reflects  
3 the changing role of the U.S. economy and the global  
4 economy. We don't just talk about import competing  
5 industries. We talk about offensive interests--"offensive"  
6 in the mercantile industry; ways in which our small and  
7 medium enterprises can operate in a global economy, where  
8 services industries can operate in a global economy.

9 That is a much more interesting process. But I  
10 really appreciate Paul asking me to do the study because I  
11 really learned a lot about the way the U.S. economy has  
12 changed. And here are concrete examples in these reports.

13 So thank you very much.

14 (Applause.)

15 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright. We've also  
16 asked if the reviewers would like to make some comments, and  
17 so I believe, Neena, you would like to, and Professor --  
18 okay, so, Neena.

19 MS. SHENAI: Well good afternoon. Mindful of the  
20 time, I will be really brief. It's just a great opportunity  
21 to be a part of this accomplished panel. I just feel  
22 privileged to have had the opportunity to review a number of  
23 the chapters already discussed, and just be a part of this  
24 100th birthday celebration.

25 I left the Ways and Means Committee now just

1 about a year ago, and I have to say that working with the  
2 ITC during my tenure on Capitol Hill was just such a  
3 pleasure. The agency has some of the hardest working, most  
4 experienced, and nicest staff that I've ever met.

5 And I had the privilege of having the ITC  
6 portfolio at Ways and Means, so I worked with the ITC on  
7 everything from trade negotiation, to trade remedy, to ITC  
8 337, to the India Study, the 332 study, as well as critical  
9 technical support on legislation and the MTB.

10 A few comments on the general subject on the  
11 relationship between Congress and the ITC, one of the  
12 chapters that I did review. There is a great deal on trade  
13 negotiations supporting the ITC provided to Congress in that  
14 chapter, and it touches on a number of different things.

15 And Congress's ability to get information is I  
16 think different from the vast resources of the Executive  
17 Branch. Congress has the Library of Congress, and the  
18 Congressional Research Service, but we really do rely a lot  
19 in the trade world on the ITC providing this impartial,  
20 nonpartisan information to Congressional staff and Members  
21 to really make the best decisions to conduct oversight on  
22 trade activities, as well as just broader policy activities  
23 in the global trade space.

24 So let me touch quickly on trade negotiations and  
25 the MTB. I think the most critical report that the ITC does

1 produce, and one that's already been discussed, is in the  
2 context of TPA. And with respect to the assessment of the  
3 potential effects of the new trade agreement.

4 And I think it would be even more high profile if  
5 the ITC, for example, went negative on that report and said  
6 it would be actually harmful to the U.S. economy. In fact,  
7 even the TPP report that was recently issued forecasts  
8 modest gains for the U.S. economy, but was really spun in  
9 all sorts of different ways both positive and negative.

10 On the MTB, I worked many long hours with  
11 dedicated ITC staff on the miscellaneous Tariff Bill. And  
12 for those of you who are not familiar with the process,  
13 prior to the changes that were recently enacted to the  
14 process, Members of Congress introduced specific bills which  
15 either suspended or reduced tariffs for a period of three  
16 years on products not made in the U.S.

17 Now the ITC's role in the process has  
18 traditionally been to produce reports on each and every  
19 bill. And this last time around I think there were  
20 something like 2,000 bills. And the ITC did a report for  
21 every single bill, identifying domestic producers, looking  
22 at the content of the provision, looking at the revenue  
23 loss. And the ITC's reports really formed the basis of  
24 determining which provisions Congress would ultimately  
25 decide to put in the bill, as well as the Congressional

1 Budget Office's revenue loss estimates.

2 But there's just a lot more to it. The ITC also  
3 provides invaluable technical support for actually writing  
4 the bills and making sure that they are administrable, along  
5 with the Department of Commerce and Customs.

6 But given the difficulties over the MTB being  
7 considered earmarks, and Chairman Brady discussed it this  
8 morning, Congress recently enacted a new process which puts  
9 the ITC front and center in the miscellaneous tariff bill  
10 process.

11 Now so instead of starting the process were  
12 Members actually introduce bills, the ITC had to develop a  
13 portal and a process for accepting these submissions  
14 directly. And it's actually slated to start next month.  
15 And then the ITC has to play a critical role in determining  
16 which of the products make the final cut in order that  
17 Congress stays in compliance with the earmark rules.

18 So this new additional reliance on the ITC is a  
19 real testament to its independence and expertise; that it  
20 would be entrusted with the responsibilities once held by  
21 Members of Congress.

22 So let me stop there. I could talk for much  
23 longer on the critical role the ITC plays, but look forward  
24 to the conversation. Thanks.

25 (Applause.)

1                   COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright. And,  
2                   Professor Prusa.

3                   PROFESSOR PRUSA: Thank you. Today's conference  
4                   has been really interesting. I really enjoyed hearing some  
5                   of the older stories from long-time ITC people, the  
6                   nostalgia about the way things used to work. And that's  
7                   particularly relevant I think in light of my comments here  
8                   on this session. And that is, reading these industry papers  
9                   makes me really nostalgic for the good old 1960s and '70s  
10                  when we had really high tariffs, and we economists could  
11                  really focus in these trade negotiations on the trade  
12                  effects of tariff reductions.

13                  That's our sweet spot. Bring on NTB, right?  
14                  It's going to be small effects if you go from 2 percent to 1  
15                  percent, or one-half percent to zero percent. In the good  
16                  old days we'd go from 30 percent to 5 percent, and as  
17                  economists we'd give you a big bang for your buck.

18                  And that's really a challenge right now. I  
19                  think, looking back for what the last 100 years, the  
20                  industry reports, as Mike Moore documented, and Koopman and  
21                  Farrentino talked about in theirs, this evolution of how  
22                  economics was used. It's really interesting to see how the  
23                  Commission and the profession developed together, and the  
24                  Commission embraced as economics with learning how to model  
25                  price effects--that is, these tariff effects--pretty

1 accurately. We can argue about elasticity, but we were  
2 developing a really good framework, and the ITC embraced it.

3 The problem is, that's not where trade  
4 negotiations are right now. Most of the heavy lifting on  
5 tariff reductions has been done. These trade agreements now  
6 are on areas that aren't just simple price effects. So  
7 we're going to have trade agreements where we're going to  
8 have child labor rules--super important. I think we all  
9 agree these are important things that we can engage in trade  
10 agreements.

11 We can't tell you truly the GDP effect on the  
12 United States of this provision of TPP. We struggle on a  
13 lot of these new areas. So going forward over the next 10,  
14 20, 30, 100 years, the economics profession has to develop  
15 more and new methods to try to quantify economic effects of  
16 these new parts of these trade agreements.

17 I don't think we're going to go back to trade  
18 agreements where they're just about tariffs. And that's  
19 going to mean I think unfortunately for the Commission you  
20 will produce reports where the simple price effect is going  
21 to give you a .2, .2 percent GDP effect. And then we're  
22 going to wonder why are we doing TPP when the ITC, the  
23 definitive economic study, is, you know, this is the same as  
24 a small strike of an automaker in Detroit. These are very  
25 small effects for the whole national economy.

1           And that's because we are struggling with these  
2 ideas of measuring these new topics. So in my comments I  
3 want to say that I think when we all get together in 100  
4 years, we will see that economists and the nature of these  
5 reports are going to continue to evolve in a way that allows  
6 us to try to discuss these really important aspects of trade  
7 negotiations that don't fall under simple price effects that  
8 we as economists, and I think the ITC therefore, struggle  
9 with giving you good, accurate assessments that you can  
10 bring to Congress.

11                           (Applause.)

12           COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright. Well, we're  
13 out of time, but I do want to pose at least one question.  
14 And I'll open it up to any of the panelists. I thought it  
15 would be just very interesting to hear, given the breadth of  
16 the experience and expertise that we have sitting on the  
17 stage, what areas do you think the ITC should be studying?  
18 What areas should Congress or the Executive Branch be asking  
19 the ITC to study? And you can answer either from the  
20 perspective of this is important for U.S. trade policy; this  
21 is important because it's something I see going on in the  
22 economy right now; or I just think this would be a really  
23 interesting question to have asked.

24                           And then the second part of that would be -- and  
25 this is a little bit of a geeky question -- is: Does the

1 ITC, or do economists currently have the tools that would be  
2 necessary to give a robust answer to the question that you  
3 think ought to be asked?

4 So I will open that up. Anybody? Okay, Ms.  
5 Shenai?

6 MS. SHENAI: I would say duty inversion are an  
7 area that the ITC may want to take a look at. Those are  
8 situations actually that were mentioned in a prior panel,  
9 and I think it was an issue that was discussed 50 years ago,  
10 but it's one where there may be higher duties on inputs from  
11 manufactured products, as opposed to the final manufactured  
12 product. And we have lots of examples of those in the  
13 Tariff Code. Like golf clubs. It's actually more expensive  
14 for a producer to import in components of a golf club and  
15 manufacture it in the United States than it is for them to  
16 actually import the golf club. It's a lower duty.

17 So there are disadvantages for actually  
18 manufacturing in the United States that are built into the  
19 Tariff Code. And I'm not an economist, but I would say that  
20 that's probably a really sweet spot for the ITC to be able  
21 to determine what the type of competitive effects are.

22 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Professor Prusa? Pass  
23 that mike down, would you?

24 PROFESSOR PRUSA: So one thing that's evolving and  
25 is really going to continue to grow in importance is global

1 supplier chains. So what industries are really affected by  
2 this? How these global supply chains are set up. To what  
3 extent are we setting tax and trade policy as a way to allow  
4 the U.S. companies and the economy to benefit from global  
5 supply chains.

6 And so one level, I don't know the measurement,  
7 but I think still we need to get a better handle on just  
8 measuring these methods, and then second would be trying to  
9 quantify it. But that's I think going forward some of the  
10 frustration that we hear from people about being left behind  
11 on trade involve this phenomenon. And we don't really have  
12 an exact handle on it.

13 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Yes?

14 PROFESSOR MOORE: I would add a related issue. In  
15 the academic literature there's a lot more emphasis on firm  
16 level activities. One firm is not like another is not like  
17 another. And I know, by necessity you're looking at big  
18 economy-wide models and you tend to group things into  
19 industry sectors, but a lot of the things happen at  
20 individual firm level, at individual worker level. And  
21 looking at that level of disaggregation is daunting, but  
22 more and more economists are doing it. And it's where a lot  
23 of the action is.

24 And one firm decides to outsource certain  
25 products, and the other one doesn't. They have different

1 effects. But getting to that granular level of economic  
2 effects I think is going to be more compelling for a lot of  
3 people than just looking at broad sectoral analysis. That's  
4 easy for me to say, but if you ask for what you could do  
5 that might be one thing.

6 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Michael?

7 MR. FERRANTINO: Yes. So I think all these things  
8 are related. And we do have some capabilities that we could  
9 have more. So if we look at duty inversion and supply  
10 chains, yeah, your example of the golf clubs is a supply  
11 chain issue. You know, which parts of the production  
12 process do you have here? And the question of firm level  
13 data enters into it because how do you see golf clubs?

14 Now actually the Commission has done a fair  
15 amount of work on global supply chains. This was the  
16 special topic in import restraints a couple of issues back,  
17 and the economists at the Commission have contributed a lot,  
18 I would say, seminally to these methods using global  
19 input/output tables. But the limits of those are that we  
20 can see things on the level of chemicals and electronics,  
21 and so you could answer questions about the duty inversion  
22 on that level but not on the level of golf clubs where I  
23 think you would need to have different skill sets. You'd  
24 need to have industry analysts. You might need to have firm  
25 level data.

1           I think one of the ambitious things that the  
2 Commission tried to do, and I don't know what became of  
3 this, is to attempt to work with the U.S. Census to access  
4 some of the confidential data that some academics like Mr.  
5 Jenson at Georgetown has done, and have some Commission  
6 employees become sworn Census agents.

7           Now that model works very awkwardly with the time  
8 limits of, you know, doing something like a 332  
9 investigation. So there may be some more creative ideas  
10 that somebody would have about how to access firm-level  
11 data. And I think that would be well worth pursuing.

12           MS. ASKEY: I just wanted to--most of the  
13 responses, except for the last one, I think was more  
14 reflective of traditional trade agreements, except in a more  
15 sophisticated way I would add transaction costs to supply  
16 chain, which would be really the same thing.

17           But what I wanted to say is it's a bit of a  
18 cautionary tale as well about what we are going to ask the  
19 ITC to do, and what we're going to have trade agreements  
20 cover. I think TPP is a perfect example, of course, even if  
21 you separate out the political electioneering aspects of it,  
22 creating kind of tailored models to try to answer questions  
23 that really perhaps are--I mean they certainly are  
24 important, but at some point are you going to undermine the  
25 value of the ITC's analytical output by asking it to contort

1       itself so much, and ask trade agreements to contort  
2       themselves so much, that you really are carrying a lot of  
3       weight?

4                There's an incentive to do it because you can get  
5       it approved and passed, although TPP is another cautionary  
6       tale. Can you get it approved at that under a simplified  
7       system of TPA? But, really, I even have some problems with  
8       the ITC doing miscellaneous tariff bills because why should  
9       that not evolve from the legislative process as opposed to  
10      advocating that?

11              In my view, the Members got a lot of political  
12      points for introducing these bills that eventually got  
13      approved, even though the discipline of it had to be paid  
14      for and had to have some ITC backing with respect to  
15      analytics. But I just think there's a cautionary tale there  
16      as to whether we're going to be able to keep the value of  
17      the ITC and the value of trade agreements in the new world  
18      of piling everything into that basket.

19              COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Would anyone like to --  
20      sure, yes?

21              PROFESSOR MOORE: We talk a lot about trade  
22      agreements. I mean it's conceivable that big trade  
23      agreements may not be the future. It may be trade and  
24      investment, you know, ongoing relationships that is really  
25      the focus.

1           I mean, I've been out of Washington these days,  
2           but from outside TPP looks in trouble. You know, this crowd  
3           would know much more than me. I don't think DOLA is going  
4           anywhere. You know, maybe there's a lot more optimism  
5           around, but even if you don't have new agreements,  
6           globalization continues.

7           And so building up the ability to understand some  
8           of these nontraditional models, or issues, is still going to  
9           be useful, with or without new trade agreements. So I  
10          wouldn't let how it fits into trade agreements stop you from  
11          moving forward with some issues.

12          COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Um-hmm? Mike?

13          MR. FERRANTINO: Yes, I would agree with that.  
14          Because as far as we can tell, the largest share of what  
15          people would call "globalization" isn't actually due to  
16          things that are negotiated, but due to big forces in the  
17          world economy. And people would want to understand that.

18          COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: So what kind of forces?  
19          What are you talking about? Can you be more specific?

20          MR. FERRANTINO: I'm talking about economic growth  
21          in general, about the general reduction in transaction  
22          costs, whether it be things like container shipping, or the  
23          internet, or whatnot. And so the fact that we saw trade grow  
24          more rapidly than income for almost the whole World War II  
25          period, and then somehow seeming to stop after 2009, is--in

1 some sense those things are a bigger deal than everything  
2 than anybody's ever negotiated. And I would think would be  
3 curious as to what the impact was on the U.S. economy.

4 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright. Anybody else?

5 (No response.)

6 COMMISSIONER SCHMIDTLEIN: Alright, well I'm  
7 conscious of the time so thank you for indulging me. Please  
8 join me in thanking this panel. It's been very interesting.

9 (Applause.)

10 MR. BARDOS: Okay, so we'd like to take just a  
11 five-minute break. So if you would, come back at 4:35.  
12 Thanks.

13 (Whereupon, a brief break is taken.)

14 MR. BARDOS: Please take your seats. We're going  
15 to move on to the next, the final panel, which is on the  
16 Institutional Evolution of the Commission. And it will be  
17 moderated by Chairman Williamson.

18 (Pause.)

19 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Okay, well welcome to the  
20 final panel of today's program. This is kind of like, shall  
21 we say, a wrap-up panel because this panel will be  
22 discussing the institutional evolution of the Commission.  
23 The panel will focus on two major chapters of the Centennial  
24 Book, and a third chapter.

25 The first chapter is Chapter 4, The Substantive

1 and Institutional Evolution of the ITC. This chapter was  
2 written by Will Leonard and Dave Foster. While their bios  
3 are already in your program materials, I would note that  
4 Will was a Commissioner at the ITC from 1968 to 1977, and  
5 Chairman from 1975 to 1976, and he is now with the firm of  
6 Adduci & Mastriani.

7 Dave Foster was at the ITC as an attorney from  
8 '73 to '76. He was involved in the ITC's implementation of  
9 the '74 Trade Act, and in the transformation of Section 337  
10 following the '74 Act. He is a partner with the firm of  
11 Foster, Murphy, Altman and Nichols, and has been an active  
12 337 litigant.

13 The second Chapter of this book we will be  
14 discussing is Chapter 5: Evolution of the Chairmanship.  
15 This chapter was written by three former Chairs of the  
16 Commission, Chair Aranoff, who was Commissioner from 2005 to  
17 2014, and Chair from 2008 to 2010. She is now with  
18 Covington & Burling. Deanna Okun, who was Chair--  
19 Commissioner from 2000 to 2012, and Chair from 2002 to 2014,  
20 and from 2010 to 2012. And she is now at Adduci &  
21 Mastriani. We've heard from her today already. And Daniel  
22 Pearson, who was a Commissioner from 2003 to 2012, and was  
23 Chair from 2006 to 2008. And he is now at the Cato  
24 Institute.

25 And Paul Bardos has written a chapter on the

1 Offices of the Commission, and he will have a few words  
2 regarding OPAL--we've seen him a lot today, but he is going  
3 to talk a little bit about that chapter.

4 As reviewers from the two chapters we have Lynn  
5 Bragg, who was a Commissioner from 1994 to 2003, and Chair  
6 from 1998 to 2000. And she is now President of the Glass  
7 Packaging Institute.

8 Our second reviewer is Dan Leahy, who was with  
9 the Commission from 1974 to 2004, in a number of capacities  
10 including as the first Director for External Relations. And  
11 then we also have as a reviewer Kenneth R. Mason, who as you  
12 know was Secretary for the Commission from '69 to 1992.

13 I would now ask Dave to discuss the institutional  
14 evolution of the Commission. Unfortunately, Will Leonard  
15 cannot be with us today, but Dave, Will and I had a very  
16 good conversation on Tuesday and had some very interesting  
17 points, and he has licensed Dave to make the points for him.  
18 In short, anything that Dave feels is controversial he will  
19 attribute to Will.

20 (Laughter.)

21 MR. FOSTER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Yes, I  
22 wanted to make that clear from the start. Anything  
23 controversial, Will said it, not me.

24 The substantive evolution of the Commission has  
25 been very interesting. It started out, as everybody knows,

1 to provide advice and counsel and develop an expertise on  
2 the tariff to help the Congress set the tariff.

3 This changed really in 1922 when they established  
4 the Flexible Tariff Provision, the so-called "scientific  
5 tariff," but the Commission still basically provided  
6 information at that point to the President who could then  
7 adjust the tariff.

8 So you had a movement from Congress setting it,  
9 to the President establishing it through the Section 315  
10 procedure which became Section 338 of the Tariff Act of  
11 1930.

12 And they also developed extreme expertise in  
13 tariff and trade matters, and that was their duty, to become  
14 the expert body within the U.S. Government on international  
15 trade matters, to advise both the President and, more  
16 importantly, and perhaps principally, Congress in  
17 establishing the trade policy of the United States.

18 As was already mentioned by an earlier speaker,  
19 in 1934 were the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the HALT  
20 Tariff Act. This focus changed yet again because now  
21 Congress basically gave the authority to the President to  
22 establish the tariffs of the United States through  
23 reciprocal trade agreements programs, and the Commission's  
24 function moved to continuing to advise the Congress on  
25 international trade matters and tariffs. But now also to

1 work even more closely with the President in terms of giving  
2 what we now call "probable economic advice" as to what would  
3 be the impact of tariff changes that were proposed in the  
4 Reciprocal Trade Agreements.

5 This continued largely to be the work of the  
6 Commission until the Trade Act of 1974. And the Trade Act  
7 of 1974 really was the seminal Act for what I would call the  
8 modern day Commission. Because what it did is move the  
9 Commission more and more into the trade administration  
10 aspects, if you will, of international trade. And this was  
11 done purposely by Congress.

12 They took authority away from the President with  
13 respect to Section 337 and gave it to the Commission. They  
14 got the Commission much more involved in antidumping areas,  
15 and approved the antidumping--approved the antidumping  
16 decisions of the Commission that had been made up at that  
17 time. And they did this basically to create the Commission  
18 as part of an apparatus within the Government that would be  
19 a type of safety valve for the Trade Agreements Program, and  
20 to build support for the Trade Agreements Program.

21 And here the phrase, "all the time, free but fair  
22 trade." And that's basically how the Trade Agreements  
23 Program has been sold in the United States: We're going to  
24 liberalize trade, but don't worry, we're going to make sure  
25 it's fair trade. And furthermore, with our Trade Adjustment

1 Assistance Program we're going to take care of the people  
2 that are displaced and harmed by trade.

3 And so the Commission became a part of this  
4 regime more and more. And now, to the point now where about  
5 fifty percent of the resources of the Commission are spent  
6 on the trade regulation, if you will, or the trade  
7 administration, principally antidumping, countervailing duty  
8 and Section 337. And about fifty percent of the  
9 Commission's resources still go to developing expertise,  
10 providing advice to Congress and the President, and  
11 preparing reports, that type of thing.

12 So that's been sort of the substantive evolution  
13 of the Commission.

14 There's also been an institutional evolution of  
15 the Commission, although really from the foundation of the  
16 Commission it was meant to be independent, nonpartisan,  
17 objective, and expert. Those were the objectives in  
18 setting up the Commission. And institutionally, the  
19 principal way they did that was to provide that no more than  
20 three Commissioners could be from one party. Also, to  
21 provide for extended terms of appointments so that the  
22 President, whoever appointed them, would have less control,  
23 if any control, over their reappointment.

24 And this was the principal method for achieving  
25 objectivity and nonpartisanship up until 1974. And again

1       you saw the '74 Act, a further extension of this idea of  
2       let's make the Commission truly independent.

3               And it was a realization, of course, by that  
4       time, as there had always been a realization in Congress  
5       that control of the budget, control of the ability to go  
6       into court, those were key aspects of being able to be  
7       independent. And so in the '74 Act the Congress provided  
8       that the Commission could set its own budget, and it would  
9       be included in the budget of the President without change.

10              It also provided that they could go into court  
11       and represent themselves in matters of their jurisdiction,  
12       and with respect to cases that they had decided.

13              Both these changes were vociferously opposed by  
14       the Nixon Administration. There were some nasty letters  
15       exchanged, some of which are public, about how this was  
16       going to destroy the ability of the Administration, of the  
17       Executive to control what went to the courts and what didn't  
18       go to the court, or to control the budget.

19              And of course that's turned out to be way  
20       overblown. In fact, the Commission has come into  
21       accommodation with the Administrations that followed both  
22       with respect to how its budget is set, and the Commission  
23       has never been one to over-reach on budget matters.

24              And it also has established a method of operation  
25       with the Executive in terms of how it would represent itself

1 in court. And so that's been, again, an evolution of  
2 initially independent, even more so now. And so that's  
3 basically been both the substantive and the institutional  
4 evolution of the Commission, and that's basically what Will  
5 and I try to describe in our chapter.

6 Thank you.

7 (Applause.)

8 MS. TANNER OKUN: Well hello again. I'm back up  
9 here on the last panel of the day, the last panel between  
10 you and your reception, so I'm wondering if, for those of  
11 you who are still here, whether Chairman Williamson sent out  
12 an email saying that we had written--that Sarah and I had  
13 written a tell-all about all the Chairmen and ranked all 35  
14 individuals who have served one or more terms as Chairman of  
15 the ITC in the last 100 years at the time we wrote the book,  
16 though we ranked them in order.

17 (Laughter.)

18 MS. TANNER OKUN: But we did not. So, sorry about  
19 that. But you should still read the chapter.

20 Instead, what we tried to look at is, keeping in  
21 mind the things you've heard this morning and this  
22 afternoon, Democrats versus--the tensions, Democrats versus  
23 Republicans, free-traders versus protectionists, and of  
24 course we all know that doesn't necessarily translate into  
25 Republicans versus Democrats. Strong Chairman versus a weak

1 Chairman. Independence form the Executive Branch.

2 Independence from the Congressional Branch.

3 How did those tensions translate into the  
4 Chairmanship and the changes that we've seen over time?

5 So I'm going to just briefly give an overview of  
6 what we focused on, and then turn it over to have a  
7 conversation about it. And of course the Chairmanship and  
8 the Vice Chairmanship have existed since 1916.

9 What you see, and again related to things about  
10 tension, you heard a reference earlier this morning that,  
11 while the -- Frank Taussig, who might be our founding father  
12 than Len Miranda makes a play about, right, we can figure  
13 out who was the most important ITC Chairman or Commissioner,  
14 but there was a period during the '20s when there were many  
15 issues about the Commissioners, and integrity, and  
16 unhappiness. And so that's when you had several changes  
17 made to the Chairmanship, and we cover that in our chapter.

18 And then you have a period of time where the  
19 statute has some tweaks in it that relate to the  
20 Chairmanship, but the next time you see some changes, what  
21 we refer to as the "modern Chairmanship," really are in  
22 1977.

23 And what you had then, and an interesting read,  
24 is the Ways and Means, the Congress really becoming  
25 concerned that this division between what Commissioners and

1        what the Chairman did on the administrative side versus the  
2        substantive side, whether the independence had become such  
3        that they were spending too much time arguing with each  
4        other over particular issues, including administrative  
5        matters, that you needed to make a stronger chairman in some  
6        ways to handle administrative matters.

7                    So there is an interesting report that was  
8        prepared by the House Ways and Means Committee that talks  
9        about some of the issues that they saw there. One thing  
10       they said was they wanted, the legislation in 1977 was  
11       intended to enable the Commission to devote all its energies  
12       to substantive matters within the jurisdiction of the  
13       Commission, leaving responsibility for administration of the  
14       Commission to the Chairman and his delegates.

15                   And that translated into what we refer to as the  
16       modern Chairmanship, where the Chairman makes administrative  
17       decisions, subject to disapproval of a majority of the  
18       Commission. And that under that rubric there has been I  
19       think, we view a way forward where the Commission really  
20       does have a way to deal with administrative matters, but  
21       letting the Chairman do a lot of the details. And for those  
22       of us who served as Chairman, we know that there are lots of  
23       details that you deal with.

24                   So that's really, again, I want to leave this  
25       brief so that we have time for the questions that we want to

1 talk about and how this rubric that was set up over time for  
2 the modern Chairmanship relates to what's happening today in  
3 the increased responsibilities and missions of the  
4 Chairmanship.

5 (Applause.)

6 MR. BARDOS: So I wrote a short chapter on the  
7 headquarters and field offices of the Commission. I found  
8 this a very interesting topic, remembering the grand old  
9 building we used to be in until 1988. And I just remember  
10 the grand staircases, and the cupolas, and you can see it  
11 now. It's the Hotel Monaco, but in those days it was our  
12 digs. And it was grand, but unfortunately it was also  
13 falling apart. I think Professor Eckes mentioned some of  
14 the problems. Metro construction was undermining the  
15 foundations, and vast cracks had shown up.

16 This was followed by a rodent infestations,  
17 leading to a Washington Times article quoting an ITC  
18 employee saying the squeamish cannot survive long here.

19 (Laughter.)

20 MR. BARDOS: So our current building, although  
21 perhaps less historic, has been I think a lot more  
22 comfortable. And then I wanted to mention there were a  
23 number of other offices. For many years we were in New  
24 York, as well. We briefly were in Richmond, Virginia.

25 But the interesting thing for me was the European

1 offices. Back in the '20s we started having a European  
2 headquarters in Berlin, and that moved to Brussels for a  
3 good many years. We briefly also had an office in Paris.  
4 And I was amused to find an odd way of finding information  
5 was that the Government Accountability Office had done a  
6 report on the per diem paid to an accountant who had gone to  
7 visit Brussels and determined that that person needed to pay  
8 some money back. And it gave the address of the Brussels  
9 office, which I enjoyed. But we got rid of all our European  
10 offices long ago.

11 And the last thing I'll say is that, sort of in a  
12 similar vein but not quite, many years ago we received a  
13 Freedom of Information Act request that also went to other  
14 agencies, and I was asking for information about our Hawaii  
15 office.

16 (Laughter.)

17 MR. BARDOS: So I went to the Chairman and I said,  
18 I didn't know we had one. And are there any employment  
19 opportunities? I think it was Steve Copeland that was  
20 Chairman at the time, and he laughed.

21 But, anyway, that's what I wanted to say about  
22 our buildings. Thank you.

23 (Applause.)

24 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you, Paul. And, no,  
25 there are no European or Hawaiian offices in the budget.

1 (Laughter.)

2 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Okay, let's turn right to  
3 the questions. This is the last panel, so it gives us a  
4 chance to sort of wrap things up.

5 I want to start off with this question. A key  
6 theme in the Centennial Book, as of course there's been a  
7 lot of talk today, is the mandate for the Commission to be  
8 independent and nonpartisan and objective. And I want to  
9 ask this question:

10 Is this mandate still as relevant in 2016 as it  
11 was in 1916? And will it continue to be relevant going  
12 forward? And if you think yes, why? So I throw that open  
13 to the panelists.

14 MR. FOSTER: Yes, I think it is still relevant,  
15 and it will continue to be relevant. Again, I think part of  
16 the reason of--well, originally the Commission was set up to  
17 take politics out of the tariff. That was the phrase that  
18 as used. And of course it was not successful in doing that,  
19 but what it did establish is an agency that developed some  
20 extreme expertise in international trade, and became the  
21 go-to agency in many ways for both the Congress and now the  
22 President in terms of trying to get objective, nonpartisan,  
23 exceptionally expert advice that really lays the foundation  
24 for the support for the entire Trade Agreements Program.

25 And you will not get that support if the agency

1 becomes perceived as being not objective, or partisan. And  
2 so I can't stress, in my own view the Commission is central  
3 to the entire Trade Agreements Program, because it is the  
4 agency that becomes the safety valve for many of the issues.  
5 And Congress and the President can say, well, we gave that  
6 question to the Commission and here's what they say.

7 And it's the same way that the tax committees in  
8 Congress uses the Joint Tax Committee, and other agencies--  
9 other committees of the sort. It is an agency that people  
10 can trust and can cite, and it won't be possible if they're  
11 not perceived as objective and nonpartisan.

12 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Dan?

13 MR. LEAHY: Mr. Chairman, I would just say that I  
14 think being seen as objective and independent is really  
15 helpful when talking to appropriators. I mean they get  
16 suspicious if they think you're leaning too much one way or  
17 the other. So I found it helpful to go into those sessions  
18 being able to say, quite honestly, yes, we do some work for  
19 USTR. The statute says we ought to. We're doing a lot more  
20 work right now for Finance and Ways and Means, da-da-da-da,  
21 and you're emphasizing the balance in our approach between  
22 the Hill and the Administration I think is helpful to the  
23 Commission's long-term survival.

24 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Lynn?

25 MS. BRAGG: I really feel that it's more important

1 than ever before, given the hard swings in partisanship that  
2 we're seeing on Capitol Hill. And I think that's very--  
3 you've seen the results of that, basically. And I look at  
4 it now from a manufacturing and a business perspective.  
5 Nothing gets done.

6 And I think more and more both the business  
7 communities and manufacturing communities are looking for  
8 objective information, and information on which they can  
9 make very key business decisions.

10 And the International Trade Commission remains  
11 one of those agencies. So I do have to say I'm somewhat  
12 concerned over the role that the Commission now has with the  
13 miscellaneous tariff bills that I think may put the  
14 Commission, while it will elevate it into a leadership role,  
15 you also are elevated to be the head of the nail, as well.

16 So you basically have a de facto decision-making  
17 role, which I think will be subject to some political  
18 pressure.

19 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: The head of the nail?  
20 That's very good, Dan?

21 MR. LEAHY: In 1996 I became Director of the  
22 Office of Executive International Liaison. Shortly  
23 thereafter, I managed to get that office switched into the  
24 Office of External Relations, which brought in the  
25 Congressional side of the House as well as the Public

1 Affairs. It also brought with me a lot of input from those  
2 parties.

3 One of the things that I noted from Dr.  
4 Ferrantino's remarks was that I can now date the beginning  
5 of my hair loss to the 25 years ago when the Office of  
6 Economics put out their first working papers.

7 (Laughter.)

8 MR. LEAHY: It certainly brought a lot of  
9 attention. But in a good way. But as I sat here today  
10 listening to all the presentations, which truly I thought  
11 were excellent, two things struck me.

12 One, I wish I had known a lot of the history  
13 before I took on the positions I took on. It would have  
14 made my life easier. But secondly, that everyone that  
15 spoke, starting with the keynote speakers this morning, they  
16 had the same message. And the message is that 100 years ago  
17 a group of people thought they could put together an agency  
18 that would give them expert, objective, nonpartisan advice.  
19 And 100 years later, both the Congressional and the  
20 Executive Branches have continued to give us the control,  
21 give away control, which in Washington is not something that  
22 happens very often. But giving this agency control over  
23 matters of great importance to them and to the country.

24 And, that the staff of this agency, the career  
25 staff, the staff that work for the Commissioners, the

1 Commissioners themselves, over that 100 years have managed  
2 to keep that trust. And I hope for the next 100 years they  
3 continue to do that. Thank you.

4 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. I'm going to put  
5 another spin on it. The points that most of you made are  
6 really inside the Beltway, you know, interaction with  
7 Congress, business people and tariffs, so--but if you think  
8 about the view of trade in general among the general public,  
9 if you look at some of the Pew studies and things like that,  
10 I want you to think about that and sort of say, if yes,  
11 these things of independence and nonpartisan and objective  
12 are still important, how do we navigate in this time?

13 How does living in an age of instant  
14 communication and all news all of the time affect the  
15 Commission's role and ability to do the things that our  
16 founders want us to do, and that we say are still important?

17 Dave, you had some thoughts about this on Monday?

18 (Laughter.)

19 MR. FOSTER: I should have been quiet. Well, you  
20 know, I think it is a question of sticking to what we -- and  
21 I still use the word "we" when I talk about the Commission  
22 -- what the Commission has done well all along. And what it  
23 has done well is maintain its independence but develop the  
24 expertise that's needed to where, to a point now, and I  
25 think this was made earlier, I don't think there's a

1 concentration of expertise in international trade anywhere  
2 in the world that compares to what's at the International  
3 Trade Commission now.

4 And I think people see this as a very valuable  
5 resource. But you got there by sort of sticking to your  
6 knitting, not being afraid to call things as they are,  
7 developing the expertise and earning the respect,  
8 maintaining the relationships. The Commission has always had  
9 an extraordinarily strong relationship with the staffs of  
10 the Ways and Means and Finance Committee, and I think this  
11 has been critical in maintaining the relationship with the  
12 Committees.

13 You've also had a very strong relationship with  
14 the Administration, with USTR. Commission employees now are  
15 spread out throughout the world in international trade  
16 organizations and everywhere else.

17 And so I think, stick to your knitting and you'll  
18 do find. And so basically the advice is, continue.

19 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Lynn?

20 MS. BRAGG: Well, I think outside of the Beltway  
21 trade and trade negotiations and trade agreements are  
22 completely misunderstood. And they have been spun, no  
23 matter the benefits that the trade agreements bring to the  
24 United States, and to businesses and manufacturing in the  
25 United States. There's always a real, to me, a very

1 negative, a negative, negative spin. And I think that is  
2 what has really stuck, that impression.

3 So I would say most people don't know. I mean,  
4 most Members' constituents don't know, most consumers don't  
5 know that this truly nonpartisan, independent agency exists.  
6 And they oftentimes aren't aware of the fine, fine work that  
7 is done here in terms of thought papers on the economic  
8 analysis, and the really key research that is done to lay  
9 the groundwork for trade agreements.

10 So the one piece of advice I guess that I might  
11 impart is in the new world of instant communication try to  
12 find a great niche for the ITC in a very respectful and  
13 professional way to get the fine work that is being done in  
14 this Commission out in the public when it's published.

15 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Shara?

16 MS. ARANOFF: I was thinking about this idea of  
17 outside-the-Beltway and how the Commission can and can't be  
18 relevant to people outside the Beltway.

19 And one of the things that the Commission has in  
20 fact tried to do is get outside of Washington when it can  
21 and show people on the factory floor, or through field  
22 hearings, that this is your government working for you.

23 So one of, I thought, the best parts of being a  
24 Commissioner was getting to go and tour plants around the  
25 country that were making products that were subject to

1 various Commission investigations. And I thought that one  
2 of the most important things about that was actually walking  
3 around the floor of the plant so that all of the workers  
4 there could see that you were there, and usually management  
5 had told them why you were there so that they could see that  
6 there was a government agency who cared about what was going  
7 on in their facility, who was interested in how they did  
8 their jobs, and who was working for them.

9           The same with field hearings, where I think the  
10 Commission doesn't do it often, but when it's appropriate to  
11 get out of Washington and make itself more accessible to the  
12 viewpoints of people who are out in other parts of the  
13 country. That's also been well received.

14           And I must say, though, when you think about it  
15 from a government, Washington versus outside-of-Washington  
16 standpoint, that the Commission always had to tread a very  
17 fine line between wanting to be out there, and showing  
18 people the relevance of what the Commission does versus  
19 being accused of going on junkets.

20           Now I would suggest that a lot of the places that  
21 we went to do plant tours were not the type of places that  
22 you would go if you had a junket in mind, but that's a very  
23 hard argument to make when, you know, official government  
24 travel is being highly scrutinized.

25           But on balance I would say it's a good thing that

1 the Commission goes out there and tries to make itself  
2 visible and make the Commission more visible to people  
3 outside the Beltway.

4 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Paul?

5 MR. BARDOS: I just wanted to do a plug for the  
6 Commission's website. I don't know that we'll ever be--  
7 well, that people around the country will ever be aware of  
8 us, but I think we've done a very good job of putting out  
9 information on the Internet. The DataWeb, the HTS. So for  
10 those people who do know us and can benefit, we do a lot for  
11 them.

12 I remember when our website was basically just a  
13 toy, and it has just become so much more. It's such a huge  
14 fount of information.

15 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: And it's going to become  
16 even more of a fountain of information after today with  
17 what's been learned today. Dan?

18 MR. PEARSON: Mr. Chairman, I actually think it's  
19 difficult for the Commission to do much more to engage in  
20 policy debates that are now so political. I think the  
21 Commission, as it sticks to its knitting and does good  
22 analysis, is providing information that can inform that  
23 debate. Unfortunately, in recent months we haven't seen  
24 much informing being done--not the Commission's fault, but  
25 people aren't terribly interested in it.

1           But those of us who use some of the Commission's  
2 work and are in a position to be actively engaged in the  
3 public debate I think need to try to raise our voices  
4 further. Although I've been trying to do that, and frankly  
5 my team is losing rather badly. But that's another story.  
6 But we have to divide the line I think between what the  
7 Commission legitimately can do and what those people can do  
8 who are more actively involved in public policy debate.

9           CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Okay, can I summarize this  
10 by saying--Yes, Lynn.

11           MS. BRAGG: I just have one more comment, and just  
12 so you know, my industry is a heavy, heavy user of the Trade  
13 Data Website. So thank you. Thank you, very much for that.

14           CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. Okay, can I  
15 summarize this by saying, keep on doing a good job in  
16 getting the facts out there. Stick to our knitting. Don't  
17 tweet, or at least be careful what you tweet.

18           (Laughter.)

19           CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: For the authors of the  
20 Chairmanship chapter, in your chapter you say: While the  
21 role of the Commission continues to evolve along with the  
22 substantive and administrative challenges facing the agency,  
23 the current structure of the Commission designed to strike a  
24 balance with neither a strong nor a weak Chairman, has on  
25 the whole proven effective.

1                   And the question I have for you: Should anyone in  
2                   the general public care about this? Whether we have a  
3                   strong or a weak Chairman?

4                   MS. ARANOFF: So the answer to that question I  
5                   think is yes and no. We've talked a lot today about how the  
6                   Commission is structured in a way that on the Commission's  
7                   substantive work on antidumping cases, on Section 337 cases,  
8                   on Section 332 studies, the Chairman's vote is not worth any  
9                   more than any other Commissioners' vote. And so in that way  
10                  the strength or weakness of the Chairman really doesn't  
11                  matter at all to the public that's interested in the broad  
12                  products that the Commission puts out.

13                  The fact also that the Commission really doesn't  
14                  have any policy-making powers means that the strength or  
15                  lack thereof of the Chairman doesn't have nearly the impact  
16                  that it would have in an agency that does have policy-making  
17                  authority.

18                  That said, it does matter. And it matters for  
19                  the reasons that were laid out in that Congressional Report  
20                  that Deanna quoted earlier when she was introducing our  
21                  chapter. There have been periods on and off in the  
22                  Commission's existence where in-fighting over administrative  
23                  matters have taken up so much of the Commission's time and  
24                  energy that it has distracted the Commission's ability to  
25                  focus on the substantive mission. And that harms everyone

1 out in the public that has an interest in the agency.

2 So this need to strike that balance, you want to  
3 have a Chairman who has enough power to get day-to-day  
4 things, just to keep them moving. There have been times in  
5 the Commission's history where chairmen have not been able  
6 to do that. I think all of you are familiar with the Action  
7 Jacket. That's the written voting method that the  
8 Commission uses on everything for which it doesn't hold a  
9 public vote.

10 There are, at any given time, dozens of those  
11 circulating. And there were times in the past where people  
12 would hide them in their desk drawers in order to prevent  
13 decisions from being made. So you want a Chairman who's got  
14 enough power to keep those trains running, but not so much  
15 that they can single-handedly take those small areas where  
16 perhaps the agency could be politicized or moved off the  
17 rails in things like budget, or hiring of staff, or setting  
18 the research priorities. You don't want a Chairman who is  
19 strong enough to wrest control over those things and move  
20 the agency off of that sort of stick-to-the-knitting path  
21 that we've talked about.

22 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Anyone else? Dan?

23 MR. PEARSON: The public may not care much about  
24 the Chairmanship structure in the agency, but I do think  
25 that the current arrangement does help to maintain the

1 independence of the Commission.

2 A Chairman, at least the ones I have dealt with,  
3 tend not to take the approach that they own the office, but  
4 rather they hold it in trust for two years, and then they're  
5 going to pass it off to a member of the other party. And  
6 most Chairmen don't want it to look like they've entirely  
7 blown it during their tenure. And so, you know, there's a  
8 collegiality that grows out of a relatively weak temporary  
9 Chairmanship.

10 The value of when a challenging administrative  
11 matter comes up, the value of walking down the hall and  
12 visiting with the other Commissioners, and developing as  
13 much of a consensus as possible, that really helps to keep  
14 the place going.

15 MS. TANNER OKUN: If I could add a couple of brief  
16 points. One which is that Dan's right about the ability to  
17 walk down the hall and not be constrained by the Sunshine  
18 Act on most of these conversations that you can have was a  
19 way to maintain collegiality and get things done. And I  
20 think, again we haven't spoken--as I think many in this room  
21 know, I mean the Chairmanship is unique among the alphabet  
22 agencies in terms of rotating from one party to the next and  
23 only lasting two years, and therefore no one can really  
24 consolidate power during that time, which goes to the weak  
25 Chairmanship, and certainly it is weaker than the President

1 when he's elected get to, you know, put you in place and you  
2 have substantive rulemaking power.

3 So it is much weaker in that sense. But I think  
4 the allowing the Chairman to make decisions and then just  
5 make sure that he has the support of his or her colleagues  
6 has, or at least it did during our period, which is kind of  
7 what our observations are on this chapter and not trying to  
8 talk about other periods of history.

9 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Dan?

10 MR. LEAHY: Yes. Having worked also for a  
11 Chairwoman for two years in a more or less administrative  
12 capacity, there were certainly days when I would have loved  
13 to have a very, very strong Chairman.

14 However, I think in terms of the general public,  
15 I don't know that there'd be much of a difference. But I  
16 think there would definitely be a difference in those  
17 customers that we serve and their view of us and our  
18 objectivity, and to lose that is essentially to lose the  
19 agency.

20 MS. BRAGG: I would agree with everyone's comments  
21 so far on this question. I would also just add that I think  
22 the duality of the Chairmanship can have a very large impact  
23 on Commission staff.

24 So I think when there isn't collegiality and  
25 those jackets don't make their way down the hall like they

1       should, it really impacts the morale of the staff. And  
2       having entered the Commission at a time when I think it's  
3       fair to say morale was at a low, I just think it's key for  
4       the Commissioners to engage in that kind of collegiality and  
5       really work together in terms of making administrative  
6       decisions together.

7                   CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. Ken?

8                   MR. MASON: I would agree with the last. I was a  
9       staff member at the time when a Chairman gave an almost  
10      world-famous interview to the Christian Science Monitor.  
11      The headline was something like "Chairman Doesn't Have  
12      Enough To Do." He gave a quote that he only spent four  
13      hours a day on work. He didn't know what the rest of the  
14      Commission was doing.

15                   This went over about like a pork chop would at a  
16      Bar Mitzvah.

17                   (Laughter.)

18                   MR. MASON: The staff was horrified. The Congress  
19      was horrified. The other Commissioners were united in  
20      opposition.

21                   CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you.

22                   Drawing on the Commission's history, what do you  
23      think are the most pressing, substantive institutional and  
24      procedural issues facing the Commission? And do you think  
25      the Commission is equipped to handle these issues? And one

1 thing I'd like you to comment on is Commissioner Kieff has  
2 asked the question about the approach, the interdisciplinary  
3 approach, and Gene Rosengarden had referred to it this  
4 morning, too, about this interdisciplinary approach that the  
5 Commission had.

6 So in thinking about that larger question, if you  
7 want to touch on that, too. What do you think are the key  
8 substantive and institutional issues facing the Commission  
9 going forward?

10 (No response.)

11 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: If you don't want to start  
12 with that one, take the second one. Dave?

13 MR. FOSTER: Well, in terms of the substantive  
14 issues, I think a number of people have discussed already  
15 today the concept of tariffs becoming less and less  
16 significant in trade, and other issues becoming more and  
17 more prominent.

18 And so I think, as was mentioned by a panel I  
19 think very effectively, the Commission is going to be asked  
20 to assess the effect of nontariff barriers and other  
21 activities, such as child labor and that sort of thing, more  
22 and more. And that is an extraordinarily difficult task,  
23 and one that I think the Commission is probably up to but  
24 it's going to be a huge challenge to figure how to deal with  
25 this in a way that provides advice and support for the Trade

1       Agreements Program.

2                   In terms of sort of the institutional aspects of  
3       it, I think if you read the annual reports of the Commission  
4       going back to Report No. 1 issued in 1917, and from that  
5       point on, the Commission was really sort of in the forefront  
6       in establishing an interdisciplinary team approach to  
7       addressing issues, bringing together the economists, the  
8       commodity specialists, the analysts, the lawyers, the  
9       professional investigators, to get the information together  
10      and present it.

11                   And this has been an approach that has really  
12      resulted I think in the Commission being recognized for the  
13      leader it is in terms of expertise international trade. And  
14      I think it is just critically important that that continue,  
15      and that you not let groups in the agency become siloed,  
16      that they continue to work together as teams. Because it  
17      has just resulted in enormous beneficial results in the  
18      past. And it has been something that, again, the  
19      compositions may have changed over time but the basic  
20      approach has been consistent since the founding of the  
21      agency. And I think it has worked very well.

22                   CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Dan?

23                   MR. LEAHY: I'm not going forward with the  
24      Commission. I haven't been going forward with the  
25      Commission for a number of years now, actually, but I have

1       been paying attention. But since this is a historical  
2       gathering, there is a little bit of history that I think is  
3       pertinent here, and it goes to the point of objectivity and  
4       perceived objectivity of the staff and the Commission.

5               I started out in the Office of Textiles back in  
6       1974. In 1976, I was recruited into a newly established, or  
7       maybe reformatted Office of Investigations, in the role of a  
8       sole professional investigator with all responsibility for  
9       that investigation.

10              It sounded very exciting to a young people that I  
11       was. In very short order, I found out it wasn't exciting at  
12       all; it was a tremendous burden, workload burden. We did  
13       that for I'm not sure how long. Lynn Featherstone might  
14       remember better than I, because we were both in that role,  
15       but that was a real example of where once again I think it  
16       may have been coming from the Hill, there was some  
17       perception that something was amiss within the Commission  
18       and within certain offices that caused them to start  
19       doubting it.

20              And quickly we resolved the issue because we had  
21       to in order to keep going forward. And we went back to that  
22       interdisciplinary system where all the offices participated.  
23       And it may have been a lesson learned in terms of the care  
24       that needed to be taken, and I think it has been in the  
25       remaining years a very successful way to approach the work

1 of the Commission. And I don't really see another way of  
2 doing it.

3 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. Deanna?

4 MS. TANNER OKUN: One thing that I found difficult  
5 when I was there, and I think it's an institutional  
6 challenge, is the Commission in some ways is reactive to its  
7 customers, and to the Trade Bar because you have to do the  
8 cases that are before you, if it's under Title VII, or the  
9 337 side. And for Title VII you have very strict deadlines,  
10 and 337 you're moving under deadlines as well. And then in  
11 332 you have Congress and USTR who get excited about  
12 particular things at a particular moment, and sometimes it's  
13 because they're passing the hot potato, and we can debate  
14 whether that's MTBs or not, but -- and the Commission just  
15 has to deal with that.

16 So I think the team approach has worked well. I  
17 think, you know, the focus on trying to bring--have staff be  
18 able to play many roles is helpful. Again, not being  
19 siloed. But I think that will just continue to be a  
20 challenge for the Commission, even in thinking about what  
21 issues you should be thinking about.

22 I think the Commission and the staff have done a  
23 great job in trying to talk to their customers, but we all  
24 know, for anyone who sits down with Members of Congress and  
25 their staff, they have so many things going on that asking

1       them to think about, you know, something futuristic is also  
2       difficult. So they want you to come and say: What should we  
3       be thinking of?

4                So I think really it can be a virtuous cycle, but  
5       it's difficult because you're dealing with people who can't-  
6       -aren't focusing long term, and the Commission is one its  
7       resources. So you can't say we're going to become experts  
8       in all these issues, you know, all at once.

9                CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you. Commissioner  
10       Kieff?

11               COMMISSIONER KIEFF: Thanks. This may be too  
12       arcane, but it's designed to follow up on the question that  
13       our panel got on 337, intellectual property, about the  
14       relationship to the Federal Circuit. And it might be Dave  
15       Foster who could answer it, but others might as well, and it  
16       follows up on your main initial theme of independence.

17               In complicated areas, arcane areas of law like  
18       intellectual property, it can be hard, it can be difficult  
19       to really understand the nuances. And fashion and politics  
20       can blow in ways that can mask nuances. A truly independent  
21       Commission would have the statutory power and contracting  
22       ability to go out into the market and hire top Supreme Court  
23       litigator talent to bring certiori when it feels that it's  
24       being misunderstood. Do you think the Commission either has  
25       that ability, or should have that abilities? And why, or

1       why not? If you really think it's an expert, independent  
2       commission and reasonable minds can differ about all sorts  
3       of stuff like that, but the opportunity to get the Supreme  
4       Court to hear directly from the Commission doesn't seem to  
5       exist at the moment. Do you think it should? Why? Why  
6       not? How would you do it? Why didn't it go along with  
7       independent litigation authority?

8               MR. FOSTER: Well, when the independent litigation  
9       authority was added in '74, I don't know. I can't say that  
10      Congress focused on how high this would go. Could we go to  
11      the Supreme Court? Or should we just stay at the CIT, or at  
12      that time the CCPA, now the Federal Circuit?

13             But the intent behind it was that the realization  
14      that if the Administration in the form of the civil division  
15      of the Justice Department, or the appellate division, had  
16      the ability to decide whether a particular issue would be  
17      taken to court, that this could compromise the independence  
18      of the Commission and the ability of the Commission to  
19      interpret the laws that Congress had passed in the way  
20      Congress wanted.

21             So from that perspective, I would think the  
22      answer is, yes, the authority should probably be interpreted  
23      to mean taking an appeal to any available forum.

24             Having said that, of course the Commission has to  
25      live within the government. And especially when you get to

1 the Supreme Court level, it may be that the last thing the  
2 Commission would want would be for it to seek cert and then  
3 have the Court ask the Solicitor General, well, what do you  
4 think about this? And have the Solicitor General say, well,  
5 I don't think it's a good issue to take up.

6 So there's a certain reality in terms of how far  
7 you can take that authority. And so I think the Commission  
8 has done a good job in trying to weave this process. But I  
9 can see that it is frustrating. And it's frustrating for  
10 me. I mean, I make no bones about it. I think the most  
11 recent decision in Clear Correct was just an absolute  
12 incorrect decision by the CISC, and I would have loved to  
13 see it taken up. But on the other hand, I can understand  
14 how that might not be possible.

15 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Yes?

16 MR. BROWN: So, Chad Brown, Peterson. On June  
17 23rd, our friends across the Pond made a vote that they were  
18 going to make a change. So the UK voted for Brexit. And  
19 then what they quickly realized is they didn't have anybody  
20 in-house that knew anything about trade. So they decided to  
21 go out and hire--the latest numbers I heard were, 300 new  
22 trade negotiators. So my question is a little bit  
23 tongue-in-cheek in part. First is, has your senior staff  
24 been pirated? Is the UK coming here?

25 (Laughter.)

1           MR. BROWN: To kind of steal them? And if not,  
2 might you offer them a deal for the right price that they  
3 could borrow some of the expertise for a while?

4           But the second is, have you thought a little  
5 about your book marketing tour? Because this might be an  
6 institution that they might want to sort of model themselves  
7 after, as they really very much are starting themselves from  
8 scratch.

9           So it's very much tongue-in-cheek, but I think  
10 what I want to highlight is, trade is an issue even in the  
11 absence of no new trade agreements. It doesn't go away. We  
12 always need to have the expertise that you provide here, and  
13 the independence that you provide here, and you never know  
14 when it is that you're going to need it. So thank you.

15           CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Thank you.

16           MR. ARANOFF: Well I was going to say, while I was  
17 doing trade capacity building projects, I used to say every  
18 country needs an ITC. But go ahead.

19           MS. TANNER OKUN: Well I was going to say, for one  
20 thing you're suggesting is not new. In addition to what  
21 Ambassador Froman said this morning about the Commission  
22 providing many, many staffers at USTR as well as on the  
23 Hill, when the WTO was created quite a few Commission  
24 employees decamped to Geneva, and several have gone since  
25 then as well. So I think the Commission as an institution

1 is respected as a great training ground for trade  
2 professionals. And while that can be inconvenient when your  
3 really good people leave right when you need them to do some  
4 important project, it's also a great way of spreading the  
5 expertise, spreading respect for the agency, and spreading  
6 the respect for what the Commission stands for in terms of  
7 objectivity, independence, and expertise into other  
8 institutions. And I know when I was Chairman we would meet  
9 with folks from sister agencies in other countries, and the  
10 line that we often received was: Well, we kind of have the  
11 same mission as the commission, or some of the same missions  
12 as the Commission, but, boy, we wish we had your budgetary  
13 independence.

14 (Laughter.)

15 MS. TANNER OKUN: I was actually thinking along  
16 the same lines, which is I think the Commission has a lot of  
17 expertise that other countries have called on in the past,  
18 and we've been helpful. And I was thinking that we needed  
19 Former Commissioner Hillman up here, although she right now  
20 is teaching a class on Brexit and has someone there from I  
21 think EU and Britain in kind of a seminar session where  
22 they're going to be talking about some of the legal issues  
23 and the trade agreements going forward. So maybe she'll be  
24 doing some of that role as well in her capacity.

25 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Okay. Sure.

1                   PROFESSOR MOORE: So, Mike Moore, George  
2                   Washington University. Thinking about the unthinkable,  
3                   since World War II we have had Presidents that seemed to be  
4                   fairly open to trade liberalization and the multilateral  
5                   system. One of the candidates--I've forgotten which--has a  
6                   distinctly different viewpoint. Is there anything that the  
7                   Commission should do or think about in just anticipating the  
8                   possibility of President Donald J. Trump?

9                   MR. PEARSON: The Commission has prepared this  
10                  great history book of the 100 years of its existence.

11                  (Laughter.)

12                  CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Good. And as Dave Foster  
13                  says, stick to your knitting. Anything else anyone want to  
14                  add?

15                  (No response.)

16                  CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: Okay. I think then it is  
17                  time to wrap it up. I want to thank the panelists for their  
18                  excellent contributions. I want to thank all of the  
19                  panelists today for their excellent contributions.

20                  I think this last discussion about what other  
21                  countries need, we do have a good thing here and we want to  
22                  keep it going and export it around the world, too, but in  
23                  any case I think this has been a wonderful day, and a  
24                  wonderful celebration of our history. And we are going to  
25                  continue by having the reception at the Commission. And so

1 everybody who wants to go there. Paul, anything further?

2 MR. BARDOS: Just about the shuttle.

3 CHAIRMAN WILLIAMSON: There is a shuttle bus. If  
4 you go out the C Street exit and walk to the end, there will  
5 be a shuttle bus that will be doing a continuous loop taking  
6 people to the Commission, or else you can walk over there.  
7 But we will adjourn this session and look forward to seeing  
8 you over at the ITC. Thank you.

9 (Applause.)

10 (Whereupon, at 5:38 p.m., Thursday, September 8,  
11 2016, the meeting was adjourned.)

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