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SUBJECT:

**ROUTING SLIP**

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SUSPENSE \_\_\_\_\_

Date

Remarks

  
Executive Secretary

9 Feb '88

Date

**3637** (10-81)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Executive Registry  
88-0421x

**CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

**Date:** Feb. 5, 1988 **Number:** 490,727 **Due By:** -----  
**Subject:** Presidential Policy Directive -- GSP Program

	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
<b>ALL CABINET MEMBERS</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>CEQ</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vice President	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>OSTP</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Treasury	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>Powell</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Labor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>Cribb</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HHS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Bauer</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HUD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Dawson (For WH Staffing)</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chief of Staff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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UN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USTR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CEA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>Executive Secretary for:</b>		
<u>CIA</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>DPC</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
EPA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>EPC</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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NASA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OPM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SBA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
VA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:** Attached is a memorandum from James A. Baker, III concerning the GSP Program.

**RETURN TO:**

Nancy J. Risque  
Cabinet Secretary  
456-2823  
(Ground Floor, West Wing)

Associate Director  
Office of Cabinet Affairs  
456-2800  
(Room 235, OE08)

B-504-11

THE WHITE HOUSE

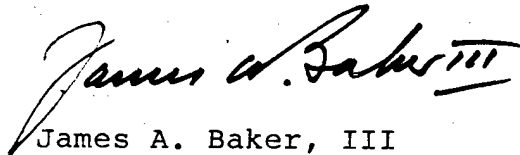
WASHINGTON

February 2, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Presidential Policy Directive --  
GSP Program

Pursuant to the Economic Policy Council memorandum of January 29, 1988, the President has decided to graduate Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore from the GSP program effective January 2, 1989.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "James A. Baker, III". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent initial "J" and a flourish at the end.

James A. Baker, III  
Chairman Pro Tempore

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
The Director of Central Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

NIC 00342-88  
26 January 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: EPC Meeting, 26 January on Generalized System of Preference

1. The Economic Policy Council (EPC) decided unanimously to lift the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) benefits for South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore roughly one year from now but definitely before the end of this administration. The announcement will be made 24 hours after the President ratifies the EPC decision.

2. As a side issue, Deputy Secretary Martin suggested South Korea be given a benefit for good economic performance such as OECD membership. Deputy Secretary McPherson said Treasury was studying such a proposal. Under Secretary Wallis said, "not a chance."

3. On Canadian free trade, Secretary Baker will meet with Bentsen, Rostenkowski, Byrd, and Wright to urge early consideration of the bill. Baker hopes to send it up for a 90-day fast track consideration (no changes allowed) no later than 25 February.

  
Deane E. Hoffmann

cc:  
D/DCI-DDCI Exec Staff  
DD/OEA  
AC/NIC  
NIO/EA

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12	Compt				
13	D/OCA				
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15	D/PERS				
16	D/Ex Staff		X		
17	NIO/ECON	X			
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Date \_\_\_\_\_

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*[Signature]*  
Executive Secretary  
25 Jan '88  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

3637 (10-81)

EXECUTIVE Registry  
88-0217X

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: Jan. 25, 1988 Number: 490,724 Due By: -----

Subject: Economic Policy Council Meeting -- Tuesday, January 26, 1988

Room 208 Old Executive Office Building -- 1:00 p.m.

	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
<b>ALL CABINET MEMBERS</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>CEQ</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vice President	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>OSTP</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Treasury	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Defense	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Justice	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interior	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commerce	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Powell</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labor	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Cribb</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HHS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Bauer</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Dawson (For WH Staffing)</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transportation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chief of Staff	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OMB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
UN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USTR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CEA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Executive Secretary for:</b>		
<u>CIA</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>DPC</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
EPA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>EPC</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GSA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NASA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OPM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SBA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
VA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:** The Economic Policy Council will meet on Tuesday, January 26, 1988, at 1:00 p.m. in Room 208, Old Executive Office Building. The agenda and background materials are attached for your review.

RETURN TO:

Nancy J. Risque  
Cabinet Secretary  
456-2823  
(Ground Floor, West Wing)

Associate Director  
Office of Cabinet Affairs  
456-2800  
(Room 235, OEOB)



B-504-1R

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

FROM: EUGENE J. McALLISTER *EM*

SUBJECT: Agenda and Paper for the January 26 Meeting

The agenda and paper for the January 26 meeting of the Economic Policy Council are attached. The meeting is scheduled for 1:00 p.m. in Room 208 of the Old Executive Office Building.

The first agenda item will be a review of GSP benefits for several newly industrialized countries. A paper prepared by the TPRG, outlining the issue and offering some options, is attached.

Secretary Baker would also like to take a few minutes to discuss the trade bill conference and the role of the Economic Policy Council in developing Administration responses to the trade conference actions.

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT



ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

January 26, 1988  
1:00 p.m.  
Room 208, Old Executive Office Building

AGENDA

1. GSP Benefits
2. Trade Legislation

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**GRADUATION OF ADVANCED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES  
FROM THE GSP PROGRAM**

ISSUE

A majority of the Trade Policy Review Group has determined that, based on levels of economic development and competitiveness, the "graduation" of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore from the GSP program is appropriate. However, the timing of such graduations has not yet been decided.

OPTIONS

1. THAT ALL 4 OF THESE COUNTRIES BE GRADUATED AT THE SAME TIME -- ON JULY 1, 1988 (OR ALTERNATIVELY ONE YEAR FROM THE DATE OF THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION).

Pros

-- These countries are sufficiently developed and competitive in such a broad range of manufactured and semi-manufactured products as to warrant graduation from the GSP program.

-- The four Asian countries are receiving disproportionate benefits under this program, accounting for 58 percent of GSP imports, thereby compromising the objective of the program. Their graduation would bring the program more into line with its original intent, i.e., to help the countries most in need.

-- Graduation is not likely to harm the economies of these countries, since the average tariff on GSP eligible items is only about 5 percent.

-- Graduation of all 4 countries at the same time is less likely to provoke strong reactions from these countries, which compete on many products, since none will perceive the action as creating a competitive advantage or disadvantage between them.

Cons

-- Will not significantly impact on our bilateral trade deficits with these countries.

-- Would negatively impact hundreds of U.S. firms that rely on GSP duty-free imports.

-- Some domestic interests (e.g., the intellectual property rights lobby) have expressed concern about the loss of GSP "leverage" over the affected countries.

-- Graduation could undercut our credibility as "good faith" negotiators, having just completed two years of GSP consultations

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that resulted in politically sensitive commitments by some of these countries under the assumption that such commitments would enable them to continue to enjoy duty-free access to our market.

2. THAT KOREA AND TAIWAN BE GRADUATED ON JULY 1, 1988; SINGAPORE AND HONG KONG WOULD BE GRADUATED ON JULY 1, 1989.

#### Pros

-- Korea and Taiwan maintain restrictive practices affecting many U.S. exports, while enjoying enormous bilateral trade surpluses with us. Singapore and Hong Kong, on the other hand, maintain open markets and have been cooperative with the United States on trade matters. Differentiation between the timing of graduation would send a clear signal that the United States rewards team players.

-- Takes into account differences between the economies of the 4 countries. Korea and Taiwan have larger, more diversified, economies. Hong Kong and Singapore are city-state economies.

-- U.S. GSP legislation and the GATT Enabling Clause state that advanced developing countries are expected to undertake greater responsibilities in the trading system commensurate with their relatively higher level of economic development. Hong Kong and Singapore have undertaken greater responsibilities; Korea and Taiwan have resisted undertaking responsibilities.

-- USTR has received a great volume of mail opposing the graduation of the NICs. A number of these letters encourage the Administration to distinguish between Singapore and the other 3 Asian NICs, since the U.S. electronics industry has heavily invested in component production facilities in Singapore. Allowing greater adjustment time for Singapore could benefit the U.S. electronics industry.

#### Cons

-- Would be perceived by the affected countries as providing competitive advantages to some at the expense of the others.

-- Would be perceived by some as punitive, and, therefore, could result in charges that our action violates GATT rules, which require non-discriminatory treatment of beneficiaries under GSP programs.

-- Differentiation between the timing of graduations could be perceived as inconsistent with the notion that the Administration's graduation decision will be based on a set of fair and impartial indicators. Hong Kong and Singapore have significantly higher GNP per capita than Korea and Taiwan.

-- Would have negative consequences for our bilateral relationships and could negatively impact our attempts to cultivate support for our Uruguay Round initiatives.

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3. THAT NO COUNTRIES BE GRADUATED.

Pros

- There would be no disruption of our bilateral relationships with these Asian countries.
- The U.S. importing community would not be adversely affected.
- The intellectual property rights community would be pleased since they have lobbied against "graduation."
- The U.S. could not be accused by any of the four Asian countries as "bad faith" negotiators which has been their major criticism.
- "Graduation" could not be used by any of the four Asian countries to undermine our Uruguay Round objectives.

Cons

- Since these countries have achieved a relatively high level of development and competitiveness, particularly when compared to the vast majority of the other beneficiary developing countries, to not graduate them would compromise the objectives of the GSP.
- The U.S. firms that are competing with these countries in a broad range of manufactures and who have questioned why these countries are still receiving preferential tariff treatment would "wonder" about the resolve of the Administration.
- To not graduate these countries may send a signal that the U.S. is not firm in its resolve to "push" the advanced developing countries to take on increasing responsibilities in the international trade and economic system.

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## BACKGROUND ON GRADUATION OF CERTAIN ADVANCED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FROM THE GSP PROGRAM

### The Program

The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) is a temporary, unilateral scheme of U.S. tariff preferences for developing countries. It is designed to promote the economic development of such countries by providing trade incentives in the form of duty-free access to the U.S. market, rather than foreign aid. The program covers some 3,000 products from 141 designated beneficiary countries.

The GSP program is administered by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Any interested party may petition the GSP Subcommittee of the Trade Policy Staff Committee, which is chaired by USTR, to request modifications in the list of products or countries eligible for GSP treatment. Petitions must be submitted to the Subcommittee no later than June 1 to be considered in that year's annual review. Petitions accepted for review are subject to public hearings and a full review by the major Executive Branch agencies having a role in U.S. trade policy. Modifications made pursuant to the annual review are announced by executive order or Presidential Proclamation on or about April 1 of the following year and implemented on July 1.

In addition to changes resulting from petitions submitted in the Annual Review, a country will automatically lose its GSP eligibility with respect to a particular product if the so-called competitive need limits are exceeded. These are statutory limitations whereby if imports of a particular product from a particular country account for 50 percent or more of total imports of the product or exceed a certain dollar value in a calendar year, the country will automatically lose its GSP eligibility on that product the following year on July 1.

### The President's Legal Authority

The President has plenary authority to "withdraw, suspend, or limit" GSP preferences for any beneficiary country at anytime. Prior to withdrawing or suspending a beneficiary, the President must notify the Congress and the beneficiary at least 60 days before taking such action and outline the "considerations entering into such decision." There are no other legal constraints on the President and no specific criteria need be met to justify such action. In addition, an implementing Proclamation would be required.

However the law does provide for the removal of beneficiaries from the GSP program after they exceed an indexed per-capita GNP figure which is based at \$8,500 (the actual 1986 figure is \$9,000). This provision was included in the law with the passage

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of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984. When a beneficiary exceeds the per-capita GNP figure, the law requires that their benefits be reduced by half (i.e., "competitive need limits" are cut in half) in July of the calendar year succeeding the year in which the determination is made. These reduced benefits remain in effect for two years after which the beneficiary is completely removed from the program. None of the major beneficiaries of the GSP program have exceeded or are expected to exceed this figure in the near future.

#### Major GSP Beneficiaries

Attachment A provides relevant trade data, including GSP imports for the 4 major Asian beneficiaries. The top six beneficiaries in rank order are: Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, Mexico, Singapore and Brazil. The Asian beneficiaries have clearly economically outperformed Mexico and Brazil as well as the other important beneficiaries of the GSP program (e.g., Israel, Thailand, Yugoslavia and the Philippines).

#### GATT Considerations

GSP programs are autonomous and unilaterally offered, but as derogations from the MFN principle of Article 1, are permitted only within the terms of decisions by the Contracting Parties (CP's) taken in 1971 and 1979 that allow "non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory" preferences to be offered to developing countries.

Removal of some beneficiaries from GSP eligibility would be seen by some to violate the non-discriminatory aspect of the program. However, the U.S. could argue that the 1979 Decision allowing GATT CPs to offer such preferences also states that developing beneficiaries benefitting from the special treatment are expected to progressively take up greater responsibility in the GATT system as their economies and trade situations improve. On that basis, the U.S. could argue that removal of the more developed, successful beneficiaries from GSP eligibility is consistent with GATT.

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## RELEVANT TRADE DATA

Attachment A

Total U.S. Imports

<u>Country</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987(11 months)</u>
Taiwan	\$16.3 bil	\$19.8 bil	\$22.5 bil
Korea	\$9.9 bil	\$12.7 bil	\$15.3 bil
Hong Kong	\$8.4 bil	\$8.8 bil	\$9.1 bil
Singapore	\$4.2 bil	\$4.7 bil	\$5.6 bil
Total	\$38.8 bil	\$46 bil	\$52.5 bil

U.S. Bilateral Trade Balances

<u>Country</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987(11 months)</u>
Taiwan	-\$12 bil	-\$14.7 bil	-\$16.5 bil
Korea	-\$4.3 bil	-\$6.8 bil	-\$8.6 bil
Hong Kong	-\$5.8 bil	-\$6 bil	-\$5.7 bil
Singapore	-\$901 mil	-\$1.4 bil	-\$2.1 bil
Total	-\$23 bil	-\$28.9 bil	-\$32.9 bil

U.S. GSP Imports as a % of Total U.S. Imports

<u>Country</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987(11 months)</u>
Taiwan	19.6%	19.0%	17.4%
Korea	16.5%	17.5%	15.0%
Hong Kong	14.3%	16.0%	17.3%
Singapore	15.8%	15.4%	20.9%

U.S. GSP Duty-free Imports

<u>Country</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987(11 months)</u>
Taiwan	\$3.2 bil	\$3.7 bil	\$3.9 bil
Korea	\$1.6 bil	\$2.2 bil	\$2.3 bil
Hong Kong	\$1.2 bil	\$1.4 bil	\$1.6 bil
Singapore	\$674 mil	\$730 mil	\$1.2 bil
Total	\$6.7 bil	\$8.0 bil	\$9.0 bil

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GNP PER-CAPITA FIGURES FOR MAJOR GSP BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES

<u>Country</u>	<u>1986 GNP per-capita</u>	<u>Rank as Beneficiary (1987)</u>
Taiwan	\$4,000	1
Korea	\$2,370	2
Hong Kong	\$6,800	3
Mexico	\$2,080*	4
Singapore	\$7,200	5
Brazil	\$1,640*	6

\* 1985